



**Helping those in need:
volunteering for humanitarian
organizations and for refugees**

Maikel Meijeren

Helping those in need:
volunteering for humanitarian organizations
and for refugees

This study is part of the research program Sustainable Cooperation – Roadmaps to Resilient Societies (SCOOP). The author is grateful to the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) for generously funding this research in the context of its 2017 Gravitation Program (grant number 024.003.025).

ISBN 978-94-6473-964-0

Lay-out: Douwe Oppewal

Print: Ipskamp Printing

© 2026 Maikel Meijeren

Helping those in need: volunteering for humanitarian organizations and for refugees

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor
aan de Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
op gezag van de rector magnificus prof. dr. J.M. Sanders,
volgens besluit van het college voor promoties
in het openbaar te verdedigen op
donderdag 8 januari 2026
om 10:30 uur precies

door

Maikel Meijeren
geboren op 25 februari 1990
te Tilburg

Promotoren

prof. dr. P. Scheepers

prof. dr. M. Lubbers (Universiteit Utrecht)

prof. dr. N. Ellemers (Universiteit Utrecht)

Manuscriptcommissie

prof. dr. S. Kinsbergen

prof. dr. T. Brandsen

dr. L. Heyse (Rijksuniversiteit Groningen)

Contents

Chapter 1 - Synthesis	11
1.1 Introduction	12
1.2 Overarching theoretical frameworks	13
1.2.1 <i>The resource perspective</i>	15
1.2.2 <i>Volunteer function inventory</i>	16
1.2.3 <i>SCOOP framework</i>	16
1.3 Contributions	17
1.3.1 <i>New directions for the research field</i>	17
1.3.2 <i>Theoretical contributions</i>	18
1.3.3 <i>Data and methodological innovations</i>	20
1.3.4 <i>Overview of chapters in the dissertation</i>	22
1.4 Findings per chapter	23
1.4.1 <i>Chapter 2</i>	23
1.4.2 <i>Chapter 3</i>	24
1.4.3 <i>Chapter 4</i>	25
1.4.4 <i>Chapter 5</i>	26
1.4.5 <i>Chapter 6</i>	27
1.4.6 <i>Chapter 7</i>	28
1.5 Discussion and new directions	31
1.5.1 <i>Theoretical limitations and improvements</i>	31
1.5.2 <i>Empirical limitations and improvements</i>	32
1.5.3 <i>Methodological limitations and improvements</i>	33
1.6 General conclusions	34
1.6.1 <i>Conclusions on the overarching theoretical frameworks</i>	34
1.6.2 <i>Conclusion on the overarching questions</i>	35

Part I - The bigger picture

39

Chapter 2 - Trends in forms of civic involvement in the Netherlands between 2008 and 2020

	41
2.1 Introduction	42
2.2 Contradictory and complementary trends	44
2.3 Methods	46
2.3.1 Data	46
2.3.2 Measurements	48
2.3.3 Analyses	49
2.4 Results	50
2.4.1 Trends in involvement in humanitarian and environmental organizations	50
2.4.2 Trends in involvement in activist organizations	52
2.4.3 Trends in involvement in sports and outdoor clubs and cultural organizations or hobby clubs	53
2.4.4 Trends in involvement in leisure organizations	54
2.4.5 Trends in involvement in trade unions, business organizations and consumer organizations	55
2.4.6 Trends in involvement in interest organizations	58
2.4.7 Trends in involvement in other organizations	61
2.4.8 Statistical analyses of trends in forms of civic involvement	61
2.5 Discussion	63

Chapter 3 - Socio-structural determinants in volunteering for humanitarian organizations: a resource-based approach

	69
3.1 Introduction	70
3.2 Theoretical background	71
3.2.1 Resources in volunteering	71
3.2.2 Human capital	72
3.2.3 Social capital	73
3.2.4 Cultural capital	74

3.3 Data and measurements	76
3.3.1 <i>Data</i>	76
3.3.2 <i>Measurements</i>	76
3.3.3 <i>Methods</i>	79
3.4 Results	81
3.4.1 <i>Human capital indicators</i>	81
3.4.2 <i>Social capital indicators</i>	81
3.4.3 <i>Cultural capital indicators</i>	82
3.4.4 <i>Control variables</i>	83
3.5 Conclusion	86

Chapter 4 - Hop in and drop out: how are changes in the life course related to changes in volunteering for humanitarian organizations?

	91
4.1 Introduction	92
4.2 Theoretical insights	94
4.2.1 <i>Resource perspective</i>	94
4.2.2 <i>Role substitution perspective</i>	95
4.2.3 <i>Hypotheses</i>	95
4.3 Methods	99
4.3.1 <i>Data</i>	99
4.3.2 <i>Measurements</i>	101
4.3.3 <i>Method of analysis</i>	105
4.4 Results	108
<i>Starters, quitters and stayers per year</i>	108
<i>Starting to volunteer for humanitarian organizations</i>	109
4.5 Conclusion	111
4.6 Discussion	113

Part II - A closer look within one organization 117

Chapter 5 - Assessing the ‘why’ in volunteering for refugees: exploring volunteer motivations	119
5.1 Introduction	120
5.2 Theoretical insights on motives to volunteer	121
5.2.1 <i>Volunteer function inventory</i>	122
5.2.2 <i>Complementary motivations</i>	123
5.3 Methodological strategy	126
5.3.1 <i>Data collection in the Dutch context</i>	126
5.3.2 <i>Background of refugee situation and selection of volunteers in focus groups</i>	126
5.3.3 <i>Development of topic lists for focus groups</i>	128
5.3.4 <i>Strategy for analysis</i>	128
5.4 Results	129
5.4.1 <i>Popular motivations</i>	130
5.4.2 <i>Unpopular motivations</i>	130
5.4.3 <i>Missing motivations</i>	131
5.4.4 <i>Findings from triangulation</i>	131
5.5 Discussion	132
5.6 Conclusion	135

Chapter 6 - How to keep them inside? Organizational and motivational factors that influence volunteer retention for refugee aid organizations	139
6.1 Introduction	140
6.2 Theoretical framework	142
6.2.1 <i>Sustainable volunteering under pressure</i>	142
6.2.2 <i>Organization-related factors for volunteer retention</i>	143
6.2.3 <i>Motivations-related factors for volunteer retention</i>	145
6.3 Methods	146
6.3.1 <i>Data collection</i>	146
6.3.2 <i>Data measurement</i>	148
6.3.3 <i>Data analysis</i>	151
6.4 Results	153
6.4.1 <i>Step 1: Relevance of the theoretical model through open answers</i>	153
6.4.2 <i>Step 2: Test of selected predictors in regression analyses</i>	154
6.4.3 <i>Step 3: Thematic analysis of open-ended questions</i>	157
6.4.4 <i>Step 4: Mapping the open answers</i>	159

6.5 Discussion	161
6.6 Conclusion	164
Chapter 7 - Opening the box of quitting volunteering in refugee aid organizations	167
7.1 Introduction	168
7.2 Theoretical insights on quitting volunteering	170
7.2.1 <i>Organization-related reasons for quitting volunteering</i>	170
7.2.2 <i>Personal circumstances for quitting volunteering</i>	171
7.2.3 <i>Egocentric-oriented reasons for quitting volunteering</i>	172
7.3 Methods	173
7.3.1 <i>Organizational context</i>	173
7.3.2 <i>Data collection</i>	173
7.3.3 <i>Measurements</i>	174
7.3.4 <i>Strategy for analysis</i>	175
7.4.1 <i>Organization-related reasons for quitting volunteering for refugees</i>	176
7.4.2 <i>Personal circumstances for quitting volunteering for refugees</i>	178
7.4.3 <i>Egocentric-oriented reasons for quitting volunteering for refugees</i>	178
7.4.4 <i>Profiles of groups of quitters</i>	181
7.5 Discussion	183
7.6 Conclusion	184
References	189
Appendices	
Appendices Chapter 2	208
Appendices Chapter 4	209
Appendices Chapter 5	215
Appendices Chapter 6	219
Appendices Chapter 7	234
Verklaring datamanagement PhD thesis	241
Nederlandse samenvatting (summary in Dutch)	252
Dankwoord (acknowledgements)	255
About the author	263
ICS dissertation series	267



Chapter 1

Synthesis

This chapter benefited from the feedback of Peer Scheepers, Marcel Lubbers and Naomi Ellemers

1.1 Introduction

The many humanitarian crises that have taken place also in the last decade, have forced many people to seek safe havens outside of their original territory. This has fueled the demand for volunteers for refugees in the countries of refugee arrival. In 2015-2016, Europe faced the largest post-war number of refugees arriving in the continent, foremost as a result of the civil war in Syria (Lubbers & De Valk, 2020; Pries, 2019; Simsa, 2017). This led to major challenges for governments, authorities, NGOs and local citizens to organize shelter and aid to refugees (Larruina et al., 2019; Meyer & Simsa, 2018; Schmid et al., 2019; Simsa et al., 2019; Van der Veer, 2022). More recently, the war in Ukraine has led to another large number of displaced people relocating all over Europe, with again many people willing to volunteer for refugees (Cullen Dunn & Kaliszewska, 2023; Politi et al., 2023).

In the Netherlands, some of these refugee solidarity initiatives have manifested locally (Van der Veer, 2022): refugee reception is arranged at the national level and implemented at a local level. For instance, both episodes of refugee camp Heumensoord (municipality of Nijmegen) were mainly opened to host Syrian refugees (2015-2016) and later Afghan refugees (2021-2022). This caused a so-called ‘volunteer energy’ (e.g. Brudney & Meijs, 2009, 2013) in the region of Nijmegen, with many people volunteering for refugees during these episodes. But solidarity initiatives also emerged on a broader scale. After the arrival of Ukrainians fleeing from their country at war, refugee aid organization Netherlands (VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, VWN) received a record-breaking (over 11,000) number of new volunteers in the weeks after the start of the war between Russia and Ukraine (VluchtelingenWerk, 2022).

While these initiatives demonstrate a willingness to help refugees, Dutch society is divided on the refugee issue and (political) discussions on the subject are often (presented to be) polarized (Coenders et al., 2013; Hendriks et al., 2023; Kunst et al., 2025; Larruina & Ghorashi, 2016; Meuleman et al., 2013; Van der Veer, 2020). This is thought to contribute, amongst others, to a shrinking civic space for refugee solidarity initiatives (Della Porta & Steinhilper, 2021a). Therefore, the contribution of volunteers working for refugees, as well as a better understanding of who they are, why they do this and why some of them quit, gives insight into how people express solidarity with refugees in a social context that is sometimes critical on reception of refugees.

Hence, this dissertation elaborates on the following overarching question: who volunteers for humanitarian organizations in general in the Netherlands (such as UNICEF), and who and why volunteers for the largest Dutch refugee aid organization specifically (e.g., VluchtelingenWerk Nederland)? In doing so, this dissertation consists of two parts. In part one, I aim to shed light on the bigger picture by examining volunteering for humanitarian organizations across the Dutch population, answering the question: who volunteers for humanitarian organizations in the Netherlands? In part two, I take a closer look by studying dynamics in volunteering for refugees within one refugee aid organization, with the question: what are motivations to start and (dis)continue volunteering for refugees at VluchtelingenWerk Nederland?

I provide here three reasons as to why it is relevant to study volunteering for refugees. First, we can learn more about a special group of volunteers (e.g. Ferris et al., 2024), namely those who typically do not volunteer for the benefit of in-group members (those perceived to belong to the same ethnic group as they themselves), as compared to much volunteering in other sectors (Einolf, 2010, 2018; Nesbit, 2013), but rather for members who are perceived by many to belong to out-groups or newcomers. Second, this type of volunteering is thought to be influenced by societal events more than other types of volunteering. For instance, coaching football teams mainly asks for a continuous but rather constant flow of volunteers. Instead, humanitarian crises make the need for these volunteers much more volatile (Meyer & Simsa, 2018; Simsa et al., 2019; Van der Veer, 2022). Third, these volunteers have the potential to fulfil a bridge function in society, being middle(wo-)men between host society and newcomers, also referred to as the ‘insider-outsider position’ by Larruina and Ghorashi (2016). It has been found that volunteers serve as mediators in the contact between refugees and professional services (Hoogervorst et al., 2016), also because volunteers are viewed as easy to approach and trustworthy in the eyes of refugees (Landmann et al., 2023). As such, volunteers for refugees demonstrate that bridging ties (Granovetter, 1973) can be established, even when society is divided on the topic of helping refugees.

1.2 Overarching theoretical frameworks

This dissertation builds on several theoretical frameworks. I use these perspectives to answer research questions on volunteering for humanitarian organizations across the Dutch population in part one of the dissertation, as

well as to answer questions on volunteering by taking a closer look within one refugee aid organization in part two of the dissertation.

First, I start with positioning volunteering as such within the larger research problems in the social sciences. Volunteering can be seen as an indication of cohesion in society, since it is based on (predominantly friendly rather than hostile) social interactions taking place in society. Building on Pichler and Wallace (2007), volunteering can be seen as a form social capital, being defined as “the way in which people participate in their society and the forms of social bonding that take place” (p. 423). Since this dissertation examines participation in civic organizations, this aligns with the concept of *formal social capital*: the social connections that are “embedded in formally constituted organizations and activities” (Pichler & Wallace, 2007, p. 424). In contrast, *informal social capital* refers to the extent to which people give or provide services of different kinds within informal networks or on a neighborhood level (Pichler & Wallace, 2007). Also in the study of volunteering, these informal interactions have been examined frequently (Ramaekers et al., 2021; Wilson & Musick, 1997). In this dissertation, however, I study people’s volunteering for refugees within formally institutionalized settings, i.e., civic organizations.

These civic organizations operate in so-called *civil society*. Civil society refers to non-governmental action (within organizations) by ordinary citizens, ‘self-responsible’ inhabitants expected to look after their own and others’ affairs, without public help (Dekker, 2019). As such, civil society represents the idea where “people feel responsible for their fellow citizens in need and for their neighborhoods” (Dekker, 2019, p. 77). Within this civil society, four forms of civic involvement are distinguished (Gesthuizen et al., 2013). These are 1) memberships of organizations; 2) participation in activities for organizations; 3) donations to organizations and 4) volunteering for organizations. While all forms of civic involvement are examined in chapter two of this dissertation, the emphasis lies particularly on volunteering, i.e., the last form of involvement, in the other chapters of the dissertation. Different definitions of volunteering have been proposed in the academic literature, all referring to the deliberate, unpaid choice that time is given to the benefit of others, often taking place under the auspice of a formal organization (Cnaan et al., 1996; Snyder & Omoto, 2008; Wilson, 2000). In this dissertation, I follow the definition of Ellemers and Boezeman (2010), who

define volunteering as “unpaid work, without any obligations, for the benefit of others and/or society” (p. 245), moreover, within organizations.

Different categorizations of types of voluntary organizations have been proposed in the literature. I build on Lelieveldt et al. (2007), by distinguishing categorizations on the basis of the goals of organizations. Following several studies using the same categorization (Gesthuizen et al., 2013; Van der Meer et al., 2009), three types of voluntary organizations can be distinguished. These are leisure organizations, interest organizations and activist organizations, with the latter type being relevant for this dissertation. Activist organizations, which, amongst others, encompass humanitarian organizations, mainly serve broader interests in society that in general do not directly relate to the (socio-economic) interests of their members (Lelieveldt et al., 2007). The Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social sciences (LISS), the used data source for the first part of the dissertation, defines volunteering for humanitarian organizations as volunteering for an organization for humanitarian aid, human rights, minorities or migrants (LISS, 2025). This operationalization is used in the first part of the dissertation to derive the bigger picture of volunteering for humanitarian organizations across the Dutch population, whereas the second part of the dissertation specifically looks at volunteering for refugees.

1.2.1 The resource perspective

Next, I focus on ‘explanatory’ theories regarding volunteering for civic organizations. An important theory to search for preliminary answers on the first part of the overarching question is the *resource perspective* (Wilson & Musick, 1997, 1998). The resource perspective proposes that the likelihood to volunteer is dependent upon certain resources people possess, to get an understanding of ‘who’ volunteers. In more detail, three forms of capital are important in this relationship. First, volunteer work is productive work that is facilitated by *human capital*, described as individual resources that make work more productive, and therefore enable people to volunteer (Wilson, 2012). Second, volunteer work is facilitated by *social networks*, which are people’s social ties and moreover social resources that people derive from these resources, which influence, hamper and/or facilitate the likelihood to volunteer. Third, volunteer work is facilitated by *cultural capital*, which emphasizes the individuals’ moral component with norms and pro-social values that facilitate compassion regarding helping (un)known others.

1.2.2 Volunteer function inventory

The second part of the dissertation examines motivations to start and (dis-) continue volunteering for refugees in order to search for preliminary answers to the second part of the overarching question. An important motivational framework for addressing this is the Volunteer Function Inventory (VFI), a widely used theoretical framework about motivations to volunteer (Clary et al., 1998a). The VFI assumes that people volunteer for different reasons, and it distinguishes self-oriented and other-oriented motivations to perform voluntary work. The VFI consist of six different motivations, called ‘functions’. *Values*, that are related to a volunteer’s “altruistic and humanitarian concern for others” (Clary et al., 1998a, p. 1517). *Social*, which gives volunteers “a means to be with friends or to engage in an activity viewed favorably by important others” (Clary et al., 1998a, p. 1518). *Career*, which refers to volunteering to explore career options (ibidem). *Enhancement*, which points to developing a positive affect by growing psychologically (ibidem). *Understanding*, which refers to volunteering as a means to develop new skills as well as utilizing skills for understanding others (ibidem). And lastly, *Protective*, which serves volunteers by reducing feelings of guilt associated with their own fortunate circumstances (ibidem). In this dissertation, I aim to understand the role of these motivations and will study whether these can be accomplished with other motivations to start, continue or stop doing volunteer work for refugees.

1.2.3 SCOOP framework

Moreover, I build on the theoretical framework that is outlined in the SCOOP program. The SCOOP research program ‘Sustainable Cooperation: Roadmaps to a Resilient Society’ aims to study how cooperation can be sustained, despite changing circumstances (SCOOP, 2019). By studying this question, the program aims to contribute to resilient societies – societies that are able to maintain high levels of cooperation, despite the sustainability challenges posed by changing circumstances. One of the sustainability challenges identified by the SCOOP program is the arrival of newcomers such as refugees into communities. The SCOOP program identifies sudden changes in the population as external shocks and questions how volunteers may play a role in accommodating its consequences. In this dissertation, I address to what extent volunteers contribute to sustainable contexts in which they may have a bridging function between refugees and the receiving society.

Another important feature of the SCOOP program is its interdisciplinary approach. In this dissertation, I combine a sociological and social

psychological approach. Part one of the dissertation that focuses more on the 'who volunteers in what context' primarily builds on sociological insights. The second part of the dissertation, that focuses more on motivations for (dis)continuing) volunteering, leans more on social psychological-oriented insights.

1.3 Contributions

1.3.1 New directions for the research field

The setup of the dissertation, with the first part of the dissertation examining volunteering for humanitarian organizations across the Dutch population and the second part of it specifically focusing on volunteering for refugees, thus allows to explore a specific volunteering field. In doing so, this dissertation advances on many contributions that approach volunteering as a general phenomenon rather than to distinguish between specific volunteering fields (Aksoy & Wiertz, 2024; Broese van Groenou & Van Tilburg, 2012; Eibich et al., 2022; Grünwald et al., 2021; Lancee & Radl, 2014; Piatak, 2016; Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006), or distinguish between different fields but ultimately group them altogether (Einolf, 2010; Nesbit, 2012). Addressing the specific context of volunteering for humanitarian organizations and volunteering for refugees moves the study of volunteering forward, since it is often approached too generally, whereas differences between volunteering fields can be expected (Brudney et al., 2019).

This dissertation encompasses six empirical articles that study volunteering for humanitarian organizations and volunteering for refugees from different angles. Since this specific volunteering field has not been extensively studied before (e.g. Ferris et al., 2024; Pries, 2019), this dissertation brings in various new questions and therefore provides an important contribution to the field. For example, this dissertation assesses the full cycle of changes in volunteering behavior in a coherent fashion. Tested with different samples, I examine motivations for starting volunteering for refugees, the intention to continue this type of volunteering, up to the reasons for having quit volunteering for refugees. These volunteer dynamics are assessed with (former) volunteers of one of the largest refugee aid organizations in the Netherlands. To my knowledge, such an encompassing and coherent study of volunteer dynamics within a refugee aid organization fulfils a lacuna, as it adds understanding as to why volunteers start, continue or quit their

volunteering within one organization. In doing so, I provide a contribution with regard to volunteer (dis-)continuity in the field of refugee aid. Moreover, within this one refugee aid organization, I am able to see to what extent motivations to continue volunteering for refugees differ from motivations to start volunteering for refugees to see if motivations change over time. This may provide organizations with different strategies to keep volunteers inside depending on the stage of their volunteering career (Finkelstein, 2008). In addition, I examine whether reasons for being hesitant or demotivated to continue this type of volunteering, such as organizational deficiencies or personal circumstances (Ganzevoort & Van den Born, 2025; Hustinx, 2010), also play a role in actually having quitted volunteering for refugees or whether other reasons apply.

1.3.2 Theoretical contributions

This dissertation also provides several theoretical contributions, also with regard to the previously introduced theoretical frameworks. Concerning the resource perspective (Wilson & Musick, 1997, 1998), I theorize on issues like to what extent forms of capital relate to voluntary involvement in different types of organizations and humanitarian organizations specifically. While the resource perspective has been used in previous contributions to predict the likelihood to volunteer (for a review: see Wilson, 2012), it mainly has been applied to predict volunteering *in general*. In this dissertation, I apply this perspective, as systematically as possible, to theorize on relations with voluntary involvement in different organizations and humanitarian organizations specifically, thereby moving beyond the general study of volunteering. Moreover, the resource perspective is primarily developed for static, i.e., cross-sectional comparisons. I apply and transform this theory to a dynamic version to explain changes in volunteering behavior within persons over time. In doing so, I contribute to the increased theoretical awareness that volunteering needs to be studied longitudinally to better understand under what conditions and related to what life course changes people take up or drop out from volunteering (Baines & Hardill, 2008; Hogg, 2016).

Another theoretical framework in this dissertation is the functional approach from Clary et al. (1998a). This approach assumes that motivations impel actions, and assesses self-focused as well as other-focused motivations for why people volunteer. This has been translated into the measurement of the widely used VFI (Clary et al., 1998a). I theorize on which motivations for starting volunteering for refugees are different to or complementary to the

VFI. While the VFI has been used in many studies to explain motivations for volunteering (for reviews, see: Chacón et al., 2017 and Zhou & Kodama Muscente, 2023) and is even the most widely used measure in research on volunteering across different contexts (e.g. Chacón et al., 2017), it has barely been used systematically to assess motivations in the specific context of volunteering for refugees. Using this theory in a specific context is therefore a contribution to the literature. Moreover, I explore if the VFI is incomplete when it comes to motivations to start volunteering for refugees. Next, I check whether the VFI is important for a sample of more experienced volunteers for refugees, as there are indications that motivations for volunteering change over time and hence might differ from motivations that were important when the volunteering began (Finkelstein, 2008; Wilson, 2012).

Furthermore, this dissertation contributes to the SCOOP framework (SCOOP, 2019). The sustainability challenge identified by the SCOOP program that constitutes the key issue in this dissertation is the arrival of newcomers such as refugees, that may be accompanied with an external shock for local communities. I contribute to the SCOOP framework in two ways. First, I theorize how volunteers for refugees have the potential to embed newcomers (i.e. refugees) into communities of the host society. Their potential 'bridge function', by being representatives of the host society through the refugees' eyes and by simultaneously being the frontrunners who accommodate newcomers through the host societies' eyes, gives them the possibility to soften the external shock, as they can connect newcomers with local communities, thereby contributing to more resilient societies. Second, this dissertation uses insights from sociological and social psychological traditions to answer the dissertation's overarching question. In doing so, I contribute to one of the building blocks of the SCOOP program.

In addition, I make some more specific theoretical contributions in some of the chapters. In chapter two, for instance, I outline theoretical propositions about a possible decline of civic engagement using the individualization perspective (Bauman, 2001; Beck, 1992). Further, I theorize on the possibility of a re-institutionalization of civil society using traditionalization (Heelas, 1996) and I theorize on the relationship of periodic effects that may work out differently on civil society through societal events. Additionally, I monitor fluctuations in forms of Dutch civic involvement over a period of twelve years in different types of organizations. To my knowledge, such an encompassing empirical overview of historical trends in the landscape of civil society fulfils a lacuna.

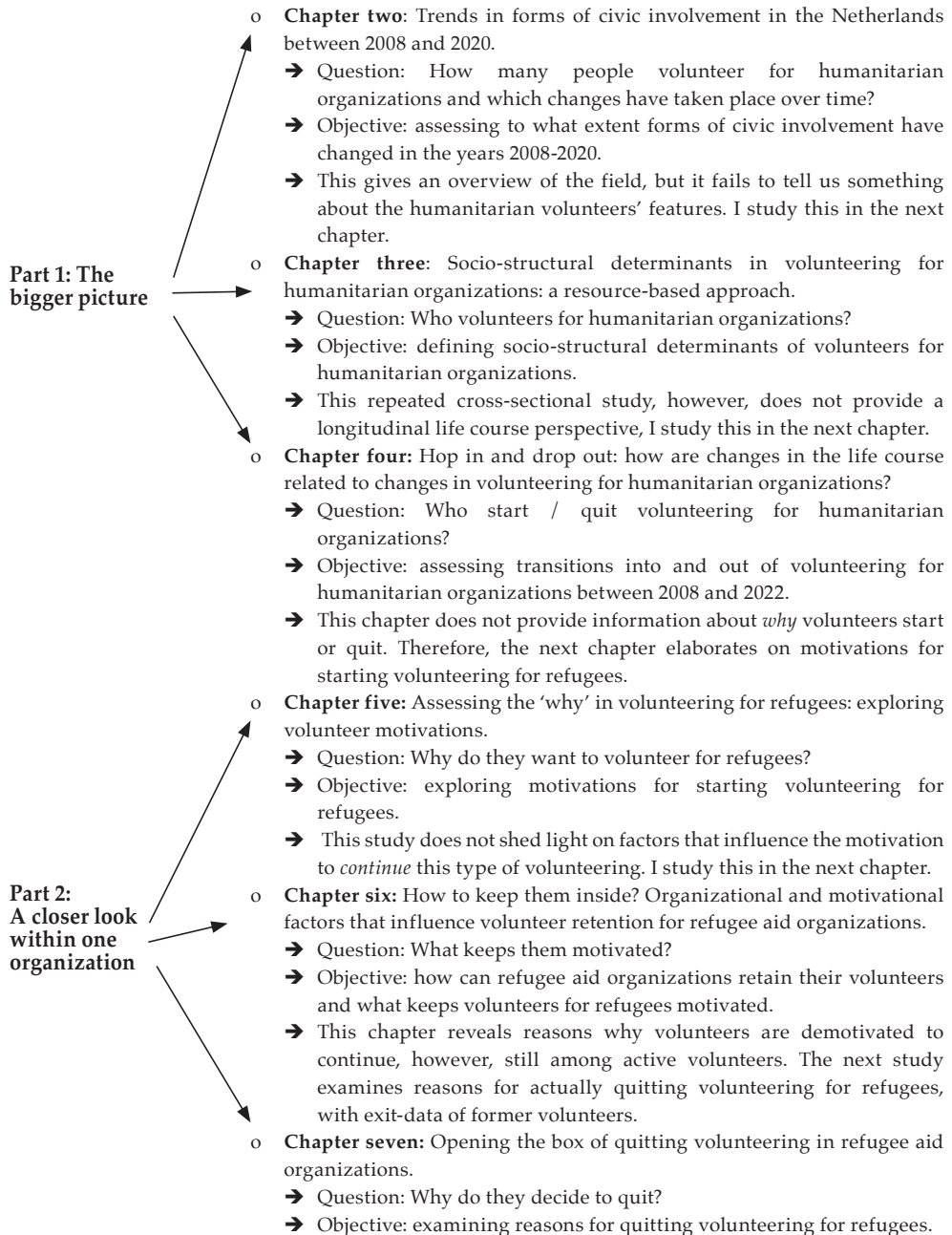
Finally, in chapter seven, I revisit and nuance the theoretical approach that Hustinx (2010) took on reasons for quitting volunteering. Studying reasons for quitting volunteering fulfils a lacuna in research, as most research is concerned with the question why people volunteer and how volunteers can be retained (de-Miguel-Molina et al., 2024). Consequently, those who quit their volunteering are often overlooked in scholarly contributions (Hustinx, 2010), while this is a key issue to study sustainable cooperation. In this chapter, I theorize on the issue if additional reasons to quit volunteering exist, applied to the specific context of volunteering for refugees, next to the earlier identified organization-related reasons and personal circumstances as drivers for quitting volunteering (Hustinx, 2010).

1.3.3 Data and methodological innovations

In the first part of the dissertation, in chapters two to four, I make use of large-scale, high-quality panel data from LISS (Scherpenzeel, 2009). These types of data sources are often underexploited and in this dissertation, these data are valued and used, to answer my research questions. The LISS data, existing from 2008, as for a long time used the broader definition of volunteering for refugees, namely volunteering for humanitarian organizations. As mentioned, this refers to organizations for humanitarian aid, human rights, minorities or migrants. This category includes more people than solely volunteers for refugees. LISS, as of 2020, divided organizations for humanitarian aid, human rights, minorities or migrants into: ‘organizations for humanitarian aid and human rights’ and: ‘organizations for migrants’. We, however, combined these organizations to equal the measurement in the years before 2020. Next, LISS data offer the opportunity to take advantage of its longitudinal data structure. Building on this, I use fixed effects analysis in chapter four, which provides me details about intra-individual-level dynamics, from year to year, of who starts or continues volunteering for humanitarian organizations and who drops out.

Additionally, I navigate between different levels of analysis. In part one, in chapters two to four, I use the data from LISS to examine volunteering for humanitarian organizations across the Dutch population. In turn, in part two of the dissertation, in chapters five to seven, I go to the organizational level to examine what lies beneath the quantitative picture at the country level. In these chapters, I assess volunteering for refugees using also qualitative data derived from focus groups, interviews and open-ended questions in surveys with (former) volunteers and their coordinators from one refugee aid organization. I collected data through focus groups and interviews that are described in chapter five. Further, I collected data using a survey with close-ended and open-ended questions in function of chapter six. The scientific community can take advantage of these data collections since I stored both of them in the academic archives, making them publicly available (Meijeren et al., 2024a, 2024b). Finally, I analyze open-ended answers from former volunteers for refugees described in chapter seven. On the next page, in section 1.3.4, the overview of chapters in this dissertation with a distinction between the two parts is presented.

1.3.4 Overview of chapters in the dissertation



1.4 Findings per chapter

Part 1 of dissertation

1.4.1 Trends in forms of civic involvement in the Netherlands between 2008 and 2020 (Chapter 2)

In chapter two, I aim to get more insights into the longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in Dutch civil society, also to get an overview of the entire field in which volunteering for humanitarian organizations is embedded. The research question is: “to what extent have forms of Dutch civic involvement in different organizations changed in the years 2008–2020 and have these changes possibly been due to period effects?” Three complementary theoretical perspectives are applied that are theorized to have different implications for Dutch civil society: 1) individualization; 2) traditionalization and 3) period effects. Next, four forms of civic involvement are distinguished: 1) memberships of organizations; 2) participation in activities; 3) donations and 4) volunteering for organizations. Based on the goals of the organizations (Lelieveldt et al., 2007), three types of organizations are distinguished, being: 1) activist organizations; 2) leisure organizations and 3) interest organizations. Given the focus of the dissertation, special emphasis is given on humanitarian organizations, as part of activist organizations. Thirteen waves of LISS data are used (corresponding to the years 2008–2020). Descriptive statistics and regression analyses are executed to obtain the results.

I find an overall trend of predominantly stable, yet slowly and statistically significant declining engagement levels that seem robust and relatively unaffected by societal events. This indicates that societal events that took place between 2008 and 2020, being the economic crisis of 2008, the refugee crisis of 2015–2016 and part of the COVID-19 crisis in 2020, do not substantially change forms of civic involvement in Dutch civil society. An exception to this general pattern of findings is the sudden increase of donations to humanitarian organizations in the year 2020.

My findings of slow and small, yet significant decreases in most forms of involvement are most in line with the perspective of the individualization processes that erode civil society. However, given the observation that the declines in engagement levels are relatively slow and relatively unaffected by periodic societal events, it is also likely that cohort effects could be

(partly) responsible for the observed trends; older cohorts of more involved citizens are in this scenario replaced by younger cohorts who are less actively engaged.

1.4.2 Socio-structural determinants in volunteering for humanitarian organizations: a resource-based approach (Chapter 3)

The previous chapter gave an overview of the field, but provided no information about the characteristics of volunteers for humanitarian organizations. Therefore, the research question in this chapter is: “what are the socio-structural determinants of those who volunteer for humanitarian organizations in 2019, compared to those who volunteer for other civic associations versus people who do not volunteer?” The theoretical proposition in this chapter is that the likelihood to volunteer is dependent on a number of resources. Building on three premises, I state that 1) volunteer work is productive work that requires human capital; 2) volunteer work is collective behavior that requires social networks that facilitate the work and 3) volunteer work is ethically guided work that requires cultural capital (Wilson & Musick, 1997, 1998). Following the previous chapter, organizations are distinguished on the basis of their goals, being: 1) activist organizations; 2) leisure organizations and 3) interest organizations. Next, 4) other types of organizations are grouped, as well as 5) the non-volunteers. Given the focus of the dissertation, special emphasis is placed on humanitarian organizations, as part of activist organizations. LISS data (wave 12, corresponding to the year 2019) are used. Multinomial logistic regression is used to obtain the results.

Concerning human capital, educational level is the most important indicator for volunteering in general. This is irrespective of type of organization, except for interest organizations, thereby confirming its importance for volunteering. Nevertheless, when compared to non-volunteers, volunteers for humanitarian organizations are more often higher educated people. Other indicators of human capital, being income level and subjective health, do not display a relationship with volunteering, although there is a small relationship that volunteers for humanitarian organizations report a better subjective health when compared to non-volunteers.

1.4.3 Hop in and drop out: how are changes in the life course related to changes in volunteering for humanitarian organizations? (Chapter 4)

The previous chapter provided the sociodemographic characteristics of volunteers for humanitarian organizations. This cross-sectional study, however, does not provide a longitudinal perspective on humanitarian volunteering. Therefore, this chapter elaborates on the following research questions: 1) “how many people start, quit or continue volunteering for humanitarian organizations over a longer period of time?” and 2) “which life course changes are associated with starting and quitting volunteering for humanitarian organizations?” Following the previous chapter, the resource perspective is used, however, transformed into a dynamic version. This theory proposes that the likelihood to volunteer is dependent on several changes in forms of capital, being human capital, social networks and cultural capital (Wilson & Musick, 1997, 1998). Next, role substitution theory is used, which predicts that volunteering can be used as a substitute for a lost role in life (Lancee & Radl, 2014). Fifteen waves of panel data from LISS are used (corresponding to the years 2008-2022). I use fixed effects analyses to examine changes in humanitarian volunteering behavior within individuals over time.

I find that the volunteer pool of humanitarian organizations is characterized by large fluctuations. On average, I find that over the years more than 42 percent of the volunteers quits, whereas almost 40 percent starts and only 18 percent sustains volunteering for humanitarian organizations. To some extent, the fluctuations in the inflow and outflow of the volunteers’ pool can be related to fluctuations in the inflow of asylum seekers coming to the Netherlands, for instance in times of humanitarian crises such as the refugee crisis. This may demonstrate that volunteers in some years are more needed than in other years, which influences the dynamics of starting, quitting and continuing volunteering for humanitarian organizations.

Overall, the pattern of empirical findings I find is that the majority of life course changes in people’s lives do not (directly) relate to individuals’ voluntary behavior regarding starting or quitting volunteering for humanitarian organizations. Taken together, however, the results in this

chapter do not constitute a reason to disqualify important theories about volunteering altogether. The resource perspective and the role substitution perspective received considerable support when explaining differences between volunteers and non-volunteers. However, these theories are not that fruitful when transposed to within-person conditions to picture changes in volunteering for humanitarian organizations over time.

Part 2 of dissertation

1.4.4 Assessing the ‘why’ in volunteering for refugees: exploring volunteer motivations (Chapter 5)

The previous chapters gave a longitudinal and life course perspective on changes in volunteering behavior over time. However, these chapters did not provide information about *why* people take up volunteering for refugees. Therefore, the research question of this chapter is: “what are motivations to volunteer for refugees and do these motivations differ from or complement the general motivations to volunteer as derived from previous theoretical insights?” I use the theoretical insights that have led to the Volunteer Function Inventory (VFI) as leading theoretical framework for motivations for volunteering in general, supplemented by other theoretical insights. The VFI assumes that motivations impel actions, and assesses both self-focused and other-focused reasons as to why people volunteer (Clary et al., 1998a). Data are collected through focus groups with starting groups of volunteers for refugees. Triangulation is applied through interviews with coordinators of the respective volunteers. Results are obtained by counting the (un-) popular and missing motivations.

I find that popular motivations for starting volunteering for refugees are VFI functions Understanding and Values. For the former, it means that volunteers for refugees appreciate that the volunteering let them learn things through direct, hands on experience. For the latter, it indicates that volunteers perform their voluntary work because they feel compassion toward refugees. Unpopular motivations are VFI Career and VFI Social. Volunteering for resume building is not important, also because many volunteers were elderly, however, the few younger volunteers emphasized the importance. Next, volunteers do not start their volunteering because people close to them do so as well.

I find important motivations for volunteering for refugees that are not covered by the VFI. These are, respectively, volunteering to seek for a meaningful role in life, being driven by media exposure, the emotional dimension and the pragmatism of this type of volunteering. With regard to the latter, the pragmatism refers to the tangible, visible and often quantifiable outcomes of the volunteers' actions. Findings from triangulation reveal the importance of VFI Protective. This means that the coordinators of the volunteers indicate that people volunteer for refugees in order to feel less lonely, and that people use this type of volunteering to take a step back into society after burnout, illness or dismissal.

1.4.5 How to keep them inside? Organizational and motivational factors that influence volunteer retention for refugee aid organizations (Chapter 6)

The previous chapter provided insights on why people start volunteering for refugees. However, once started, an important question is whether people continue volunteering for refugees and why. Therefore, the research questions of this chapter are: 1) "which organizational aspects contribute to maximize volunteers' organizational connectedness?" and 2) "what personal motivations contribute to volunteer's willingness to continue?" I rely on the theoretical framework of stress and coping (e.g. Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), to distinguish two forms of organizational support given to volunteers: 1) task-oriented organizational support, which indicates provisions and resources that help volunteers address and resolve practical problems they encounter during their volunteer work, and 2) emotion-oriented organizational support, meaning the forms and sources of support that do not directly address or resolve actual problems encountered, but help volunteers cope with negative feelings they may experience as a result of their work. Data are collected through a survey with close-ended and open-ended questions among volunteers for refugees from VluchtelingenWerk Nederland. To derive the results, regression analyses are performed on the close-ended questions and thematic analysis is executed on the open-ended questions.

I find that refugee aid organizations must offer good working conditions in order to make sure that volunteers can help refugees as best as possible. Appropriate working conditions must be present to prevent volunteers from leaving the organization. However, to actually retain volunteers, refugee aid organizations must offer emotion-oriented forms of support to volunteers.

Next, results demonstrate that volunteers find it important to feel valued by their target group (i.e. the refugees they help).

I also find support for a new identified motivation referring to the dual role of volunteers for refugees. Volunteers for refugees are motivated to continue because of their dual roles in society. These dual roles are: supporting refugees to participate in the receiving society and increasing societal tolerance toward refugees. While volunteering, it seems that these so-called 'bridging motivations' become important so it might be the case that this becomes a more important factor over time.

1.4.6 Opening the box of quitting volunteering in refugee aid organizations (Chapter 7)

The previous chapter revealed reasons why volunteers are hesitant or demotivated to continue volunteering for refugees, however, among a sample of active volunteers. This chapter examines a sample of former volunteers for refugees, with the research question: "why do people quit their volunteering in a refugee aid organization?" I revisit and nuance the work of Hustinx (2010), who examined reasons for quitting volunteering and discovered that organization-related reasons and personal circumstances are important drivers for this. I rely on insights from self-actualization theory (Hustinx, 2010) and self-determination theory (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2002; Haivas et al., 2013). Self-determination theory implies having a personal choice and self-control of one's actions. Relatedly, self-actualization theory applies this to the volunteering context by emphasizing that, fueled by processes of individualization, contemporary volunteers are able to chase their own views and preferences, developing them into more autonomous and self-conscious persons. Exit-data from 605 former volunteers from VluchtelingenWerk Nederland are used. A thematic analysis is performed to obtain the results, and descriptive analyses are executed to provide profiles of the groups of quitters.

Similar to Hustinx (2010), I find support for the importance of organization-related reasons for quitting volunteering, although now applied to the specific context of volunteering for refugees. Next, as also has been identified by Hustinx (2010), I find that personal circumstances force volunteers to quit their volunteering. However, I identify another ‘umbrella’ under which many exit-reasons can be subsumed: reasons to quit volunteering that are rooted in egocentric considerations. These refer to those who have achieved their instrumental goal(s) in this volunteering or have started volunteering at another organization. For these former volunteers, the volunteering at VluchtelingenWerk Nederland no longer aligned with the personal goals and needs they have in life. Next, results demonstrate that volunteers who quit because of organization-related reasons are most unsatisfied with their volunteer experience. Those who quit out of egocentric-oriented reasons hold the middle position, while those who quit because of personal circumstances are most satisfied about their volunteering experience.

Moreover, the findings raise attention for burnout and boreout in volunteering for refugees, referring to an overutilization and underutilization of volunteers. With regard to the first, former volunteers indicated that the responsibility of the work and the work pressure were reasons to quit volunteering for refugees. Concerning the underutilization, volunteers sometimes had too little work to do and some volunteers declared having quit their volunteering due to a felt unwillingness in the interactions with the refugees they were helping. This last reason also points to challenges in mentor-mentee relationships, being volunteer-refugee relationships where volunteers quit out of frustration, disappointment or unfulfilled expectations.

Table 1.1: Outline of the different chapters in part one and part two of the dissertation

	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4
Context	The Netherlands, 2008-2020	The Netherlands, 2019	The Netherlands, 2008-2022
Research question(s)	To what extent have forms of Dutch civic involvement in different organizations changed in the years 2008-2020 and have these changes possibly been due to period effects?	What are the socio-structural determinants of those who volunteer for humanitarian organizations in 2019, compared to those who volunteer for other civic associations versus people not volunteering?	How many people start, quit or continue volunteering for humanitarian organizations over a longer period of time? Which life course changes are associated with starting and quitting volunteering for humanitarian organizations?
Outcome	Slowly declining engagement levels due to individualization and cohort replacement	Socio-structural determinants of volunteers for humanitarian organizations	Volatility in pool of humanitarian volunteers, changes in volunteering behavior over time
Methods and data	Descriptive analyses and regression analyses on LISS panel data of the Dutch adult population	Multinomial logistic regression analyses on cross-sectional data from the LISS panel on the Dutch adult population	Fixed effects analyses on LISS panel data of the Dutch adult population
	Chapter 5	Chapter 6	Chapter 7
Context	VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, 2021	VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, 2023	VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, 2024
Research question(s)	What are motivations to volunteer for refugees and do these motivations differ from or complement the general motivations to volunteer as derived from previous theoretical insights?	Which organizational aspects contribute to maximize volunteers' organizational connectedness? What personal motivations contribute to volunteer's willingness to continue?	Why do people quit their volunteering in a refugee aid organization?
Outcome	Motivations for starting volunteering for refugees	Organizational strategies for volunteer retention and emergent motivations for continued volunteering for refugees	Reasons for quitting volunteering for refugees
Methods and data	Self-collected data via focus groups with volunteers and triangulation through interviews with volunteer coordinators	Self-collected data via survey. Forwarded regression analyses on close-ended questions and thematic analysis on open-ended questions	Thematic analysis on open-ended questions, and descriptive analyses on indicators of job satisfaction and volunteers' background characteristics

1.5 Discussion and new directions

1.5.1 Theoretical limitations and improvements

The aim of this dissertation is to enhance understanding of who volunteers for humanitarian organizations and specifically for refugees. In doing so, the dissertation has provided insights into volunteering for humanitarian organizations and volunteering for refugees from different theoretical perspectives. These different theoretical perspectives have generated answers to the research question I formulated. However, at this point I would also like to discuss several theoretical lenses that have not been applied here and would make it for relevant perspectives in future research.

For instance the lens of episodic volunteering. This is a prominent form of volunteering, with a growing body of literature addressing the phenomenon (Cnaan et al., 2017; Cnaan et al., 2022; Compion et al., 2022; Grönlund et al., 2023; Maas et al., 2021; Okada et al., 2022). This type of volunteering, being individuals who engage in one-time or short-term volunteer opportunities (Cnaan et al., 2022) provides a theoretical lens that has not been applied in this dissertation. However, applying this theoretical perspective may be especially relevant for the context of an emerging humanitarian crisis as these are usually temporal, such as the episodes of Camp Heumensoord. Although especially the fifth chapter of this dissertation may have taken place in conditions that suited episodic forms of volunteering for refugees, this dissertation is limited in giving a deeper insight into episodic volunteering for humanitarian organizations and refugees, which could be improved in future occasions by exploring if episodic forms of volunteering exist in the case of volunteering for humanitarian organizations and for refugees specifically.

Moreover, again related to the fifth chapter of the dissertation, the reception of Afghan refugees in Camp Heumensoord was unplanned, unexpected and as said temporal. These circumstances closely approach the theoretical concept of spontaneous volunteering (e.g. Simsa et al., 2019), which is “a form of volunteering in which volunteers arrive at a scene of sudden needs, caused by a crisis, in an unplanned, spontaneous, and ad hoc mode” (p. 104S). As such, the theoretical lens of spontaneous volunteering could have been applied in the fifth chapter of the dissertation. In doing so, the chapter could have filled a lacuna, for instance, in how spontaneous volunteers perceive their volunteering in ad hoc circumstances or how spontaneous volunteers

should be managed (Bier et al., 2025). Future research should further explore the importance of spontaneous volunteering in situations of humanitarian crises to gain understanding with regard to this phenomenon.

Furthermore, many different views on the topic of migration and refugees persist. On the one hand, the prominence and relevance of this topic is emphasized by the many societal and political responses to it. On the other hand, it gives reason to keep exploring how this topic evolves in the future. For example, although there is a large majority that still considers the reception of people fleeing from unsafe home countries to be a moral duty (Coenders & Dagevos, 2024), there is more widespread political opposition to migrants (Geurts et al., 2021), which leads to the question how these contexts affect people's willingness to volunteer for refugees in the future? Based on my own findings, it shows that volunteers are sometimes triggered by negative responses in society or the media, as also has been described in chapter five of this dissertation. Consequently, one may expect that widespread opposition does not hamper volunteering for refugees. However, it is worthwhile to test this theoretical expectation, to assess what influence the context of public opinion, at the national level and the network level, has on volunteering for refugees.

1.5.2 Empirical limitations and improvements

I have not systematically monitored voluntary careers outside humanitarian organizations or refugee aid organizations. Therefore, I do not know if these volunteers really withdraw from volunteering altogether after they quit their volunteering (for refugees). Volunteers are not bound to one organization, so it is conceivable that 'a quitter' in the case of refugee volunteering simultaneously can be 'a starter' or 'a stayer' in other volunteering sectors. In other words: civil society does not necessarily lose a volunteer if (s)he quits volunteering for refugees. Chapter seven provides support for this statement, as some former volunteers for VWN indicated to have started volunteering elsewhere. However, given the focus of this dissertation, I did not systematically examine *if* and, if applicable, *where* volunteers continue their voluntary careers. Related to this, however, situated in the past instead of the future, it remains unclear what kind of voluntary careers volunteers for humanitarian organizations or volunteers for refugees already had had before doing this voluntary work. Asking this question is relevant, as it gives indications to what extent volunteers engage in different volunteering sectors throughout their voluntary careers.

In the different data collections in the second part of the dissertation, volunteers declared that they volunteer(ed) for Ukrainian refugees, while others volunteer(ed) for refugees from the Middle-East and Africa. Some media reported that more people were showing prosocial behavior concerning Ukrainian refugees compared to refugees from the Middle-East and Africa (Het Parool, 2022). The Russian-Ukrainian conflict has made clear the boundaries of Europe, possibly fueling a European superordinate identity (Politi et al., 2023). As such, a “European identity as a superordinate entity emerges as a pertinent level of self-categorization to explain helping intentions towards Ukrainians” (Politi et al., 2023, p. 942). In line with this reasoning, it was found that helping intentions were highest if a European identity was made salient and when the site of the disaster or crisis fell within the geographical boundaries of Europe (Levine & Thompson, 2004). Moreover, similarities between Ukrainian and European people were stressed in the public debate, possibly further strengthening similar identities (Politi et al., 2023). However, with both volunteers for Ukrainian refugees and volunteers for Middle-Eastern and African refugees in the samples, this dissertation did not elaborate on why volunteers may have been more inclined to help specific groups of refugees. This could be improved in future research by examining if there exists a difference in the extent or quantity of prosocial behavior when refugees and those who can provide aid to them share a super-ordinate identity and/or perceive more cultural similarities.

Another finding from the data collections was the sometimes problematic cooperation with partners in the field, such as COA and IND, and the impact on volunteer motivation. This gives insight into how dynamics between organizations hamper or strengthen volunteer motivation. Moreover, in the case of COA, it shows the complex interplay between organizations that get their assignments from the government and organizations that operate in civil society (Habraken et al., 2013). Next, it shows that relationships between volunteers and paid staff can be complex, with paid staff controlling volunteers and ultimately even prohibiting volunteer initiatives (Koolen-Maas et al., 2023). This issue could be improved by further examining interactions between volunteers and paid staff in future research.

1.5.3 Methodological limitations and improvements

I have not included refugees themselves in the dissertation. If so, in addition to the volunteers and their coordinators from refugee aid organizations, I would have had an additional perspective, by means of triangulation, on

volunteering for humanitarian organizations or volunteering for refugees: that of the target group and how they perceive the people that volunteer for them. Related to this, I do not know, due to the composition of the samples and as a consequence of choices in both data collection processes (i.e. Dutch as the leading language instead of English), to what extent former refugees perform voluntary work for humanitarian organizations and refugee aid organizations. In the data collection in function of the sixth chapter of this dissertation, four percent (corresponding to 33 respondents) of the volunteers had a refugee background; a group that was too small to examine for statistical purposes. That is a missed opportunity, for three reasons. First, refugees remained a passive actor this way (Baillie Smith et al., 2022; Carlsen et al., 2022; Florian et al., 2019). Second, I was not able to study whether refugees also perceived volunteers as bridges as they sometimes perceived themselves. Third, I could not study whether the volunteering of refugees contributed to inclusion in Dutch society.

1.6 General conclusions

1.6.1 Conclusions on the overarching theoretical frameworks

The forms of capital (e.g. human, social and cultural) proved to be important indicators for volunteering (see, for instance, Bekkers, 2005) and volunteering for humanitarian organizations specifically. However, chapters three and four also demonstrate that the resource perspective (Wilson & Musick, 1997, 1998) has been useful in cross-sectional data designs, but less fruitful in a panel data design for testing intra-individual changes from a life course perspective. This is not an exception: other studies, using other theories though, also report about the limited applicability or fruitfulness of these theories – being mainly tested in cross-sectional data – when they are transposed to explain differences within respondents over time (Hendriks, 2023). This suggests that resources are relevant to understand who is more likely to volunteer, but that for intra-individual changes, we need to develop other – and probably more specific – explanations, that contribute to our understanding of why people start, continue for a longer period or exit after a certain time.

The VFI is very important in explaining starting volunteering for refugees. However, most if not all popular VFI motivations are outperformed by the bridging motivations as most important set of motivations to continue

volunteering for refugees. VFI Protective remains important in this regard, so it is conceivable to conclude that some volunteers for refugees continue their volunteering because it helps them to deal with issues in their personal lives. The VFI is not tested to explain quitting volunteering. However, other studies showed that the VFI is limited in identifying reasons to quit volunteering (Willems et al., 2012). In addition, given the revealed further motivations to start volunteering for refugees and the shifting motivations for continued volunteering, the dissertation also shows that the VFI is a suitable framework to explain general volunteering intentions, but is not able to cover all motivations that apply to specific volunteering fields – such as the field of volunteering for refugees.

Finally, volunteers for humanitarian organizations and volunteers for refugees have a potential to connect newcomers and communities of the host society, to soften a so-called external shock, as formulated in the SCOOP program. This dissertation shows that certain characteristics make these volunteers more qualified to volunteer for humanitarian organizations - including refugee aid organizations - but also that turnover among this type of volunteers is significant. Nevertheless, organizations can take many concrete suggestions from this dissertation to sharpen their recruitment and retention policies, to better serve these types of volunteers and deal with the volunteer energy (e.g. Brudney & Meijs, 2009, 2013; Koolen-Maas et al., 2023) in a sustainable way.

1.6.2 Conclusion on the overarching questions

The first overarching question of this dissertation is on ‘who volunteers for humanitarian organizations in the Netherlands?’ and is answered as the central question in the first part of the dissertation. The dissertation makes clear that we cannot assume that humanitarian organizations (always) know ‘who’ their volunteers are. There is much volunteer turnover, as voluntary careers within a single organization are more likely to be short-term (Cnaan et al., 2021; Hustinx, 2010). Despite the large volunteer turnover, and the small group of ‘stayers’ as evidenced in chapter four, however, there is a stable number of volunteers for humanitarian organizations over the years, as chapter two demonstrates. Apparently, there appears to be a sufficient inflow of volunteers for humanitarian purposes to compensate for the large outflow, which is a positive message in times of volunteer shortages (Koolen-Maas et al., 2023; Warburton et al., 2018). Next, findings in the dissertation show that volunteers for humanitarian organizations are more likely to be higher

educated, religious, culturally active, and retired from paid work. These outcomes give humanitarian organizations concrete ideas where potential volunteers can be recruited, thereby providing clear pointers for targeted volunteer recruitment strategies.

Next, the central question concerning the second part of the dissertation is 'what motivations are to start and (dis)continue volunteering for refugees at VluchtelingenWerk Nederland?'. I have examined various motivations, both in qualitative and quantitative designs, to assess which motivations are considered to be most important and unimportant. Based on these studies, volunteers for refugees are motivated to start this type of volunteering in particular because they feel compassion toward people in need, because they think everyone should be treated justly and because the voluntary work allows them to learn things through direct, hands on experience. Vice versa, volunteers for refugees are not motivated because their friends perform this type of voluntary work, thereby attenuating the social component. Moreover, career-related motivations are rather unimportant for older (or even retired) volunteers, while they can be important for younger volunteers. Also these outcomes give refugee aid organizations concrete ideas for effective volunteer recruitment strategies. However, the motivations that are found to be decisive in the decision to start volunteering for refugees are supplemented by the so-called 'bridging motivations' as most important set of motivations for continued volunteering for refugees. This finding supports two aspects. First, it provides support for an existence of dual roles, referring to volunteers for refugees who do so to support refugees to help them find their way in the receiving society and, on the other hand, to increase societal tolerance toward refugees. This gives volunteers a pivotal role in connecting newcomers to local communities. As such, volunteers for refugees can indeed fulfil a bridge function in society by being middle(wo-)men between, on the one hand, the host society and, on the other hand, newcomers. Moreover, volunteers for refugees show that bridging ties can be established, even when there is much diversity or even polarization in attitudes on the topics of migration and refugees in society. Second, it means that motivations to volunteer shift during the volunteer experience (Finkelstein, 2008), although caution is required as these motivations were explored with two different samples.

Results in this dissertation reveal that refugee aid organizations, in order to retain volunteers, should treat them as professionals. Organizations must offer professional working conditions for their volunteers; moreover, findings emphasize that volunteers are really motivated to continue when receiving emotion-oriented forms of organizational support. However, when it comes to volunteer retention and turnover, voluntary organizations must accept that some reasons behind quitting volunteering, such as personal circumstances and egocentric-oriented reasons, can hardly be controlled by adequate or improved volunteer retention strategies. Additionally, organizational deficiencies hamper the volunteer experience, resulting in volunteers being hesitant or demotivated to continue because of a lack of professional working conditions. Moreover, chapter seven validates that these organizational deficiencies are indeed a very important reason for volunteers, next to personal circumstances, to quit their volunteering. Having described factors that keep volunteers motivated or that cause volunteers to be hesitant or demotivated to continue, next to actual reasons for quitting volunteering in chapters six and seven, refugee aid organizations can take advantage of this by improving their volunteer retention strategies.

Part I

The bigger picture



Chapter 2

Trends in forms of civic involvement in the Netherlands between 2008 and 2020

A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as:

Meijeren, M., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2023). Trends in forms of civic involvement in the Netherlands between 2008 and 2020. *Journal of Civil Society*, 19(4), 464-484.

Marcel Lubbers and Peer Scheepers are co-authors of this chapter. The study on which this chapter is based was presented at SCOOP's annual conference in Lunteren, the Netherlands in 2021.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to show how civic involvement in the Netherlands has developed over the period 2008-2020. It provides evidence for changes in participation in civil society (Dekker, 2002). Civil society refers to non-governmental action by ordinary citizens, 'self-responsible' inhabitants expected to look after their own and others' affairs, without public help (Dekker, 2019). It represents 'the ideal of a 'caring society' or a 'big society', in which people feel responsible for their fellow citizens in need and for their neighborhoods' (Dekker, 2019, p. 77). For the sustainability of civil society, it is crucial to understand to what extent civic involvement changes over time. Historically, Dutch civil society has expanded in the twentieth century (Burger & Veldheer, 2001), being of considerable importance and size in various fields (Dekker, 2013; Habraken et al., 2013). In comparative perspective, the Netherlands has one of the highest scores on the Civil Society Index (CSI) (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2004). CSI assesses the societal impact of civil society and whether it serves societies' common good. Given its importance, Dutch civil society is, therefore, seen as 'well-equipped' (Dekker, 2013, p. 18).

Different typologies of forms of civic organizations exist in the literature. Gordon and Babchuk (1959) introduced the distinction between instrumental organizations (directed towards social influence) and expressive organizations (directed towards their members). Others differentiate between Olsonian (with a focus on self-interest) and Putnamesque organizations (with a focus on the contribution to social trust) (Knack, 2003), or between formal (volunteering as productive activity) and informal volunteering (helping) (Wilson & Musick, 1997). In this chapter, we base our typologies on the goals of the organizations (Lelieveldt et al., 2007). In doing so, we follow Gesthuizen et al. (2013) and van der Meer et al. (2009), who distinguished three types of civic organizations: activist organizations, leisure organizations and interest organizations. Activist organizations encompass humanitarian organizations and environmental organizations. These organizations primarily serve broader interests in society that in general do not directly benefit the (socio-economic) interests of their members (Lelieveldt et al., 2007). Leisure organizations – like sports clubs and cultural clubs – offer recreational and socializing activities to their members. Interest organizations – as trade unions, business organizations or consumer organizations – defend and

represent socio-economic interests of their stakeholders. In this chapter, we present an overview of Dutch civic engagement in the period 2008-2020, for organizations within these three types of civic organizations, next to engagement in other organizations that respondents in our research could indicate to be involved in such as religious organizations, political parties and other types of organizations.

In the study of civic involvement, different forms of engagement are distinguished for which we can provide trends. These forms include organizational membership and donating money as well as participating actively in an organization or volunteering for an organization. Gesthuizen et al. (2013) showed, using cross-national data, that forms of involvement vary across activist-, leisure and interest organizations. With regard to activist organizations, donating money was the most popular form of involvement, followed by membership whereas volunteering and participating in activities for these organizations was least popular. This typical sequence in the popularity of forms of involvement was equivalently present in most European countries. In leisure- and interest organizations, donating money was least popular and membership was the most common involvement form. This typical order of forms was also equivalently present in most European countries.

The proposition based on the robust cross-national findings, that forms of involvement vary per type of organization is only limitedly studied. Previous contributions (cf. Gesthuizen et al., 2013; Pichler & Wallace, 2009; van der Meer et al., 2009) used a cross-sectional design, drawing on data that were only available in a particular year in a large number of European countries. Considering the availability of recent, longitudinal high-quality data in the Netherlands, we have the possibility to test the longitudinal robustness of forms of Dutch civic involvement within organizations belonging to the types of civic organizations over more than the recent decade. In doing so, we shed light on fluctuations in these forms of civic involvement over a period of twelve years. This enables us to inform on the sustainability of Dutch civil society and the cohesiveness of Dutch society. Moreover, this chapter provides a contribution by mapping trends in civic engagement for so many types of organizations over a long time period. As far as we know, such an encompassing empirical overview of historical trends in the landscape of civil society fulfils a lacuna in our knowledge.

We explore to what extent several societal trends, such as individualization, traditionalization versus period effects, such as the economic crisis of 2008, the refugee crisis of 2015 and the recent COVID crisis, are related to changes in the Dutch civic landscape. Originally put forward by Mannheim (1967), period effects concern exposure to societal conditions that equally affect all people in a society at a particular period in time simultaneously and not only people in their formative years; whereas cohort effects propose that exposure to the societal context during peoples' formative years shapes the worldview of cohorts in an enduring way, distinct from other cohorts. Given the expected impactful societal conditions that occurred during our period of investigation, we explore fluctuations in forms of Dutch civic involvement. Hence, the research question is: To what extent have forms of Dutch civic involvement in different organizations changed in the years 2008-2020 and have these changes possibly been due to period effects?

2.2 Contradictory and complementary trends

We consider three contradictory and complementary perspectives that provide expectations on differential trends in civic involvement. The first is on the role of progressing individualization. Individualization theory contains the proposition that human identity is transformed from a 'given' into a 'task' (Bauman, 2001). Individuals are variously charged with the responsibility for performing that task and for the consequences of their performance (Beck, 1992; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002). Individualization, to quote Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002), creates 'internalized freedom' (p. 157), that may alienate many people from traditional institutions in society. Following the individualization thesis, individuals' autonomy thus stands central. Although different in its theoretical analyses, the influential study of Putnam (2000) reaches similar conclusions. People would be increasingly likely to be dissociated from organizations, as typically summarized with the 'bowling alone' title of Putnam's seminal work. This fits the process of secularization, with fewer church members present in religious organizations to help out with voluntary services (van Ingen & Dekker, 2011a). There is more preliminary evidence for a decrease in (people who), respectively, donate money (Bekkers et al., 2017), volunteer (Damian, 2018), spend hours on volunteering (Bekkers & Ruiter, 2009) or have (an) organizational membership(s) (Kuyper et al., 2019) in the Netherlands. Also, the recent longitudinal study of Statistics Netherlands (2022) found a slight decrease in

the number of people who volunteer. However, some of these contributions did not address a multiplicity of organizations, nor considered all forms of involvement in a longitudinal perspective. Following the individualization thesis, we derive the expectation that processes of individualization may gradually and slowly erode civil society and involvement forms.

The opposite second perspective on trends does not dismiss the process of individualization, but argues that it comes along with a counter-reaction of a willingness to keep certain traditions or to reintroduce 'old' traditions in society. From such a traditionalization perspective it is expected that after a period of erosion of civil society due to individualization, civil society is re-institutionalized by a part of society. Individualization and traditionalization can therefore coexist (Heelas, 1996; Hoffmann & Miller, 1997). Following this perspective, we may derive the expectation of stability in civil society and forms of involvement.

Empirical findings more in line with this second expectation are from van Ingen (2008) who found no trend in formal involvement in associations between 1975 and 2000.¹ In addition, with different data, van Ingen and Dekker (2011b) studied associational involvement between 1975 and 2005 and found no erosion of civil society. Also, Bekkers and Ruiter found that the percentage of volunteers had hardly declined in the 1990s. In turn, for the years 2001 to 2009, Schmeets (2013) even showed a slight increase in people 'who currently volunteer'. And, notably, the data from Statistics Netherlands analyzed by Arends and Schmeets (2018) show no decline in volunteering.

A third perspective on trends refers to the role of major societal events that may periodically affect all people in society similarly and hence undermine or boost civil society. Examples in our period of investigation are the economic crisis of 2008, the refugee crisis of 2015 and the recent COVID crisis that took off in 2020. Such major events likely supposedly impacted many members of civil society because it increased the salience of certain issues or restricted people to be involved in organizations. For example, the refugee crisis may have encouraged inhabitants in refugee receiving countries to become active in activist organizations (Pries, 2019; van der Veer, 2020). Vice versa, changes in ethnic diversity may have undermined civil society, at least

¹ Instead, van Ingen (2008) found a cohort effect: younger cohorts showed less activity in formal participation between 1975 and 2000.

periodically, which is a proposition that may be derived from Putnam (2007). Therefore, we derive the expectation that these large periodic societal events induce versus reduce civil society, i.e., all forms of involvement.

2.3 Methods

2.3.1 Data

The archived and open-access data were derived from the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences (LISS), a household panel that is aimed to be representative of the population of the Netherlands of 16 years of age and older.² LISS provides high-quality survey data, and is developed to monitor changes in the life course and living conditions of the panel members aimed to represent the general Dutch population (Scherpenzeel, 2009). The panel is a random sample of Dutch household addresses, drawn by Statistics Netherlands. After the selected households are invited and informed with a letter, a face-to-face recruitment interview is conducted with them. When their response is positive, every household member with a minimum age of 16 years is able to participate in the panel. Self-selection into the panel is hence not possible.

This recruitment method to refresh the panel is repeated every two to three years, starting from 2007. To measure the degree of (selective) attrition and panel representativeness, the dataset is compared to the population figures of Statistics Netherlands. This is monitored throughout the year for specific socio-demographic characteristics on the household level, and for individual members of the household.³ When there is dropout and the panel becomes too small, a new recruitment round is started to reach the desired number of at least 5,000 respondents. A new recruitment round is also launched when there arises a threat of significant deviation from population figures of Statistics Netherlands, on specific characteristics as mentioned in footnote three. When attrition is selective on specific characteristics, Statistic

2 The data can be found on <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-zaf-casa>.

3 These specific socio-demographic characteristics are: gender, age, educational level, net income per household, urbanity, province, household size and residential form. Note that this information is obtained via personal communication with an associate from LISS.

Netherlands starts a stratified sampling round in order to overcome sampling error in the LISS panel.⁴

Data are annually collected in two fieldwork periods of both three to four weeks. A reminder was sent twice to non-responders. A second fieldwork period is directed to those who did not respond in the first fieldwork period, again followed by two reminders. Questionnaires are filled out online. The survey includes non-internet users as well. The data had a minimum of 5,051 respondents in 2019 and a maximum of 7,352 respondents in 2008. There are three reasons as to why the number of observations varies between the years. One, the selected number of household members who are part of the LISS panel differs from year to year, due to attrition and refreshment samples. Two, the annual data collection can be planned close to or close after a necessary recruitment round (see footnote four for an overview). Three, the respondents' response rate differs from year to year.⁵

The yearly retention rate is about 90 percent and, as said, refreshment samples are drawn aimed to ensure panel representativeness. LISS delivers their data, however, unweighted. To ensure representativity, the authors additionally constructed and used a weight variable on the basis of gender and age.⁶

4 The following recruitment rounds have been done in the past: initial random sampling round (2007); stratified sampling round (2009); random sampling round (2011); stratified sampling round (2013); stratified sampling round (2016); stratified sampling round (2019) and random sampling round with a targeted approach (2022). Additional documentation from LISS shows that, as of 2015, lower educated, young people and lower incomes are somewhat underrepresented. In turn, higher educated and people older than 65 or pensioners are somewhat overrepresented. As said, the recruitment rounds try to correct this. Note that this information is obtained via personal communication with an associate from LISS.

5 See for the year 2008: https://dataarchive.lissdata.nl/study_units/view/7 (then click on Response Information). See for the year 2019: https://dataarchive.lissdata.nl/study_units/view/993 (then click on Response Information).

6 In creating the weight variable, the authors obtained population numbers from Statistics Netherlands on the basis of gender and age for the years 2008 to 2020. Age was divided in four categories: 16 to 29, 30 to 49, 50 to 64 and 65+. This led, consequently, to 8 combinations (men in the four age categories and women in the four age categories) for every individual year. Next, the division in the LISS data was obtained for all involved years on the basis of gender and the four relevant age categories. Then, a weight was constructed to correct for over- or underrepresentation of gender and age in the LISS data. This weight has been applied in our analyses. We acknowledge that we also preferred to include educational level in the weight variable (as there is more selective attrition over time, but also stronger repairs when replenishing the sample), however population data on the basis of educational level is lacking, as population data of educational level derived from Statistics Netherlands is only an approximation. Note that the unweighted data generated almost the same results as the weighted data. For instance, with regard to Table 2.1, there is only a difference in donations for political parties (which turned significantly negative in the weighted approach). The results from the unweighted approach are available upon request by the first author.

We make use of the data of the annual module on *Social Integration and Leisure*, that was collected between the years 2008 and 2020. We also use the background variables module, because it contained the necessary variables to construct the weight variable. This is a monthly module in which, for the years 2008 to 2020, we have selected the December module each time. Finally, datasets of all included years were merged into one dataset.

2.3.2 Measurements

Dependent variables

Respondents were asked about forms of civic engagement by answering the question: “There are a number of organizations that you are free to join. Can you indicate, for each of the organizations listed, what applies to you at this moment or has applied to you over the past 12 months?” We distinguish between all the answer categories of the forms of involvement: (1) member; (2) donated money; (3) participated in an activity; (4) performed voluntary work. People not involved in any of these forms indicated to have ‘no connection’. Selected organizations in which respondents could perform their form of civic involvement are: (1) organizations for humanitarian aid, human rights, minorities or migrants; (2) organizations for environmental protection, peace organizations or animal rights organizations; (3) sports clubs or clubs for outdoor activities; (4) cultural organizations or hobby clubs; (5) trade unions; (6) business, professional or agrarian organizations; (7) consumers’ organizations or automobile clubs; (8) religious or church organizations; (9) political parties; (10) science, education, teachers’ or parents’ organizations; (11) youth, pensioners, women or friends’ clubs; (12) other organizations. Note that LISS, in the wave of 2020, divided organizations for humanitarian aid, human rights, minorities or migrants into, on the one hand: ‘organizations for humanitarian aid and human rights’ and, on the other hand: ‘organizations for migrants’. We, however, combined these organizations to equal the measurement in the years 2008-2019.

In the second stage of the analyses, similar types of organizations are clustered. This indicates that humanitarian and environmental organizations represent the category of activist organizations. Next, sports clubs or clubs for outdoor activities and cultural organizations or hobby clubs constitute leisure organizations. Subsequently, trade unions, business, professional or agrarian organizations and consumers’ organizations or automobile clubs represent interest organizations. Remaining organizations (see (8) religious

organizations to (12) other organizations here above) are not clustered, since there is no convincing argument in the theoretical line of reasoning we follow, that these organizations belong to one similar cluster. Therefore, these organizations are left out in the second stage of the analyses.

Independent variable

To measure the influence of period effects on trends in forms of involvement, *year* was measured by including all years of investigation. Years 2008 to 2020 were then recoded into 0 (2008) running to 12 (2020). Following van Ingen (2008), period effects are, thus, simply captured by years of measurement.

2.3.3 Analyses

We show trends in the incidence of the forms of involvement in all twelve distinguished organizations in the period 2008-2020. Note that the percentages on the left axis might differ per figure. When this is the case, it is done for readability. For the most popular form per organization we included a trend line, showing the estimated course of this particular form of involvement. Next, we calculate the percentage of change over the years for the two most popular engagement forms per organization. These calculations give further understanding of how sizeable changes in the trends are.⁷

Next, we test whether (changes in) trends in forms of involvement are significant over time. Using regression analysis, we estimate a model to test whether the trend in each form for each organization is statistically significant. In total, 48 models were estimated. The results of the regression analyses can be found in Table 2.1.

In the second stage of the analyses, we present the trend in involvement in the three clusters of activist, leisure and interest organizations. Again, for the most popular form of involvement within the cluster, we estimated a trend line.⁸

7 All calculations for all involvement forms per organization are available upon request by the first author.

8 All calculations for all involvement forms per cluster are available upon request by the first author.

Similarly, regression analyses have been performed to test whether (changes in) trends in forms of involvement within a cluster are significant over time. The results of these analyses can be found in Appendix 2.1.

2.4 Results

2.4.1 Trends in involvement in humanitarian and environmental organizations

We present an overview of trends in forms of civic involvement for the various voluntary organizations over the period 2008-2020, starting with the two organizations that constitute activist organizations. Figure 2.1 shows the longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement for humanitarian organizations. Next, Figure 2.2 reveals trends for environmental organizations. From both figures it is clear that donations are the most popular form of involvement, showing a slow and steady decrease to 2019. However, and remarkable, the number of people giving donations increased in the COVID year 2020. The year 2020, therefore, deviates from both donation trend lines in the figures.

When looking at the size of the changes in donations to humanitarian organizations, it becomes clear that the relative decrease compared to the starting year 2008 is indeed larger in 2019 (-39%) than in 2020 (-11%). This corresponds to an annual decrease of 3% (2019) and less than 1% (2020). The same applies to environmental organizations, where since 2008, the decrease in 2019 was -35% compared to -17% in 2020. Annually, this decrease is 2.7% (2019) and 1.3% (2020).

Membership is the second most popular form of involvement in both organizations. The pattern over the years seems rather stable, however, the relative change in memberships is a sizeable decline of -19% for humanitarian organizations (-1.5% annually) and -28% for environmental organizations (-2.2% annually), compared to 2008.

Volunteering and participating in activities are the least popular involvement forms. Despite their unpopularity, the involvement patterns for humanitarian and environmental organizations seem rather stable between 2008 and 2020. During the period of investigation, involvement patterns of humanitarian and environmental organizations show a fixed order of (un)popularity.

Humanitarian organizations

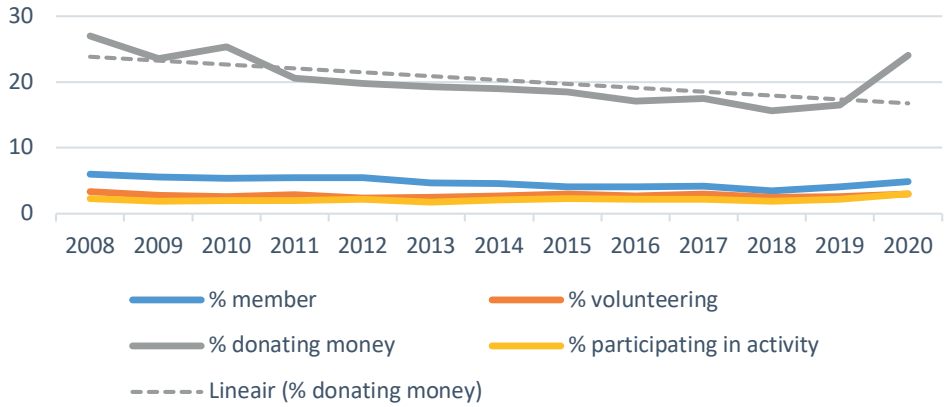


Figure 2.1: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in humanitarian organizations.

Environmental organizations

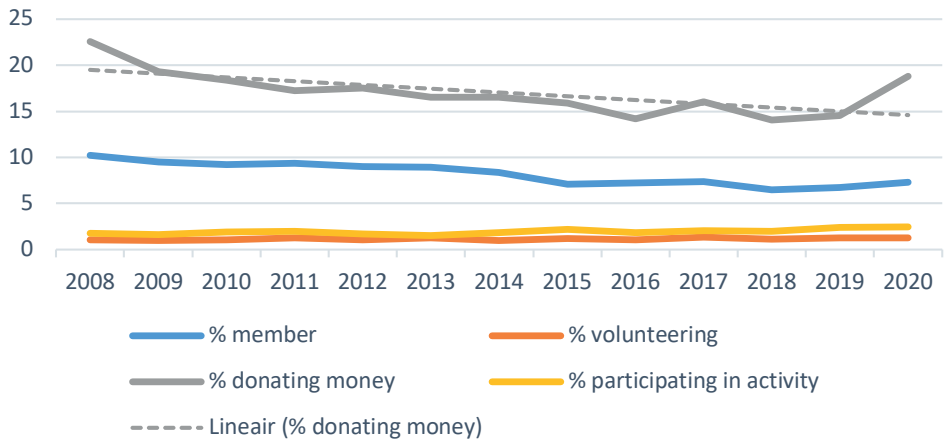


Figure 2.2: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in environmental organizations.



Figure 2.3: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in activist organizations.

2.4.2 Trends in involvement in activist organizations

Figure 2.3 presents patterns of involvement over time for the whole cluster of activist organizations. This thus constitutes the combined longitudinal trends from humanitarian and environmental organizations, accounting for the possibility that people are active in both humanitarian and environmental organizations.⁹ Mirroring the findings of engagement in the separate organizations, donations are most popular and the course of the grey line that belongs to donations is very similar to that of the individual organizations as depicted in Figure 2.1 and 2.2. The decrease is in particular visible between 2011 and 2019. Therefore, the sudden increase in donations in 2020 does not fit the prediction of the trend line for the year 2020. The size of the changes in donations over time are substantial for the period 2008-2019 (-36%) and smaller if the sudden increase in 2020 is captured (-13%). For memberships there is a relative decrease of minus 21% (and about minus 1.7% annually).

⁹ Percentages in the figures and relationships in the table in Appendix 2.1 from the cluster of organizations might, logically, differ from the results from the 'separated', individual organizations. One reason might be that respondents can be, for instance, a member of both a humanitarian and an environmental organization (thus score two times a '1' on this item in the separated results), while they, in this case, only score a single '1' on membership of an activist organization. So, it is not the case that two memberships of individual organizations that together form a cluster also count twice in the clustered results. It is then considered a single membership.

Following the patterns of humanitarian and environmental organizations, volunteering and participating in activist organizations are least popular for the cluster of activist organizations. The trends are, however, fairly stable over time.

2.4.3 Trends in involvement in sports and outdoor clubs and cultural organizations or hobby clubs

Figure 2.4 outlines longitudinal trends for sports and outdoor clubs and Figure 2.5 does so for cultural organizations or hobby clubs. For both organizations, memberships are the most popular form of civic involvement. In the case of sports and outdoor clubs, memberships are even by far the most popular. In both organizations, the trend line does barely deviate from the actual membership line, showing a very stable and gradually declining course over the years. Relatively, mirrored against the year 2008, this declining course in memberships is reflected in a decrease of -13% for sports and outdoor clubs (-1% annually) and -23% for cultural organizations or hobby clubs (-1.8% annually). Participating in activities is the second popular involvement form for both organizations. Relative changes over time are, nevertheless, sizeable.

Sports and outdoor clubs

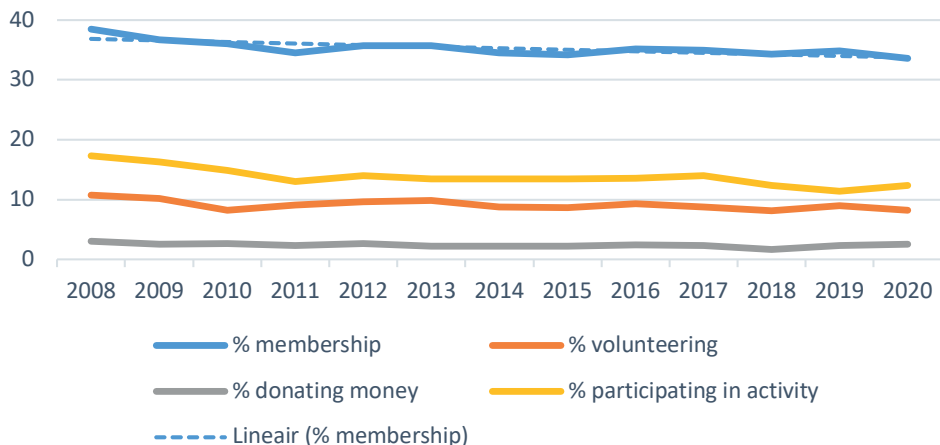


Figure 2.4: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in sports and outdoor clubs.

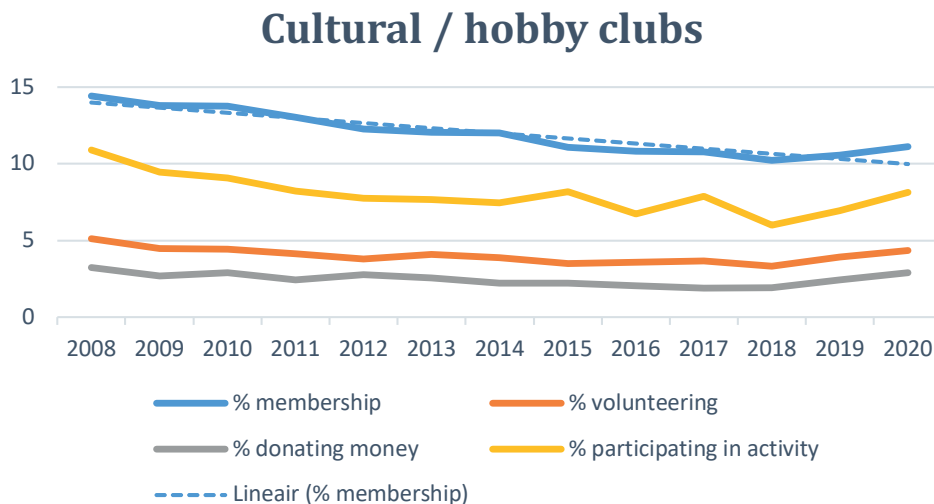


Figure 2.5: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in cultural and hobby clubs.

Compared to 2008, about 28% fewer people participated in activities for sports and outdoor clubs. This number is -25% for cultural organizations or hobby clubs. Volunteering and donating money are least popular. These two involvement forms picture a rather stable course from 2008 to 2020.

The order of (un)popularity in forms of involvement is the same for sports and outdoor clubs and cultural organizations or hobby clubs, as well as that the order of the forms of involvement is fixed for both organizations over the full period of investigation.

2.4.4 Trends in involvement in leisure organizations

Figure 2.6 presents trends for leisure organizations, which is formed out of the combination in sports and outdoor clubs and cultural or hobby clubs. Not surprisingly, given the trend as shown in especially Figure 2.4, memberships are by far most popular. The pattern, with an almost identical course as the trend line, displays a slow gradual decline over time. Relatively, it comes down to a decrease of 11% over the period 2008-2020, so a decline of less than 1% per year.

Leisure Organizations

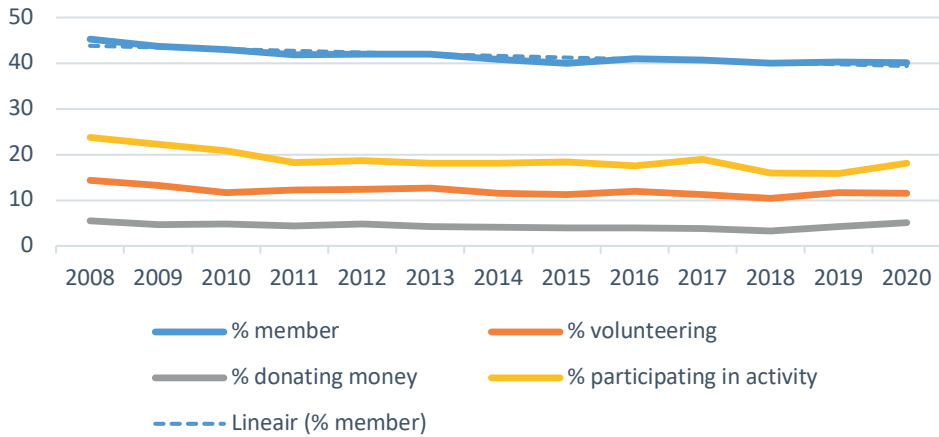


Figure 2.6: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in leisure organizations.

Participation in activities is the second popular form of engagement for leisure organizations. Figure 2.6 depicts a decrease from 2008 to 2011 and stability to 2017, followed by a decline in 2018 and 2019 and some recovery in 2020. Despite the increase in 2020, the relative size of the changes is still a substantial minus 24% (and a -1.8% per year).

Volunteering for and donating to leisure organizations are least popular. Both patterns seem fairly stable between 2008 and 2020, although there seems to be some tendency towards less volunteering.

2.4.5 Trends in involvement in trade unions, business organizations and consumer organizations

Figures 2.7, 2.8 and 2.9 show longitudinal involvement patterns for, respectively, trade unions, business, professional or agrarian organizations and consumers' organizations or automobile clubs. Especially for trade unions and consumers' organizations or automobile clubs memberships are the most (and almost only) popular involvement form. Over the years, the trend line from memberships for all of these three organizations reveals

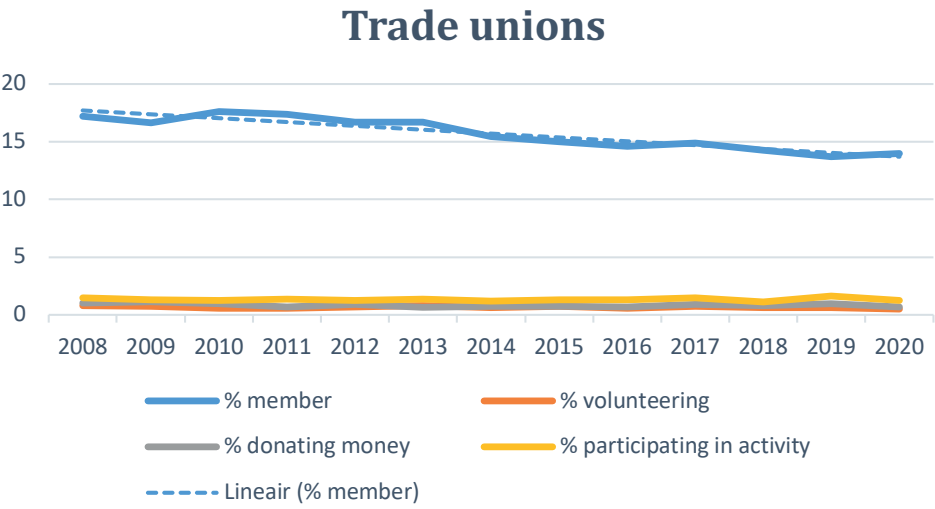


Figure 2.7: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in trade unions.

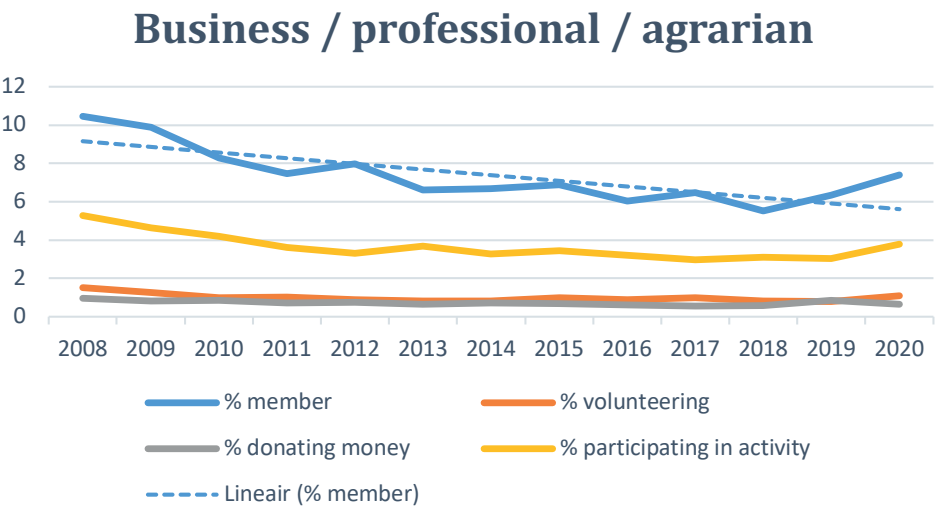


Figure 2.8: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in business, professional and agrarian organizations.

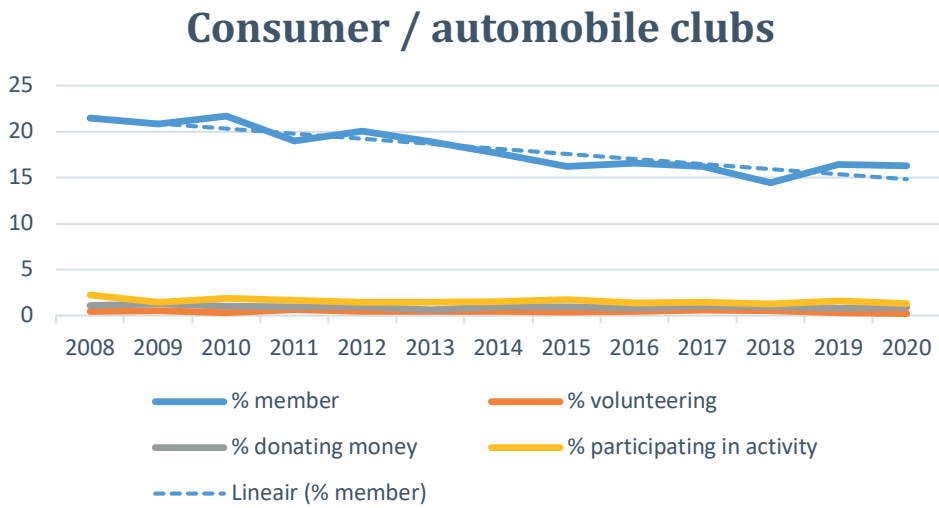


Figure 2.9: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in consumer and automobile clubs.

a stable, slowly decreasing trend toward less memberships. We only see deviations from the trend line as of the year 2018 with respect to business organizations.

The finding of decreasing trends is supported by the relative changes over time, given the decrease in memberships with regard to trade unions (-19% and -1.4% yearly) and consumers' organizations or automobile clubs (-24% and annually -1.9%). Business organizations even note a decrease in memberships of -47% in the period 2008-2018 (-3.6% per year), a sizeable decline that recovers somewhat in 2020.

Participating in activities is the second popular involvement form. However, it is rather unpopular for especially trade unions and consumers' organizations, while volunteering and donating money are in general unpopular for all involved organizations. We, therefore, only picture the relative decline in participation in activities for business organizations, which is a substantial minus 29% (-2.2% annually). Lastly, all forms of involvement within the three organizations reveal a fixed order over the full period of investigation.

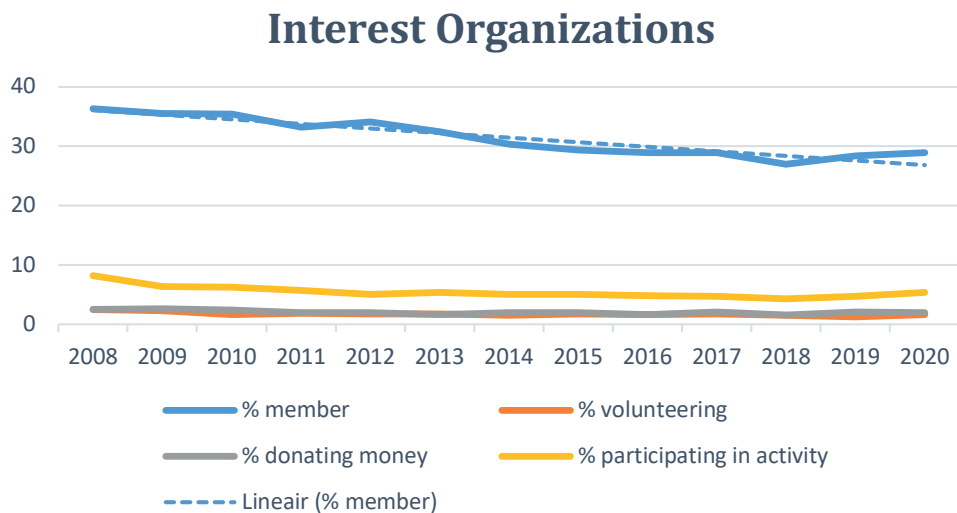


Figure 2.10: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in interest organizations.

2.4.6 Trends in involvement in interest organizations

Figure 2.10 presents trends in forms of involvement for the cluster of interest organizations, constituted by trade unions, business organizations and consumers' organizations. The figure shows that interest organizations rely on their members. The blue membership line shows a declining course, with some slight recovery as of 2018.

Participation in activities is the second popular engagement form. It jumps out slightly in popularity compared to donating and volunteering, because of the involvement patterns from business organizations as shown in Figure 2.8. A slight decrease in participation is visible over the years. This is reflected in the relative changes over time, with a sizeable decrease of -35% in 2008-2020 and an annual decrease of -2.7%.

Religious / church organizations

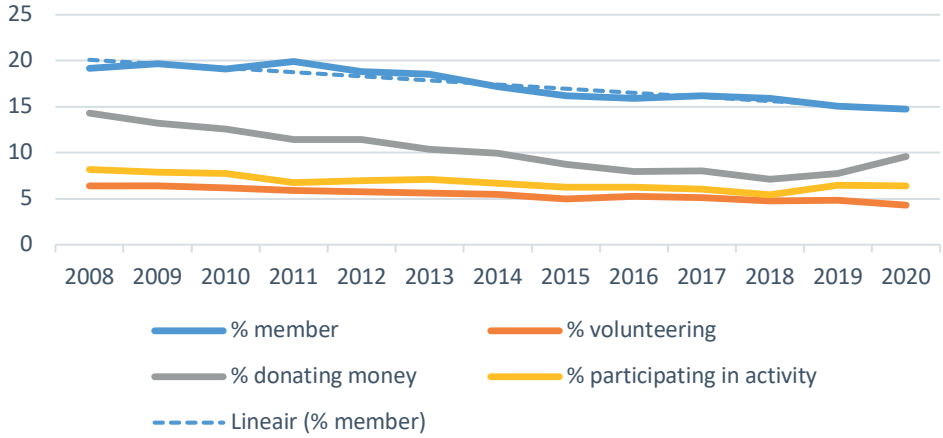


Figure 2.11: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in religious and church organizations.

Political parties

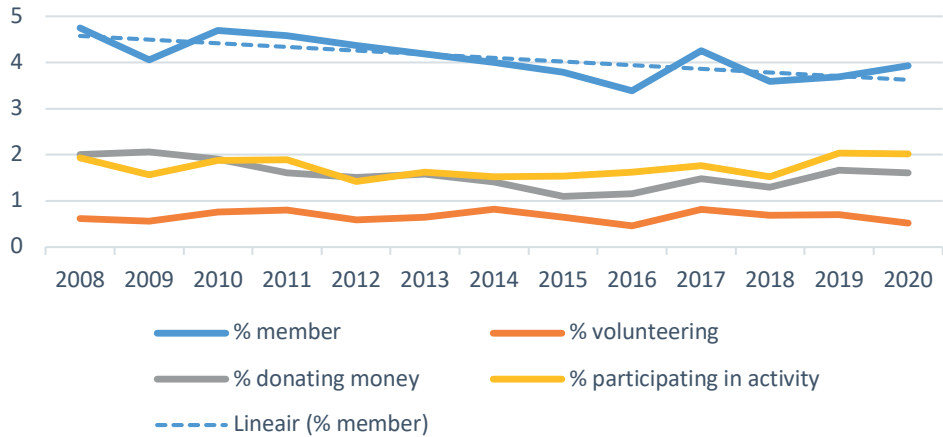


Figure 2.12: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in political parties.

Science / education / teacher / parent

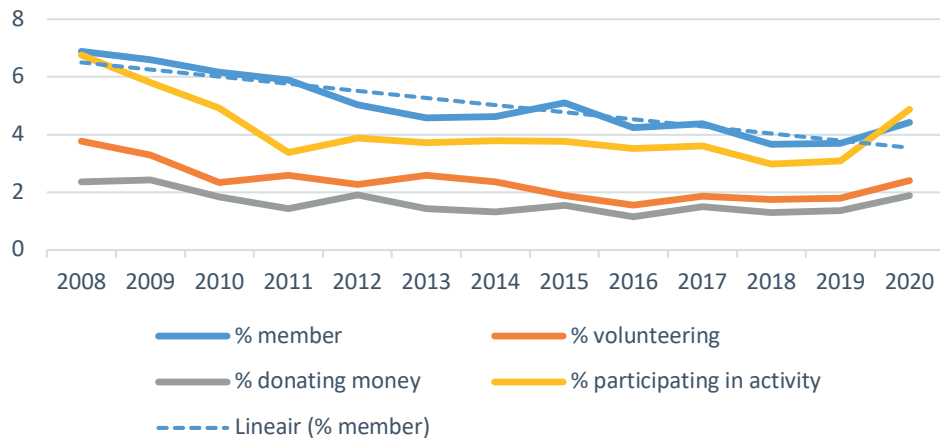


Figure 2.13: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in scientific, education, teachers' and parents' organizations.

Youth / Pensioners / Women / Friends

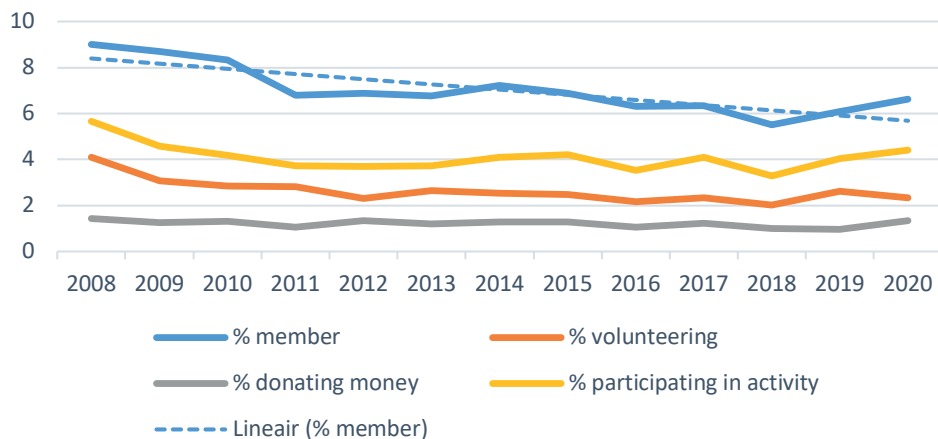


Figure 2.14: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in youth, pensioners, women and friends' clubs.

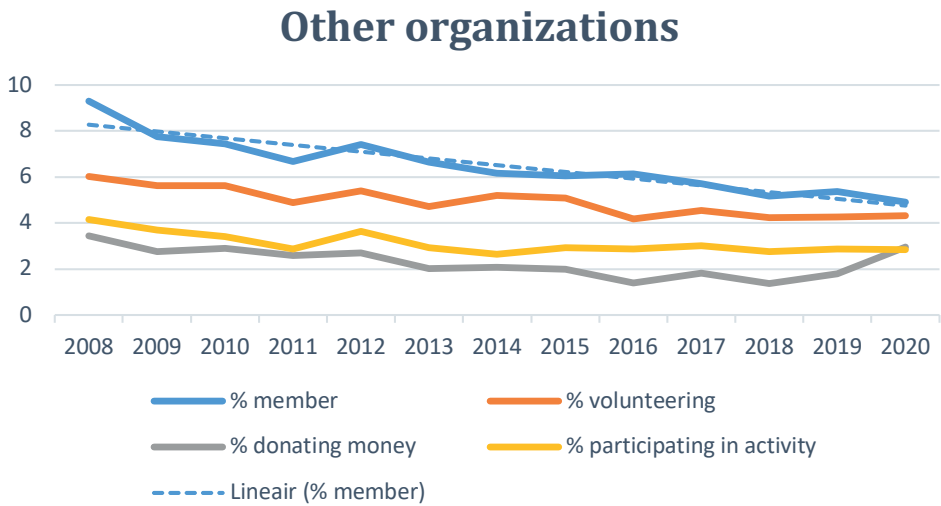


Figure 2.15: longitudinal trends in forms of civic involvement in other organizations.

Volunteering and donating to interest organizations are rather unpopular. Their patterns seem fairly stable over time, with few people who are involved in interest organizations via these ways.

2.4.7 Trends in involvement in other organizations

Figures 2.11 to 2.15 contain the longitudinal trends in forms of involvement for other civic organizations. All taken together, memberships are the most popular involvement form. The trend line of memberships reveals slightly downward going trends from 2008 to 2020 for all organizations. When looking at the size of the changes, we note that they are substantial e.g., for political organizations where the decrease is 17% since 2008 (-1.3% yearly). Another finding that is noteworthy, is the relative and sizeable decrease in donations to religious and church organizations. This declined by half in the period 2008-2018, recovering slightly to a decrease of one-third in the period 2008-2020.

2.4.8 Statistical analyses of trends in forms of civic involvement

Table 2.1 shows the regression parameters of time (as measured by year of study) on the different engagement forms for the different types of organizations. When looking at the table, it becomes clear that memberships show an overall statistically significant decrease for all kinds of organizations.

Table 2.1: Regression Parameters of Years on Different Engagement Forms in Different Types of Organizations.

	Membership		Donating		Participation		Volunteering	
	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.
Humanitarian Organizations	-0.161***	0.034	-0.589*	0.216	0.035	0.021	-0.011	0.021
Environmental Organizations	-0.296***	0.035	-0.409*	0.134	0.053**	0.014	0.018*	0.008
Sports / Outdoor Clubs	-0.260**	0.061	-0.048*	0.020	-0.339***	0.070	-0.136*	0.047
Cultural / Hobby Clubs	-0.334***	0.038	-0.058	0.027	-0.241**	0.065	-0.079*	0.030
Trade Unions	-0.334***	0.037	-0.018	0.011	0.001	0.011	-0.008	0.007
Business / Professional / Agr.	-0.295**	0.069	-0.019*	0.007	-0.131**	0.035	-0.031*	0.013
Consumer / Automobile Clubs	-0.550***	0.074	-0.020	0.011	-0.045*	0.015	-0.011	0.009
Religious Organizations	-0.449***	0.045	-0.529***	0.076	-0.173***	0.031	-0.162***	0.011
Political Parties	-0.079**	0.023	-0.046*	0.018	0.007	0.016	-0.002	0.009
Science / Education etc.	-0.246***	0.034	-0.063*	0.025	-0.179*	0.068	-0.123**	0.032
Youth / Pensioners etc.	-0.226***	0.043	-0.018	0.010	-0.069	0.041	-0.099**	0.028
Other Organizations	-0.293***	0.033	-0.103*	0.039	-0.086**	0.023	-0.141***	0.021

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
Source: LISS (2008-2020).

Donations show also an overall decrease, however, only significant for activist organizations, (some) leisure organizations and (only one type of) interest organization. Participation shows a statistically significant increase for (at least one) activist organization, however, significant decreases for leisure and interest organizations. Volunteering is rather stable in activist organizations, however, shows a significant decrease in leisure and (at least one) interest organization.

2.5 Discussion

Dutch civil society is well-known for its size and civic involvement in various domains. It is, however, vital for the sustainability of civil society to get an understanding of how civic involvement changes over the years. Therefore, this chapter addressed how (contradictory and complementary) perspectives on how trends in civic involvement would develop, were empirically supported in the Netherlands, between 2008 and 2020. An encompassing overview of historical trends in the Dutch civic landscape for so many different organizations fills a scientific lacuna, not only in the Netherlands but is also missing in many other countries. We used longitudinal high-quality survey data and considered three perspectives on why there would be differential (contradictory and complementary) trends in civic involvement in recent times, with (1) individualization; (2) traditionalization; (3) period effects of major societal events that might undermine or boost civil society, such as the economic crisis, refugee crisis and the COVID crisis that all occurred in the period under study.

We discovered an overall trend of predominantly stable, yet slowly and statistically significant declining engagement levels that seem robust and relatively unaffected by societal events. This indicates that neither the economic crisis, nor the refugee crisis or (part of) the COVID crisis substantially changed forms of civic involvement in Dutch civil society. As an exception to this general pattern of findings, we may list the increase of donations to activist organizations in the COVID year 2020. However, overall, we find no support for the perspective about period effects of major societal events that might undermine or boost civil society. Instead, the findings of slow and small, yet significant decreases in most forms of involvement is most in line with the perspective of the individualization processes that erode civil society. We thus find encompassing support for what Bekkers

et al. (2017), Damian (2018), Statistics Netherlands (2022) and Kuyper et al. (2019) found in studies focusing on single organizations or single forms of involvement. The longitudinal decrease in civic engagement indicates that we barely find support for the second perspective about traditionalization that proposes stability or even a re-institutionalization of civic involvement.

Next to the decrease in civic engagement, results showed clearly fixed sequences of popularity of forms of civic involvement between (clusters of) activist-, leisure and interest organizations. These results are in line with findings by Gesthuizen et al. (2013). However, their contribution had a cross-national design, whereas we pictured the ‘fixedness’ of this demarcation by observing it for a period of twelve years in Dutch civil society. These fixed orders were similar for organizations belonging to the same clusters, respectively, activist-, leisure and interest organizations. Next, the fixed rank order suggests that memberships are the most common form of engagement, while donations and participating in activities are considerably less popular, and volunteering the least common. One reason for this order might be that organizations recruit donors and volunteers from their ranks of members. Several contributions, however, suggest that this regularity may have declined over time (e.g. Cnaan & Handy, 2005; MacDuff, 2005; Lee, 2020). This claim is not supported in this chapter (see Appendix 2.2). Trends are rather stable indicating that a stable percentage of the members volunteers, with an indication of a slightly larger share of members volunteering for activist organizations. We should note, however, that memberships are not the most popular engagement form in activist organizations.

A suggestion that has been made in earlier studies is that society has turned to ‘checkbox participation’ (as argued by Stolle et al., 2005), since memberships of more ‘distant organizations’ (such as humanitarian organizations, trade unions or consumers’ organizations) have decreased strongly. However, we find no support for that idea since also for donating money, the general pattern is a small decrease (or statistical insignificance), and not an increase.

As such, the prediction of small annual rises in donations up to 2015 as made by Bekkers and Ruiter (2009) is not supported in this study.¹⁰

Given the fact that the declines in engagement levels are relatively slow and relatively unaffected by periodic societal events, it is also likely that cohort effects are (partly) responsible for the observed trends; older more involved citizens would become replaced then by younger less actively engaged citizens. These younger cohorts may be active in new domains of civic engagement, such as posting messages on issues addressed by the organizations on social media, but they would then be less likely to engage in the forms of involvement in organizations we studied here. An alternative explanation for the declines we found might be that organizations have changed and have invested less in mobilizing engagement or have become less effective in these efforts. Bekkers and van Teunenbroek (2020) provide some evidence for this

In the midst of the slowly declining civic engagement levels, humanitarian and environmental organizations had a rise in the share of people who donated money to them in 2020. This increase in donations is remarkable, because the COVID restrictions impeded going from door to door asking for donations. It is also remarkable when the refugee crisis is considered, which caused no increase in donations given to humanitarian organizations. Possibly, people felt more inclined to spend their (saved) money on organizations that support society when they experience a crisis that affects them personally. Moreover, it is relatively easy to 'just wave with the checkbook' as an example of checkbook participation (Stolle et al., 2005) when people feel more inclined to prosocial behavior. In addition, it might be that activist organizations received their donations online during the COVID restrictions. Online donations and crowdfunding are becoming more popular for civic organizations (see for instance de Wit & Bekkers, 2020; van

10 Fifteen separate regression analyses of all organizations and clusters of organizations over the period 2008-2015 have been executed. Thirteen of them noted a significant decrease in donations between 2008 and 2015. Two regression analyses showed insignificant results, although both directions of the unstandardized coefficient were negative. In sum, the results were as follows: (1) humanitarian organizations $b = -1.210$, $p < .01$; (2) environmental organizations $b = -0.782$, $p < .01$; (3) activist organizations (cluster) $b = -1.335$, $p < .001$; (4) sports organizations $b = -0.103$, $p < .01$; (5) cultural organizations $b = -0.121$, $p < .01$; (6) leisure organizations (cluster) $b = -0.183$, $p < .01$; (7) trade unions $b = -0.054$, $p < .05$; (8) business organizations $b = -0.035$, $p < .01$; (9) consumers' organizations $b = -0.045$, $p > .05$; (10) interest organizations (cluster) $b = -0.108$, $p < .05$; (11) religious organizations $b = -0.736$, $p < .001$; (12) political parties $b = -0.127$, $p < .001$; (13) science organizations $b = -0.142$, $p < .05$; (14) youth organizations $b = -0.013$, $p > .05$; (15) other organizations $b = -0.190$, $p < .01$.

Teunenbroek & Bekkers, 2019), which might partly explain the rise in people who donated money to humanitarian and environmental organizations in 2020.

A limitation of this study is that the questionnaire does not include an item covering involvement in health organizations. For donations, this is the most common area in which the Dutch population gives money to nonprofit organizations. A study on donations in the Netherlands (Bekkers et al., 2020) shows that two thirds of households in the Netherlands give to health causes. In addition, another study (Bekkers et al., 2022) reveals that Dutch donate most to health causes in the Netherlands. This implies that the overall level of donations cannot be retrieved from our study; we only provide the trends for numerous organizations that have been included.

Relevant is how the overall trend of gradually but significantly declining involvement levels in Dutch civil society will evolve after 2020. And how the COVID crisis (aftermath) impacts on (Dutch) civil society. Based on our findings we expect a continuation of the slowly decreasing engagement levels. Given that we showed the absence of period effects of major societal events, we expect that the COVID crisis will not disrupt this pattern. More challenges for civic organizations arise, however. The current high inflation and energy prices may make people want to save money on memberships or donations. This could be a potential risk for organizations that rely heavily on these forms of engagement. Moreover, there is an ongoing shortage in personnel in many countries' labor market. That may come at the cost of people willing to volunteer. The coming years should reveal whether these processes affected Dutch civic engagement in some way.

This chapter shows that Dutch civic landscape is slowly yet significantly eroding over time, but is, however, persistent against societal shocks and (major) events. In the middle of this civic erosion, memberships seem the main form of concern, as all (clusters of) organizations noted a decline in amount of members over the years. This is especially critical for organizations that have memberships as most popular involvement form, such as leisure and interest organizations. Civil society organizations, therefore, are challenged to invent strategies and policies that focus on binding their members and recruiting new ones. One positive exception in the downward trends is the participation in and volunteering for environmental organizations, which have gained significant popularity both in participation as well as

in volunteering, mirroring the growing awareness and urgency to address environmental issues. But overall, this chapter provides evidence for a slowly but steadily decline in civic involvement.



Chapter 3

Socio-structural determinants in volunteering for humanitarian organizations: a resource-based approach

A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as:

Meijeren, M., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2023). Socio-structural determinants in volunteering for humanitarian organizations: a resource-based approach. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 52(4), 1058-1076.

Marcel Lubbers and Peer Scheepers are co-authors of this chapter. The study on which this chapter is based was discussed during the Sociology seminar at the Radboud University in 2022 and presented at the Dag van de Sociology (online) in 2021.

3.1 Introduction

With the crisis in Syria also the Netherlands received relatively many refugees from Syria from 2014 onwards. Next to a response of protest to the arrival of asylum seekers, a vast response of volunteer initiatives was triggered wanting to assist these newcomers (Pries, 2019; van der Veer, 2020). “During the decisive period of the second half of 2015 and in 2016 it was mainly volunteers (...) that engaged in receiving, welcoming and taking care of the new arrivals” (Pries, 2019, p. 2). As waves of asylum immigration continue to persist, all the more evidenced by the recent refugee crisis in Ukraine – and with the prediction that in 2050, the share of immigrants and refugees in Dutch society will have further increased (c.f. de Beer et al., 2020) – it is relevant to get an understanding of volunteering for humanitarian organizations. Therefore, this chapter elaborates on who volunteers for humanitarian organizations, compared to volunteering for other associations versus people not volunteering in the Netherlands.

Volunteering is defined as “unpaid work, without any obligations, for the benefit of others and / or society” (Ellemers & Boezeman, 2010, p. 245). The domain of volunteering is characterized as civil society, constituting numerous civic associations (Dekker, 2002). However, three types of overarching civic associations according to their primary goals can be distinguished: activist organizations, interest organizations and leisure organizations (Gesthuizen et al., 2013; van der Meer et al., 2009). We are, however, primarily interested in humanitarian organizations. These associations for humanitarian aid, human rights, minorities and migrants are subsumed under activist organizations. Also environmental associations are part of this type of organizations. These organizations primarily serve broader interests in society that in general do not directly benefit the socio-economic interests of their members (Lelieveldt et al., 2007). In contrast, leisure organizations, like sports clubs and cultural associations, offer recreational and socializing activities. Interest organizations, as trade unions, business or consumer associations, defend and represent socio-economic interests of their stakeholders. (Gesthuizen et al., 2013). Moreover, we include religious associations, political parties and other associations that encompass other types of civic organizations.

It is theorized that civil society has benefits for social cohesion (Putnam, 2000). Volunteering for humanitarian organizations in particular may contribute to social cohesion in society. These volunteers may offer a bridging function for

newcomers in helping them to connect to local communities and activities. Moreover, they may be middlemen in dealing with negative reactions that often follow upon arrival of newcomers. Humanitarian organizations may thus build bridges between the in-group majority in society and an out-group of newcomers (cf. Granovetter, 1985). Humanitarian organizations distinguish themselves from other associations, where volunteering usually takes place within, or for the benefit of, the in-group. Consequently, volunteering for humanitarian organizations may contribute to the development of resilient societies. Therefore, it is relevant to get an understanding of who volunteers for humanitarian organizations specifically. Hence, the research question is: What are the socio-structural determinants of those who volunteer for humanitarian organizations in 2019, compared to those who volunteer for other civic associations versus people not volunteering?

This fills a lacuna, as there exists little research that focuses on exploring who volunteers in humanitarian organizations. In order to answer our research question, we systematically build on a classic theoretical framework, enriched with other theoretical insights comprising an extensive and coherent set of determinants of volunteering (Wilson and Musick, 1997). Moreover, we take advantage of recent, high-quality data, containing elaborate valid measurements on volunteering as well as on socio-structural determinants in a large representative sample of Dutch people (Scherpenzeel, 2009). In addition, we provide information for humanitarian organizations on which individuals can be attracted to volunteer for them. In doing so, we add to recruiting strategies and policies that encourage volunteering in humanitarian organizations.

3.2 Theoretical background

3.2.1 Resources in volunteering

Our theoretical framework departs from a resource-based approach. The crucial proposition is that the likelihood to volunteer is dependent on a number of resources. This proposition is derived from the classic work of Wilson and Musick (1997). Their integrated theory of volunteer work builds on four premises, related to different forms of capital. Three of these premises are relevant for this chapter: 1) Volunteer work is productive work that requires human capital; 2) Volunteer work is collective behavior that requires social capital; 3) Volunteer work is ethically guided work that

requires cultural capital. Wilson and Musick (1997) showed convincing evidence that human, social and cultural capital are relevant resources for effective volunteering, also relevant for other countries (e.g. Bekkers, 2006). Since these capital forms are unequally distributed in society, the likelihood to volunteer is unequally divided as well. In applying Wilson and Musick's theoretical framework on the likelihood to volunteer for humanitarian organizations – compared to other types of organizations versus people not volunteering – we use this classic theory to unravel which capital forms play a role in the likelihood to volunteer for different types of civic associations in the Netherlands, acknowledging that some of the indicators can cover more than one form of capital at the same time. We thus use generic insights derived from Wilson and Musick (1997) and specify these to humanitarian organizations.

3.2.2 Human capital

Comparable to the labor market, there is a market for voluntary labor. It is like any labor market that admission to and performance in this market is conditional on individual qualifications (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Human capital represents those resources capturing required qualifications that make productive work possible. It enables people to volunteer (Wilson, 2012).

Educational level is the first indicator of human capital. Education is a form of 'ability signaling': it makes sense as a voluntary association to recruit more highly educated people, as they already demonstrated competences to think and perform well on a higher level (Musick & Wilson, 2007). Gesthuizen and Scheepers (2010) pose three mechanisms that explain why especially higher educated people are more likely to volunteer. First, individuals obtain cognitive competences during their educational trajectory that they use as resources for their community. Second, the educational process assigns them into higher status positions in the labor market, which qualifies them for volunteer work. Third, higher educated people may develop more awareness of (surrounding) social problems with a tendency to opt to solve these issues (Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2010). Higher educated people are more likely in general to favor volunteering for initiatives of solidarity, such as humanitarian organizations and stigmatized groups, compared to other volunteering purposes (Kalogeraki, 2018; Maggini, 2018). Therefore, we expect a positive relationship of educational level with volunteering for all civic associations, which may be strongest for humanitarian organizations.

Income is our second indicator of human capital. High income indicates a dominant status, which qualifies individuals for volunteer work (Smith, 1994; Wilson & Musick, 1997). Previous contributions showed that higher income groups volunteer more, are more likely to be recruited and can better afford the expenses of doing voluntary work (Benenson & Stagg, 2016; Musick & Wilson, 2007; Wilson, 2012). So far, the relationship between income and volunteering for different associations has rarely been studied. Musick and Wilson (2007) found a positive effect of income on volunteering to be quite consistent across all domains of volunteering. Maggini (2018) found that volunteers with the highest income level are overrepresented in refugee support initiatives. We expect that income is positively related to volunteering for all organizations.

Our third human capital indicator is one's subjective health condition. A good health is a resource, whereas bad health raises the costs of doing volunteer work (Gesthuizen & Scheepers, 2010; Wilson & Musick, 1997). The possibility to volunteer thus partly depends on physical abilities. Consequently, people with deteriorated health might volunteer less (Komp et al., 2011).¹¹ A good health condition therefore marks the availability of a basic resource for volunteering in general. Hence, we expect one's subjective health condition to be positively related to volunteering for all civic associations.

3.2.3 Social capital

The way in which people participate in their society and the forms of social bonding that take place, is referred to as social capital (Pichler & Wallace, 2007). When social connections are embedded in formally constituted organizations and activities – such as volunteering in civic associations – it is conceptualized as formal social capital (Pichler & Wallace, 2007). We propose that indicators of informal social capital, derived from the theoretical framework of Wilson and Musick (1997), may induce volunteering.

The first indicator of social capital is informal social interaction. People with frequent conversations and meetings with friends and relatives are more likely to volunteer (Brown & Ferris, 2007; Musick & Wilson, 2007). These

11 We acknowledge that volunteering can reinforce wellbeing, which in turn enhances volunteers' mental and physical health condition (e.g. Thoits & Hewitt, 2001; Wilson, 2012). This is, however, a consequence of volunteering. We focus on resources that make volunteering possible.

individuals have more trust in other people and more access to shared information, resources that increase volunteer levels (Wilson, 2000). Close contacts influence the way people value social issues and how important volunteer work can be in relation to these issues (Passy & Giugni, 2001). Even the idea that others display prosocial behavior promotes becoming socially involved as well (van Teunenbroek et al., 2020). Previous studies revealed the influence of social interactions on the likelihood to volunteer for activist organizations (Baggett, 2001; Kalogeraki, 2018). Therefore, we expect a positive relationship of informal social interaction with volunteering for all associations, which may be strongest for activist organizations.

Our second social capital indicator is the number of children in the household. Building on Wilson & Musick (1997), we assume that parents with children still living in the household have more frequent social interactions that draw them into community activities. Moreover, as children grow older, become more independent and involved in activities, parents are often drawn into volunteering opportunities, especially those related to their children's activities (Einolf, 2010, 2018; Gee, 2011). It is thus more likely to volunteer for leisure organizations because of one's own child(s') involvement. It is, however, less likely that parents volunteer for interest associations (Wilson, 2000; Musick & Wilson, 2007). We expect a positive relationship of having children in the household with first and foremost leisure organizations, followed by activist ones and lastly interest associations.

3.2.4 Cultural capital

Wilson & Musick (1997) also propose that volunteer work is ethically guided work that requires cultural capital. Such ethics may refer to the expression of tastes as well as to moral values as benevolent helping (unknown) others and being a good citizen. This ethic of benevolence is often linked to religiosity, although other socializing agents (e.g. school systems) may propagate it as well. Nevertheless, religious considerations are frequently given as reason to volunteer (e.g. Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008), suggesting that this 'benevolence emphasis' is still institutionalized and, moreover, socialized in churches. Their theory therefore proposes that religiosity 'prepares' individuals in voluntary work.

We, therefore, propose religion as the first indicator of cultural capital. The impact of religion in volunteering is widely acknowledged in previous contributions (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008; van Ingen & Dekker, 2011; Vermeer

et al., 2016). Those who frequently attend religious gatherings are more likely to volunteer (Vermeer et al., 2016). Two mechanisms are responsible for this, for which one fits the cultural capital explanation, but the second the social capital explanation. First, the more frequent people attend religious gatherings, the more likely they are to hear sermons teaching them the virtue of doing volunteer work. Second, frequent churchgoers are more socially integrated, belong to more voluntary associations and have more social contacts (Musick & Wilson, 2007; Son & Wilson, 2011). Accordingly, they are more likely to be contacted and, consequently, recruited by organizations. Churches propagate helping others, also those people outside of the in-group. This 'bridge' of reaching out to others fits the typical humanitarian organization purpose. That is, volunteering for people who need help, mostly outside the (benefit of the) in-group majority in society. Hence, we expect a positive relation between religion and volunteering for all organizations, which may be strongest for humanitarian associations.

In order to incorporate also the expression of tastes, as suggested by Wilson and Musick, we also include Bourdieu's cultural capital theory that has been largely absent in volunteerism research (Dean, 2016). Bourdieu (1984) views cultural capital as the outcome of the process during which high class parents, in particular, provide their children with cultural resources consisting of tastes and preferences that are valued and classified as superior in society. Moreover, involvement in this culture is associated with the development of competences that are employable in various life domains (van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2013). Cultural involvement might also prepare for the necessary competences required in volunteering. Highbrow cultural consumption is therefore our second indicator of cultural capital. Attending cultural performances or institutions that are regarded as highbrow – such as visiting a ballet, opera, museum, art gallery, a library and reading books (van Hek & Kraaykamp, 2013) – widens one's perspective, might broaden one's worldview and, importantly increases competences to be willing and capable to think and act outside the (benefit of the) in-group majority in society. Hence, we expect a positive relation between highbrow cultural consumption and volunteering for all organizations, which is strongest for humanitarian associations.

3.3 Data and measurements

3.3.1 Data

To test our hypotheses, the archived and open-access data were derived from the Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences (LISS), a panel that is representative of the population of the Netherlands of 16 years of age and older. We make use of existing data that were collected in 2019, the last year before the Covid-19 pandemic. We test generic hypotheses on data collected in the last year before the pandemic, hence, data that are not disturbed by the pandemic. However, we do expect that these generic hypotheses may apply to other pre-Covid years as well. The dataset comprises 5,050 respondents. Annually, LISS uses a representative, large-scale sample. Moreover, LISS uses pre-validated measurement instruments in their survey. For example, LISS included measurement instruments that were derived from the European Social Survey of 2002. The foregoing leads to high-quality survey data that are developed to monitor changes in the life course and living conditions of the panel members representing the general Dutch population (Scherpenzeel, 2009). Questionnaires were filled out online. The survey includes non-internet users as well. The yearly retention rate is about 90 percent and refreshment samples are drawn to maintain panel representativeness. The LISS survey consists of several components (called: modules), and modules on Health, Religion and Ethnicity, Background Variables and Social Integration and Leisure were used.

3.3.2 Measurements

Dependent variable

LISS respondents were asked in which type of organization they were active as volunteers. This was measured as follows in the LISS survey: 'Can you indicate, for each of the organizations listed, what applies to you at this moment or has applied to you over the past 12 months?' The authors then constructed the dependent variable 'Volunteering', with categories (1) volunteering for humanitarian organizations; (2) for environmental organizations; (3) for leisure organizations (sports clubs and cultural associations); (4) for interest organizations (trade unions, business organizations and consumer organizations; (5) for other voluntary organizations (religious organizations, political parties, science, education, teachers or parents' associations, youth, pensioners, women or friends' clubs and 'other associations') *versus*; (0) not involved in volunteering. Respondents

could indicate to volunteer for multiple organizations. If this occurred, we applied an 'allocation-rule'.¹² Note that we employed this rule to contrast volunteers for the abovementioned associations against the same, fixed group of people not involved in volunteering. In doing so, we were able to compare our results per organization towards an identical reference group. Alternative methods, where respondents in the absence of an allocation-rule could volunteer for multiple associations, did not provide the opportunity to contrast respondents to an identical 'not involved' reference category.¹³

Independent variables

Educational level was measured in LISS based on the guidelines of Statistics Netherlands, with the question: 'What is your level of education in CBS (Statistics Netherlands) categories?'. Answer categories were (1) primary school; (2) intermediate secondary education; (3) higher secondary education; (4) intermediate vocational education; (5) higher vocational education; (6) university. To construct and calculate the *personal disposable income* per household member, in euros, the authors divided two variables measured by LISS. Net household income was divided by the number of members in the household. *Subjective health* was measured in LISS by asking: 'How would you describe your health, generally speaking?' Answer categories were (1) poor; (2) moderate; (3) good; (4) very good; (5) excellent.

The scale of *informal social interaction* was constructed by the authors, out of three items measured in LISS: 'how often do you spend an evening with

12 The allocation-rule has been applied in only 5% of the cases, indicating that allocation was not necessary for 95% of the respondents. Allocation worked as follows: if people volunteered for humanitarian organizations but moreover also for other associations, we assigned them to humanitarian ones only. If they did not volunteer for humanitarian associations, but for environmental ones and (an)other organization(s), they were allocated to environmental associations. When not volunteering for humanitarian and environmental organizations, but for leisure ones and (an)other organization(s), respondents were assigned to leisure organizations. When they did not volunteer for the previous organizations, but for interest ones and (an)other organization(s), they were allocated to interest organizations. If not volunteering for all forementioned organizations but only for associations belonging to other types of associations, respondents remained assigned to this 'other' category.

13 We used generalized estimating equations (Liang & Zeger, 1986), in which respondents could volunteer for multiple organizations. However, a drawback was that volunteers for humanitarian organizations were compared to all who did not volunteer for humanitarian organizations, referring to those not involved but also volunteers for other distinguished associations. Consequently, two problems arose: volunteers of other organizations were also included in the reference category. And the reference category was not the same, fixed group of people being not involved in volunteering anymore. Therefore, we decided to use multinomial logistic regression analyses with the use of an allocation-rule, to opt for optimal similarity with regard to our results.

family', '...spend an evening with someone from the neighborhood' '...spend an evening with friends outside your neighborhood'. Categories were then reversed by the authors, constituting (1) never; (2) about once a year; (3) a number of times per year; (4) about once a month; (5) a few times per month; (6) once or twice a week; (7) almost every day. *Number of children in the household* was measured in LISS and concerned the number of living-at-home children in the household and / or children of the household head or his / her partner, running from zero to a maximum of six children.

Attendance at religious gatherings was measured in LISS with the question: 'Aside from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious gatherings nowadays?' Categories were then reversed by the authors, constituting (1) never; (2) once or a few times a year; (3) at least once a month; (4) once a week; (5) more than once a week; (6) every day. Relying on Wilson & Musick, (1997) we consider attendance at religious gatherings a public practice of religion. *Prayer* is seen as a private practice, and was measured in LISS via: 'Aside from when you attend religious gatherings, how often do you pray?' Answer categories were reversed by the authors, and are similar to attendance at religious gatherings, running from (1) never, to (6) every day. *Highbrow cultural consumption* was constructed by the authors, and based on a question in LISS by whether or not people had visited cultural organizations or performances over the past twelve months. We followed van Hek & Kraaykamp (2013) in the selection of cultural organizations and performances that are considered highbrow (and who were available in LISS). Highbrow cultural consumption runs from zero (no highbrow cultural consumption in the past twelve months) to eight (all selected cultural organizations and performances were at least a single time visited in the past twelve months).

We controlled for several factors measured in LISS which in previous contributions were associated with the likelihood to volunteer; *gender* (0 = female, 1 = male), *age* (in years), *migrant background*, *marital status* and *primary occupation*. Migrant background had categories of Dutch natives versus those with a migration history (categories constructed by authors). The latter was reference category. Marital status had categories (1) married; (2) divorced or widow(er) versus (0) never been married (categories constructed

by authors).¹⁴ Those had never been married were the reference category. Primary occupation was coded by the authors into (1) does paid work versus (0) not at work, or does unpaid work.

3.3.3 Methods

Descriptive information of all variables included in the analyses is presented in Table 3.1. The number of valid cases in the data is 4,517 respondents.¹⁵ Multinomial logistic regression was used to test the hypotheses. We followed a stepwise procedure in adding variables to the model, before estimating the full model. Note that the model fit (intercept only model versus model with added variables) improved significantly and that the full model fitted the data best. First, we performed multinomial logistic regression with human capital variables only including control variables; next, solely social capital variables and controls; third, only cultural capital variables and controls; finally, all capital variables including controls were added for estimating the full model. We only present the results of this final, full model. We first estimated a full model with people not involved in volunteering as reference category. The results are presented in Table 3.2. Next, we performed a full model with volunteers for humanitarian organizations as reference category to test whether relationships are stronger for this type of volunteering as compared to the other types of volunteering. Results are displayed in Table 3.3.

- 14 The category of separated people (from table and bed) was added to category divorced, as only nineteen respondents belonged to category separated originally. Next, the category widow(er) was added to divorced as well, constituting the category divorced or widow(er).
- 15 Variable personal disposable income had 503 missing cases. Using regression models to estimate respondents' missing personal disposable income (Horton & Kleinman, 2007), the number of missing scores reduced to 13 cases. Variable informal social interaction had 428 missing values. To decrease this, respondents with at least one score on the three relevant items remained included. Missing values then reduced to 128 cases. For attendance at religious gatherings and prayer, respondents who answered 'I don't know' (respectively 45 and 63 times) were accommodated to answer category 'never'. Consequently, both variables now have 249 missing cases. Concerning migrant background, 161 respondents with unknown origin were accommodated to category Dutch natives. Accordingly, all missing values in this variable disappeared.

Table 3.1 Descriptive statistics of variables included in the analyses (Valid N = 4,517)

	Minimum	Maximum	Average/%	Std.dev.
Volunteering				
For humanitarian organizations	0	1	3%	
For environmental organizations	0	1	1%	
For leisure organizations	0	1	10%	
For interest organizations	0	1	1%	
For other voluntary organizations	0	1	8%	
Not involved in volunteering	0	1	77%	
Education	1	6	3.78	1.52
Income	0	8000	1508.33	772.50
Subjective health	1	5	3.10	0.80
Informal social interaction	1	7	3.66	1.18
Number of children in the household	0	6	0.71	1.07
Church attendance	1	6	1.62	1.06
Prayer	1	6	2.28	1.90
Highbrow cultural consumption	0	8	2.01	1.81
Gender				
Male	0	1	47%	
Female	0	1	53%	
Age	16	102	53.12	18.27
Migrant background				
Dutch native	0	1	84%	
With a migration history	0	1	16%	
Marital status				
Married	0	1	53%	
Divorced or widow(er)	0	1	17%	
Never been married	0	1	30%	
Primary occupation				
Paid work	0	1	48%	
Not at work / unpaid work	0	1	52%	

Source: LISS (2019).

3.4 Results

3.4.1 Human capital indicators

Concerning educational level, results show significant positive effects of educational level on the likelihood to volunteer for humanitarian ($b: 0.305, p < 0.001$) and environmental ($b: 0.363, p < 0.01$) associations and other types of organizations ($b: 0.178, p < 0.001$), as compared to those not involved in volunteering. To a lesser extent, however still significant, educational level also increases the likelihood to volunteer for leisure organizations ($b: 0.077, p < 0.05$). Only volunteering for interest organizations is not related to educational level, when compared to the group not involved in volunteering. We proposed that educational level has a positive relationship with volunteering, and this actually holds for four out of five distinguished organizations. We, moreover, theorized that the positive relationship of educational level with volunteering is strongest in the likelihood to volunteer for humanitarian organizations. Table 3.3 shows that this is only true when the strength of the relationship of humanitarian organizations is compared to leisure organizations ($b: -0.228, p < 0.01$) and those not involved ($b: -0.305, p < 0.001$). In other words: the relationship of educational level with volunteering for humanitarian organizations is not stronger when compared to environmental-, interest and other organizations. Therefore, the proposition is partly supported.

Contrary to our expectation, personal disposable income is not related to volunteering for either of the associational types, when those not involved are the reference category. Moreover, there are no differences between organizations when those volunteering for humanitarian organizations are the reference category.

Subsequently, against our expectation, subjective health only has a positive relationship with the likelihood to volunteer for humanitarian ($b: 0.261, p < 0.05$) and leisure organizations ($b: 0.164, p < 0.05$). When humanitarian associations are taken as reference, it shows that a better subjective health decreases volunteering for interest organizations as compared to volunteering for humanitarian associations ($b: -0.559, p < 0.05$).

3.4.2 Social capital indicators

When compared to those not volunteering, informal social interactions increase the likelihood to volunteer for humanitarian- ($b: 0.204, p < 0.05$), leisure ($b: 0.168, p < 0.001$) and other types of associations ($b: 0.163, p < 0.01$).

This relationship is strongest for the latter two organizations. Informal social interaction is not related to environmental and interest associations. We proposed a positive relation of informal social interaction with volunteering, which is, however, not supported for all distinguished organizations. Moreover, Table 3.3 and additional analyses revealed, however, no differences between associations; informal social interaction is not stronger related to the likelihood to volunteer for any particular organization as compared to volunteering for humanitarian organizations.¹⁶

Number of children in the household is only positively related to volunteering for leisure organizations ($b: 0.152, p < 0.01$) when compared to those not involved in volunteering. Table 3.3 and additional analyses showed that, indeed, number of children is more positively related to volunteering for leisure organizations ($b: 0.289, p < 0.05$) when compared to humanitarian associations.¹⁷

3.4.3 Cultural capital indicators

Our results indicate a positive relationship between church attendance with the likelihood to volunteer for humanitarian ($b: 0.281, p < 0.01$) and interest organizations ($b: 0.670, p < 0.01$), as compared to those not involved. Also, there is a strong positive relation with the likelihood to volunteer for other types of organizations ($b: 0.620, p < 0.001$). This makes sense, as religious and church associations are part of this category. Considering prayer, results clearly reveal that this private form of religion is not related to the likelihood to volunteer for any type of organization, when compared to those not involved in volunteering. Again, there is a positive relationship in the likelihood to volunteer for other types of associations ($b: 0.097, p < 0.05$). We expected both forms of religion to be stronger positively related to humanitarian organizations. However, Table 3.3 indicates no differences in strength of the relationship when compared to environmental-, leisure and interest organizations.

16 Multinomial logistic regression was performed with environmental organizations as reference, but showed no significant differences between associations with regard to informal social interaction.

17 Multinomial logistic regression was performed with leisure organizations as reference, and showed that, compared to leisure organizations, the relation of number of children in the household with the likelihood to volunteer for humanitarian organizations is negative.

Table 3.2 shows that highbrow cultural consumption increases the likelihood to volunteer for all types of associations when compared to those not involved, except for interest organizations. We also proposed that the relationship was strongest for humanitarian associations. Table 3.3 shows, however, that highbrow cultural consumption is equally important in the likelihood to volunteer for the different types of associations we distinguished.

3.4.4 Control variables

With regard to our control variables, it is noteworthy that volunteers for humanitarian organizations mostly had no paid work ($b: -0.581, p < 0.05$) when compared to those not involved in volunteering. When volunteers for humanitarian organizations were compared to volunteers for leisure associations, humanitarian organizations had more female volunteers ($b: 0.593, p < 0.01$) and more volunteers with a non-Dutch background ($b: 0.585, p < 0.05$). Also, the other types of organizations (for instance religious associations and political parties) had less volunteers with a non-Dutch background ($b: 0.753, p < 0.05$) when compared to humanitarian organizations.

Table 3.2 Multinomial logistic regression estimating volunteering for different kinds of civic organizations with all capital indicators and controls

	Human.Org.		Environm Org.		LeisureOrg.		InterestOrg.		OtherOrg.	
	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.
Education	0.305***	0.072	0.363**	0.134	0.077*	0.038	0.286	0.150	0.178***	0.045
Income	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Subjective health	0.261*	0.118	0.017	0.214	0.164*	0.065	-0.297	0.257	0.102	0.078
Informal social interaction	0.204*	0.083	-0.002	0.151	0.168***	0.045	0.118	0.175	0.163**	0.055
Number of children in household	-0.137	0.122	-0.182	0.210	0.152**	0.056	-0.040	0.241	0.127	0.066
Church attendance	0.281**	0.101	0.031	0.259	0.056	0.070	0.670**	0.205	0.620***	0.062
Prayer	0.086	0.061	-0.134	0.141	-0.031	0.039	-0.102	0.140	0.097*	0.041
Highbrow cultural consumption	0.175**	0.051	0.241**	0.088	0.095**	0.029	0.126	0.110	0.124***	0.035
Male	0.002	0.192	0.179	0.329	0.595***	0.103	0.377	0.399	-0.353**	0.127
Age	0.007	0.008	0.004	0.014	0.000	0.004	0.000	0.017	0.001	0.005
Dutch native	-0.010	0.240	0.925	0.607	0.575***	0.159	0.456	0.560	0.743***	0.190
Married	-0.146	0.271	0.040	0.432	0.293*	0.147	0.090	0.587	0.074	0.179
Divorced or widow(er)	0.219	0.320	-0.628	0.650	0.046	0.196	0.727	0.670	-0.049	0.231
Paid work	-0.581*	0.229	-0.234	0.382	-0.214	0.117	-0.177	0.478	-0.464**	0.147
Intercept	-6.920***	0.774	-6.599***	1.413	-4.502***	0.419	-7.328***	1.594	-6.119***	0.508
Nagelkerke R ²	0.165									

Not involved in volunteering is reference category.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: LISS (2019).

Table 3.3 Multinomial logistic regression estimating volunteering for different kinds of civic organizations with all capital indicators and controls

	Environm.Org.		LeisureOrg.		InterestOrg.		OtherOrg.		Notinvolved	
	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.
Education	0.058	0.151	-0.228**	0.079	-0.020	0.165	-0.127	0.081	-0.305***	0.072
Income	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Subjective health	-0.245	0.241	-0.098	0.130	-0.559*	0.280	-0.159	0.135	-0.261*	0.118
Informal social interaction	-0.206	0.170	-0.036	0.092	-0.086	0.192	-0.040	0.096	-0.204*	0.083
Number of children in household	-0.045	0.240	0.289*	0.130	0.096	0.268	0.264*	0.133	0.137	0.122
Church attendance	-0.250	0.275	-0.225	0.118	0.389	0.225	0.338**	0.112	-0.281**	0.101
Prayer	-0.220	0.152	-0.117	0.070	-0.189	0.151	0.011	0.070	-0.086	0.061
Highbrow cultural consumption	0.066	0.101	-0.080	0.057	-0.049	0.120	-0.051	0.059	-0.175**	0.051
Male	0.177	0.377	0.593**	0.211	0.375	0.438	-0.355	0.221	-0.002	0.192
Age	-0.004	0.016	-0.007	0.009	-0.008	0.018	-0.006	0.009	-0.007	0.008
Dutch native	0.935	0.648	0.585*	0.279	0.466	0.603	0.753*	0.293	0.010	0.240
Married	0.186	0.503	0.439	0.299	0.236	0.641	0.219	0.311	0.146	0.271
Divorced or widow(er)	-0.847	0.717	-0.173	0.363	0.508	0.734	-0.268	0.376	-0.219	0.320
Paid work	0.346	0.441	0.366	0.250	0.403	0.526	0.117	0.262	0.581*	0.229
Intercept	0.321	1.595	2.418**	0.854	-0.408	1.755	0.801	0.887	6.920***	0.774
Nagelkerke R2	0.165									

Volunteering for humanitarian organizations is reference category.
* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.
Source: LISS (2019).

3.5 Conclusion

Humanitarian organizations distinguish themselves from other civic associations. In these latter associations, volunteering usually takes place within, or for the benefit of, the in-group. Instead, humanitarian organizations, for instance, provide aid to minorities as refugees and asylum seekers. In doing so, humanitarian organizations build bridges between different groups, thereby contributing to societies' social capital. However, there is a lack of research that explores who volunteers for humanitarian organizations. Therefore, this chapter addressed the research question who volunteers for humanitarian organizations as compared to volunteering for other organizations versus people not volunteering, in the Netherlands. Using survey data (N=5,050), we showed to what extent aspects of human, social and cultural capital play a role in the likelihood to volunteer for humanitarian organizations, versus environmental-, leisure-, interest and other types of associations. We built on a theoretical approach in which resources to volunteer are linked to volunteering (Wilson and Musick, 1997) for specific types of organizations, enriched with complementary theoretical classic insights (Bourdieu, 1984), constituting a coherent set of determinants to volunteer.

Concerning human capital, educational level is important for volunteering in general. This is irrespective of type of organization, except for interest organizations, thereby confirming its importance in volunteering (see Musick & Wilson, 2007; Wilson, 2012). Education matters, nevertheless, more in volunteering for humanitarian associations than for leisure ones. In fact, education matters for activist organizations in general, as it is strongly positively related to environmental associations as well. We find that income is unrelated to volunteering for all civic organizations, at least after controlling statistically for educational level. This contradicts previous findings (e.g. Musick & Wilson, 2007). One's subjective health is important in volunteering for humanitarian and leisure organizations. The relationship is, however, rather weak.

One particular social capital indicator, i.e., informal social interaction is strongly related to volunteering for leisure organizations. Number of children in the household only relates to volunteering for leisure organizations. Our findings support the proposition that parents are often drawn into volunteering opportunities, especially those related to their children's activities (Einolf, 2010; 2018; Gee, 2011).

Next, we find a stronger relation of church attendance with volunteering, than of praying. Church attendance positively relates to volunteering for humanitarian organizations. This shows the importance of moral values as benevolent helping (unknown) others and being a good citizen. These moral values are often spread in churches, and are likely to increase volunteering for humanitarian organizations. Highbrow cultural consumption is positively related to volunteering for almost all types of organizations. As a factor being mainly overlooked before (cf. Dean, 2016), this chapter shows that highbrow cultural consumption can be a structural predictor of volunteering in future research. Further, humanitarian and environmental organizations (constituting activist organizations) barely differ regarding the strengths of the relationships with all capital measures.

This chapter showed that some capital forms are more related to particular types of civic organizations. This reveals the different demographic compositions of the distinguished organizations. Previous research has, however, more than often treated volunteers irrespective of the type of organization they volunteer for (e.g. Ruiter & de Graaf, 2006). Therefore, we recommend to be more sensitive in distinguishing volunteering for different types of organizations in future research, as this chapter made clear that these organizations are substantially different from each other in terms of demographic characteristics of their volunteers. This finding may benefit volunteer management (e.g. Brudney, 2005; Brudney & Meijs, 2009) in all distinguished civic organizations, as they are provided with a more detailed understanding of their types of volunteers.

Next, by unraveling different socio-structural determinants of volunteering, we are better able to present a more comprehensive picture on ‘who’ volunteers for different organizations and ‘who’ volunteers for humanitarian associations in particular. This chapter namely found that volunteers for humanitarian organizations are relatively high educated, in good health, have frequent informal social interactions, attend religious gatherings and visit cultural organizations or performances. Moreover, compared to volunteers for other organizations, they are relatively often female and have relatively often an immigrant background. The ‘why’ in volunteering for any organization, and particularly for humanitarian organizations, however, remains to be answered in future research. We recommend to investigate volunteer norms and values in explaining the ‘why’ in volunteering for different associations. Finally, we studied socio-structural determinants for

volunteering in the last year (2019) before Covid-19 that impacted people's everyday lives and, consequently, civil society. This raises questions whether socio-structural determinants for volunteering have changed during or after the pandemic, and whether this potential change is temporary or lasting.



Chapter 4

Hop in and drop out: how are changes in the life course related to changes in volunteering for humanitarian organizations?

A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as:

Meijeren, M., Bekkers, R., & Scheepers, P. (2025). Hop in and drop out: how are changes in the life course related to changes in volunteering for humanitarian organizations? *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 1-27. doi: 10.1177/08997640251323574

René Bekkers and Peer Scheepers are co-authors of this chapter. The study on which this chapter is based was presented during the Dag van de Sociologie in Nijmegen, the Netherlands in 2024 and at the conference of the International Society for Third Sector Research in Antwerp, Belgium in 2024.

4.1 Introduction

In recent years there is an increased awareness that participation in philanthropic activities, such as volunteering, is a dynamic process (Nesbit, 2012; Rooney et al., 2021). “Volunteering needs to be understood as occurring as part of a lifelong process of decisions made among changing circumstances, and [is] therefore best understood longitudinally” (Hogg, 2016, p. 169). Recent studies based on longitudinal panel surveys examined the relationship of various life course changes with volunteering for different organizations. Examples of these dynamic studies are changes related to the composition of the household (Einolf, 2018; Nesbit, 2012, 2013), changes in religiosity (Aksoy & Wiertz, 2023; Johnston, 2013), paid work (Qvist, 2021), primary occupation (Wiertz & Lim, 2019), retirement (Eibich et al., 2022; Grünwald et al., 2021), and health (Broese van Groenou & van Tilburg, 2012). Several studies examined multiple life course changes (Gray et al., 2012; Hogg, 2016; Lancee & Radl, 2014; Niebuur et al., 2022). In the current chapter, we study how these life course changes are related to volunteering for humanitarian organizations.

Building on the resource perspective (Wilson & Musick, 1997, 1998) and the role substitution perspective (Mutchler et al., 2003), this chapter analyzes panel data in which volunteers for humanitarian organizations are tracked over a period of fifteen years. In doing so, we seek answers to two research questions: 1) how many people start, quit or continue volunteering for humanitarian organizations over a longer period of time? And 2) which life course changes are associated with starting volunteering for humanitarian organizations?

Following Sandri (2018), ‘humanitarian volunteering’ is defined as giving support, or providing aid to people in need who lack the provisions to overcome their issues.¹⁸ Volunteering for humanitarian organizations is unique in at least two aspects, which makes it a relevant and important case for testing hypotheses on life course changes and changes in volunteering. First, humanitarian volunteers typically do not work for the benefit of in-group members, as compared to much volunteering for other organizations, but they devote their time to help out-groups in society. Second, humanitarian volunteering is more subject to volatility over time

18 For the context of the Netherlands, this mainly involves giving support or help through formal organizations to groups that are outside society.

than other forms of volunteering. Societal events, such as, for example, the refugee crisis of 2015 - 2016, led to an increased demand for humanitarian volunteers while such societal pressures can be less prominent in other time periods. Hence, it is fair to assume that many people start and quit this type of volunteering, as the need for these type of volunteers is largely influenced by societal events or crises. In sum, this volatility is typical for volunteering for humanitarian organizations, especially when compared to other types of organizations where volunteering is much more continuous over time (Meijeren et al., 2023b).

Understanding the relationships between volunteering and life course changes is important, as recruiting and retaining volunteers has become increasingly challenging (Piatak & Carman, 2023; Prince & Piatak, 2023). Next, humanitarian crises create migration flows that fuel dynamics in the need for volunteers. Consequently, it is important to know why people start volunteering. A longitudinal, i.e., panel perspective tracking individual volunteers for a longer period of time might, therefore, reveal important findings that could foster the understanding of sustainability in humanitarian volunteering, which has come increasingly under pressure (e.g. Snyder & Omoto, 2008). Importantly, the data in the present chapter allow us to map changes in volunteering for humanitarian organizations that occur after life course changes over a period of fifteen years. In doing so, this chapter contributes to our scientific knowledge of the dynamics in the pool of volunteers for humanitarian organizations. In addition, we advance on previous studies that usually included only a small set of life course changes, by considering a large number of life course changes.

By taking a life course perspective, we make five contributions. First, this chapter deepens knowledge in the specific area of volunteering for humanitarian organizations. In doing so, we move away from the observed tendency that volunteering is often approached too generally (Brudney et al., 2019). Second, we take a rather unique approach by examining the relationship between changes within the life course of individuals and transitions into humanitarian volunteering. Third, we transpose theories developed for cross-sectional (static) comparisons between the personal characteristics of volunteers and non-volunteers to the dynamics of changes in volunteering within persons. So, we test to what extent the theories developed to explain why people with certain characteristics are more likely to volunteer can be generalized to explain associations between changes in the life course and

changes in volunteering. Fourth, the data allow us to give a very detailed individual-level view, from year to year, of what kind of people start (or continue) humanitarian volunteering and what kind of people drop out. In applying this detailed perspective, we advance on related studies with only a static design (e.g. Hustinx, 2010). Fifth, previous static research (e.g. Meijeren et al., 2023a) has shown that people with certain sociodemographic characteristics are more likely to volunteer for humanitarian organizations. Using a dynamic perspective, however, we show how life course changes are related to changes in humanitarian volunteering.

4.2 Theoretical insights

4.2.1 Resource perspective

We use two complementary perspectives to explain how life course changes relate to volunteering. The *resource perspective* (Wilson & Musick, 1997, 1998) emphasizes that the likelihood to volunteer is dependent on three different forms of capital.¹⁹ First, volunteer work is productive work that is facilitated by human capital, defined as resources that make work more productive, and therefore enable people to volunteer (Wilson, 2012). Examples are one's education, health condition and income level. Second, volunteer work is facilitated by social capital. Social ties supply information on volunteer opportunities, foster trust and norms of generalized reciprocity, provide support and create obligations (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Third, volunteer work is facilitated by cultural capital. Wilson and Musick (1997) emphasize the moral component of culture with norms and pro-social values that facilitate compassion regarding those people who deserve help. Bekkers and Schuyt (2008, p. 77) describe that churches stimulate volunteering because "they bring together communities of people who interact frequently with each other and who view (...) volunteering as a positive social activity". Religious groups clearly have norms that prescribe giving and volunteering. In doing so, frequent churchgoers are socialized in an environment where volunteering is propagated.

19 We adopted the theoretical framework of Wilson & Musick, which is the most widely used approach in research on volunteering. In their seminal article, Wilson and Musick (1997) rely on the forms of capital distinguished by Bourdieu (1986) for an explanation of differences between volunteers and non-volunteers. In addition to social and cultural capital, we also include human capital. We refrained from proposing notions on transformations of one type of capital into another in order to keep the complexity of our work within reasonable limits.

Wilson and Musick (1997, 1998) show that persons in the US with more human, social and cultural capital are more likely to be engaged in volunteer work. Bekkers (2006) provides such evidence for the Netherlands. While the resource perspective is mainly used to explain volunteering differences *between* people in static studies, it can also be applied to changes *within* individual life courses in dynamic research. Lancee and Radl (2014) propose that each person's stock of resources fluctuates over the life course. The resource perspective therefore "predicts changes in volunteering behavior over people's life course to the extent that their biographical trajectory affects their capacity to engage in volunteering" (p. 836). Lancee and Radl (2014) found that life course transitions related to the family realm, such as parenthood, marriage or divorce, are related to changes in volunteering behavior. However, their results may be biased because the analysis used characteristics of respondents at the time of the survey to 'predict' back in time what respondents have done in terms of volunteering in the past year.

4.2.2 Role substitution perspective

Next, the *role substitution perspective* predicts that the relationship between productive activities is characterized by a trade-off (Mutchler et al., 2003). Volunteering is a social role, next to other roles that individuals possess in life such as, for instance, the worker-role. If roles are dropped (e.g. when people retire), together with the identities and rewards that go along with these roles, people might (try to) compensate for this loss by taking up other roles in life, such as the volunteer role. Indeed, studies reasoning from this role theory approach (e.g. Mutchler et al., 2003; Niebuur et al., 2022; Wilson, 2000) have shown that life course changes generate shifts in individuals' roles, resulting in changes in volunteering behavior. The odds of starting volunteering increase when roles are dropped, for instance, when children leave the household or when individuals retire from paid work (Einolf, 2018).

We focus on several life course changes that may impact humanitarian volunteering. Following Kregting et al. (2023), we present these changes as much as possible in the order in which they typically, but not necessarily, occur over the course of life.

4.2.3 Hypotheses

A first important change in the life course, usually in early adulthood, are changes in educational attainment. Education is seen as one of the strongest resources for volunteering (Wilson, 2012), and is strongly related to

humanitarian volunteering as well, at least in static studies (Meijeren et al., 2023a). However, there are dynamic studies (Ruiter & Bekkers, 2009) that find no effect of educational attainment on starting volunteering. They reason that higher educated individuals are more likely to be members of organizations and, therefore, more likely to have a broader network and more social capital and consequently more likely to volunteer. Despite mixed evidence we assume that an increase in educational attainment contributes to resources to meet the demands of voluntary work.²⁰ Hence, for our first hypothesis (H1), we expect that *an increase in educational attainment increases the likelihood to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations*.

A second life course change is related to organized religion. There is a large body of research demonstrating a static association between religious involvement and volunteering (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008; Piatak, 2023), and humanitarian volunteering (Meijeren et al., 2023a). Moreover, using panel data, Aksoy and Wiertz (2023) and Johnston (2013) found a positive relationship of religion with volunteering. On the one hand, frequent churchgoers are more socially integrated, with higher levels of social capital, and therefore more likely to be asked to volunteer (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008). On the other hand, the more frequent people attend religious gatherings, the more likely they are to be socialized with cultural capital in sermons teaching them prosocial values (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008) and the virtue of doing volunteer work. Because they possess more social and cultural capital, frequent churchgoers should be more prepared to engage in volunteering.²¹ Hence, for our second hypothesis (H2), we expect that *an increase in attending religious gatherings increases the likelihood to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations*.

The change to mature adulthood typically is a more stable phase in life where one's socio-economic position becomes more or less established (Gray et al., 2012), with stable or rising incomes. Persons with more financial resources

20 Alternatively, changes in educational attainment may relate to humanitarian volunteering via other resources as well. First, a change in educational attainment may ensure that one's social network may be expanded. Second, the likelihood of better paid work is increased, which increases the perspective on larger economic capital.

21 Alternatively, changes in attending religious gatherings may relate to humanitarian volunteering via other resources as well. An increase in attending religious services may lead to less spare time that can be devoted to other activities, such as volunteering. Conversely, a decrease in religious involvement leads to more time available that can be spend on activities as volunteering.

are more likely to volunteer (Wilson, 2000, 2012). Moreover, a high income can enable people to stop working full-time, freeing up time for other activities.²² Therefore, we formulate a third hypothesis (H3), expecting that *an increase in income increases the likelihood to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations*.

Next, parenthood is another example of a change in the life course. Theorizing from a role substitution perspective, the birth of a (first) child imposes an important (new) role in life which means that other roles, as the volunteer role, are not likely to be taken up. Both static studies (Piatak, 2023), as well as dynamic studies (Nesbit, 2012; Niebuur et al., 2022) documented this relationship. Reasoning from a resource perspective, however, the presence of children also creates opportunities for volunteering as parents can get in touch with other parents and institutions related to their children's lives, increasing their social capital. When children grow older, therefore, parents are often drawn into volunteering opportunities, especially those related to their children's activities (Einolf, 2010, 2018).²³ However, this mechanism concerns leisure organizations rather than humanitarian ones (e.g. Gray et al., 2012; Meijeren et al., 2023a). When children leave the household, and parents enter the empty-nest phase, parental roles are dropped which increases the likelihood to volunteer. Therefore, (H4) we expect that *a decrease in number of children in the household increases the likelihood to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations*.

Another life course change is retirement. Arguing from a role substitution perspective, retirees lose an important role and might start volunteering to seek a new role in life (Mutchler et al., 2003). However, the evidence for this mechanism is inconclusive. Wilson (2012) describes that the literature does not suggest that volunteering is used as a substitute for work. Piatak (2016) found that retirees are more likely to initiate volunteer work than people in paid employment. In dynamic contributions, Grünwald et al. (2021), Mutchler et al. (2003), Nesbit, (2012) and Niebuur et al. (2022) demonstrated that retirees have higher odds to start volunteering. Eibich et al. (2022) report more longitudinal evidence by showing that retirement increases the frequency of volunteering in thirteen European countries and the United States. Seen

22 Alternatively, changes in income may relate to humanitarian volunteering also because high incomes allow these people to share their resources and extend their social capital.

23 This can be caused through two ways. First, parents may experience normative pressure to volunteer from, for instance, other parents from their children's school or institutions as the children's sports club. Second, parents are exposed to new networks via their children.

from a resource perspective, however, retirement implies the loss of social ties with colleagues, reducing opportunities to be asked to volunteer (Piatak, 2016). Taken together, in our fifth hypothesis (H5), we expect that *retirement increases the likelihood to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations*.

In later life, health problems might affect individual resources (Broese van Groenou & van Tilburg, 2012). A good health is a resource, while bad health raises the costs of doing voluntary work (Wilson & Musick, 1997). A good health condition is, therefore, positively related to volunteering (Wilson, 2012), and positively related to volunteering for humanitarian organizations in static research (Meijeren et al., 2023a). Conversely, dynamic evidence reports that deteriorated health decreases the likelihood to volunteer (Broese van Groenou & van Tilburg, 2012; Niebuur et al., 2022).²⁴ Hence, for our sixth hypothesis (H6), we expect that *an increase in one's health condition increases the likelihood to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations*.

Throughout the life course, the composition of the social network of individuals changes, with typically a decreasing network size in later life (Broese van Groenou & van Tilburg, 2012). Having a large social network creates resources that foster volunteering in multiple ways. Previous studies have argued that people with larger networks have more access to information (Bekkers & Ruiter, 2008; Wilson, 2000, 2012), more opportunities to be asked to volunteer (Piatak, 2023), and are exposed to more normative pressure to volunteer (Bekkers, 2006). Empirical evidence confirms that people with larger networks are more likely to volunteer (Niebuur et al., 2018; Wilson, 2000, 2012), a finding that also emerges from dynamic research (Broese van Groenou & van Tilburg, 2012; Nesbit, 2012). Previous static research showed that network size is positively related to volunteering for humanitarian organizations (Meijeren et al., 2023a), although humanitarian volunteers report that they were not specifically motivated to volunteer because their friends did so (Meijeren et al., 2024c). Nevertheless, in our seventh hypothesis (H7), we expect that *an increase in social network size increases the likelihood to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations*.

24 Alternatively, changes to a better or worse health condition may relate to humanitarian volunteering via other resources as well. Improving or deteriorating health may influence the likelihood to engage in networks and to obtain relevant information. Simultaneously, these changes may also affect opportunities to be asked to volunteer.

4.3 Methods

4.3.1 Data

In this chapter, we make use of data from the LISS panel (Longitudinal Internet studies for the Social Sciences) managed by the non-profit research institute Centerdata (Tilburg University, the Netherlands). LISS uses a household panel that is aimed to be representative of the population of the Netherlands of 16 years of age and older. LISS provides high-quality survey data and is developed to monitor changes in the life course and living conditions of the panel members aimed to represent the general Dutch population (Scherpenzeel, 2009). The panel is a random sample of Dutch household addresses, drawn by Statistics Netherlands. After the selected households are invited and informed with a letter, a face-to-face recruitment interview is conducted with them. When their response is positive, every household member with a minimum age of 16 years is able to participate in the panel. Self-selection into the panel is hence not possible.

This recruitment method to refresh the panel is repeated every two to three years, starting from 2007. To measure the degree of (selective) attrition and panel representativeness, the dataset is compared to the population figures of Statistics Netherlands. This is monitored throughout the year for specific socio-demographic characteristics on the household level, and for individual members of the household. These specific socio-demographic characteristics are, respectively, gender, age, educational level, net income per household, urbanity, province, household size and residential form.²⁵ When there is dropout and the panel becomes too small, a new recruitment round is started to reach the desired number of at least 5,000 respondents. A new recruitment round is also launched when there arises a threat of significant deviation from population figures of Statistics Netherlands, on specific characteristics as outlined here above. When attrition is selective on specific characteristics,

²⁵ Note that this information is obtained via personal communication with an associate from LISS.

Statistics Netherlands starts a stratified sampling round in order to overcome sampling error in the LISS panel.²⁶

Data are annually collected in two fieldwork periods of both three to four weeks. A reminder was sent twice to non-responders. A second fieldwork period is directed to those who did not respond in the first fieldwork period, again followed by two reminders. Questionnaires are filled out online. The data had a minimum of 5,051 respondents in 2019 and a maximum of 7,352 respondents in 2008. There are three reasons as to why the number of observations varies between the years. One, the selected number of household members who are part of the LISS panel differs from year to year, due to attrition and refreshment samples. Two, the annual data collection can be planned close to or close after a necessary recruitment round (see note twenty-six for an overview). Three, the response rates differ slightly from year to year.²⁷

The yearly retention rate is very high: about 90 percent and, as said, refreshment samples are drawn aimed to ensure panel representativeness. We make use of the data of the annual modules on (1) Social Integration and Leisure; (2) Health and (3) Religion and Ethnicity (Centerdata, 2022). These data have been collected between the years 2008 and 2022. Moreover, we use data of (4) the Background Variables module. This is a monthly module in which, for the years 2008 to 2022, we have selected the December module each time. Finally, datasets of all included years were merged into one dataset.

We retained only respondents who participated in the panel for at least two years to observe within-respondent changes over the years. Consequently, we removed observations from respondents who only participated once in the panel (1,7%). Our final dataset contained 118,451 observations of

26 The following recruitment rounds have been done in the past: initial random sampling round (2007); stratified sampling round (2009); random sampling round (2011); stratified sampling round (2013); stratified sampling round (2016); stratified sampling round (2019) and a random sampling round with a targeted approach (2022). Additional documentation from LISS shows that, as of 2015, lower educated, young people and lower incomes are somewhat underrepresented. In turn, higher educated and people older than 65 or pensioners are somewhat overrepresented. As said, the recruitment rounds correct this. Note that this information is obtained via personal communication with an associate from LISS.

27 See for the year 2008: https://dataarchive.lissdata.nl/study_units/view/7 (then click on Response Information). See for the year 2019: https://dataarchive.lissdata.nl/study_units/view/993 (then click on Response Information).

15,011 respondents.²⁸ Note that we, straightforwardly, limited our analyses to individuals who are ‘at risk’ to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations. This means that we focus on cases who did not volunteer at t-1 in order to predict whether they started volunteering at time t0. Consequently, the analyses concerning starting volunteering for humanitarian organizations were performed with 50,009 observations of 9,474 respondents. On average, respondents had been in the LISS panel for almost 11 years, with a standard deviation of more than 4 years. Participation in the panel varied from a minimum of 2 years, up to a maximum of all available 15 years.

4.3.2 Measurements

Dependent variable

Starting to volunteer for humanitarian organizations

Respondents were asked whether they had volunteered for humanitarian organizations in the past year, with the question: “We now list a number of organizations that you are free to join. Can you indicate, for each of the organizations listed, what applies to you at this moment or has applied to you over the past 12 months? – Performed voluntary work for an organization for humanitarian aid, migrants or human rights.”²⁹ We considered respondents who had not reported volunteer work for humanitarian organizations in one wave, but did so in the consecutive wave, to be persons who started volunteering for humanitarian organizations. Over the entire period of 15 years, there are 1398 respondents who started volunteering for humanitarian organizations. So, there are 1398 within-respondent observations with a change to starting volunteering for humanitarian organizations, compared to the year before.

Independent variables

Educational attainment is measured with the question: “Please select the highest level that you have completed (with a diploma or certificate).” Answer categories are (0) not yet started / completed an education, (1) primary

28 While preparing the data, there were 220 duplicates. These were 220 respondents that are in the data for two times with identical respondent numbers. Each time, we chose to transcribe the information to the line of the identical respondent number that contained the most information. We then removed the other line.

29 LISS, as of 2020, divided organizations for humanitarian aid, human rights, minorities or migrants into: ‘organizations for humanitarian aid and human rights’ and: ‘organizations for migrants’. We, however, combined these organizations to equal the measurement in the years before 2020.

school, (2) intermediate secondary education, (3) higher secondary education, (4) intermediate vocational education, (5) higher vocational education, and (6) university.³⁰ The frequency of *attendance at religious gatherings* is measured with the question: “Aside from special occasions such as weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious gatherings nowadays?” Answer categories are (0) never / I do not know, (1) once or a few times a year, (2) at least once a month and (3) once a week or more.

Following the operationalization of Meijeren et al. (2023a), the variable monthly *average income per household member* (in euros) is constructed by dividing the monthly net household income in euro by the number of members in the household. We applied data imputation to predict the monthly average income per household member among respondents with a missing value on this variable. Moreover, we divided the variable by one thousand to facilitate interpretation of the results. Next, *home ownership* refers to whether or not the respondent possesses a self-owned dwelling. Answer categories are (0) no and (1) yes. To measure *number of children*, LISS asks for the number of living-at-home children in the household and / or children of the household head or his / her partner.³¹ We then created four dummy variables to capture important changes in the life course that relate to children entering or leaving the household (Einolf, 2018; Nesbit, 2012), being 1) first child in the household (the change to parenthood), 2) additional child in the household, 3) child leaving the household and 4) last child leaving the household (leaving an empty nest).

Next, to measure *primary occupation*, LISS asks what the primary occupation is of the respondents. Original answer categories are grouped into three categories, being (1) performs paid work, (2) is pensioner ([voluntary] early retirement, old age pension scheme) and (3) other activities. *Subjective health* is measured by asking: “How would you describe your health, generally speaking?” Answer categories are (1) poor, (2) moderate, (3) good, (4) very good, (5) excellent. Next, we follow Meijeren et al. (2023a) in the construction of *interactions in the social network*. This scale is constructed out of three items in LISS: spend an evening with family’, ‘spend an evening with someone

30 Straightforwardly, respondents cannot drop in the highest reached level of education with diploma. However, there were 356 observations with a decrease. We treated these observations as measurement errors and recoded them with their value at $t-1$.

31 Note that respondents themselves can be children as well, as the minimum age of participating in the LISS panel is 16 years.

from the neighborhood’ ‘spend an evening with friends outside your neighborhood’. The answer categories of these three variables are similar, and as follows: (1) never, (2) about once a year, (3) a number of times per year, (4) about once a month, (5) a few times per month, (6) once or twice a week and (7) almost every day. Answers on these questions led to a sum score, which was then divided by three. The higher the score on the scale, the more social interactions in the network. Note that, similar to Meijeren et al. (2023a), we allow that respondents with at least one score on the three items remain included in this variable. This is done to reduce the number of missing values.

In the regression analyses we include four covariates to reduce the risk of spurious relationships. *Gender* is included and measured with (0) male and (1) female.³² Because younger Dutch cohorts are less active in voluntary associations (van Ingen, 2008), we control for birth year of respondents, categorized in decades, running from (1) the oldest years of births up to 1939, (2) 1940-1949, (3) 1950-1959, (4) 1960-1969, (5) 1970-1979, (6) 1980-1989, (7) 1990-1999 and (8) 2000 up to the youngest years of birth. We follow Kregting et al. (2023), measuring *religious socialization* with the question: “When you were 15 years old, how often did your parents attend religious gatherings?”³³ Answer categories are reversed, so that a higher score indicated more religious socialization, being (1) never, (2) once or a few times a year, (3) at least once a month, (4) once a week, (5) more than once a week and (6) every day.³⁴ Lastly, we include *year of measurement* to control for period effects and to be able to visualize trends. Table 4.1 reports the descriptive statistics for the variables used in this study.

32 LISS distinguishes the category ‘other’ in 2022. For consistency, however, we do not take this category into account as it has not been asked in the years 2008-2021.

33 As of 2019, LISS slightly changed the question into: “When you were 15 years old, how often did you attend church or other religious gatherings?” Despite the different question, we still believe that it is a valid measure of the degree of religious socialization in the respondents’ youth.

34 Before 2019, LISS used slightly different answer categories. Answer categories were (1) never, (2) less often, (3) only on special religious days, (4) at least once a month, (5) once a week, (6) more than once a week and (7) every day. As of 2019, LISS merged categories (2) ‘less often’ and (3) ‘only on special religious days’ into ‘once or a few times a year’. We used the categorization of 2019 and later.

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics dependent and independent variables (n = 118,451)

	min	max	M	%	SD
Dependent:					
Start humanitarian volunteering	0	1	.01		.11
Independent:					
Educational attainment					
not yet started / completed an education	0	1		3.97	
primary school	0	1		4.64	
intermediate secondary education	0	1		21.09	
higher secondary education	0	1		11.08	
intermediate vocational education	0	1		23.84	
higher vocational education	0	1		23.90	
university	0	1		11.49	
Frequency of religious attendance					
never / I do not know	0	1		60.49	
once or a few times a year	0	1		24.13	
at least once a month	0	1		5.30	
once a week or more	0	1		10.08	
Average income per household member	0.05	11.2	3.09		1.51
Number of children	0	5	1.05		1.32
Primary occupation					
performs paid work	0	1		51.29	
retired	0	1		19.09	
other activities	0	1		29.62	
Subjective health	1	5	3.11		.77
Social network	1	7	3.83		1.19
Controls:					
Year of survey					
2008	0	1		6.88	
2009	0	1		7.90	
2010	0	1		7.15	
2011	0	1		7.40	
2012	0	1		6.80	
2013	0	1		6.94	
2014	0	1		7.28	

Table 4.1 continued

	min	max	M	%	SD
2015	0	1		6.71	
2016	0	1		6.16	
2017	0	1		6.76	
2018	0	1		6.29	
2019	0	1		6.12	
2020	0	1		6.29	
2021	0	1		5.92	
2022	0	1		5.39	
Gender					
male	0	1		46.42	
female	0	1		53.58	
Cohort					
2000 up to youngest year of birth	0	1		4.63	
1990 – 1999	0	1		12.62	
1980 – 1989	0	1		12.04	
1970 – 1979	0	1		14.94	
1960 – 1969	0	1		17.28	
1950 – 1959	0	1		17.76	
1940 – 1949	0	1		14.58	
oldest year of birth up to 1939	0	1		6.15	
Religious socialization	0	6	2.52		1.48

Source: LISS (2008-2022).

4.3.3 Method of analysis

To obtain estimates for within-person changes in characteristics of respondents, we transformed the predictor variables into deviations from their person-specific means, following Schunk (2013). For each predictor, we subtracted person-specific scores from the person-specific means, resulting in person-specific deviation scores. Their descriptive statistics are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Descriptive statistics within-person change variables (n = 118,451)

	Min	Max	M	%	SD
Change in level of educational attainment	-5.50	4.00	.00		.23
Change in frequency of religious attendance	-2.80	2.80	.00		.34
Change in average income per household member	-5.25	7.44	.00		.64
Change in subjective health	-2.80	2.67	.00		.43
Change in number of social contacts	-4.40	5.04	.00		.70
First child in the household	0	1		0.53	
Additional child in the household	0	1		3.62	
Child leaving the household	0	1		15.24	
Last child leaving the household	0	1		1.34	
New job	0	1		2.44	
Went into retirement	0	1		1.21	
Transitioned to other activities	0	1		1.67	

Source: LISS (2008-2022).

We estimated hybrid panel models to examine the relationships of life course transitions with starting humanitarian volunteering.³⁵ Hybrid panel models allow us to estimate changes within persons and differences between persons at the same time, combining the benefit of controlling for unobserved heterogeneity in fixed effects models (Allison, 2009; Brüderl & Ludwig, 2015) while keeping the possibility of estimating differences between persons (Kregting et al., 2023). In a hybrid model variables reflecting within-person changes and between-person differences can be included.

Ruling out bias due to unobserved heterogeneity is a major advantage of fixed effects models over a pooled ordinary least squares or a random effects model. However, note that fixed effects models only address unobserved heterogeneity if the predictors in the model do not change over time. By definition, fixed effects models eliminate all characteristics that are stable within individuals. Fixed effects models control for all time-invariant differences between persons and only report on effects of time-varying

35 We also estimated models for quitting humanitarian volunteering: see Appendix 4.2 and Appendix 4.3.

independent variables (Allison, 2009), which in our case are the life course changes. Statistically significant coefficients in a fixed effects regression imply that a within-person change in a life course variable is associated with a within-person change in starting volunteering for humanitarian organizations. Following Eberl and Krug (2021), within-person estimates provide a stronger basis for causal inference compared to static comparisons between persons with different characteristics. “However, researchers often have no information about which change came first – the change in the dependent or the independent variables. Thus, bias due to reverse causality is possible” (Eberl & Krug, 2021, p. 280). We reduce the risk of reverse causality bias, by using lagged predictors, i.e. the value of the predictors in a previous time period (here: the previous year).

Many relationships between volunteering activity and characteristics of persons presented in previous research focus solely on differences between volunteers and non-volunteers, and not on changes within individuals. We formulated our hypotheses in terms of changes within persons. The hybrid models we estimate allow us to observe to what extent relationships between participation in volunteering and person characteristics are attributable to differences within and between individuals. In our models, the between effects of life course changes refer to average differences in humanitarian volunteering between all persons who did and persons who did not experience a certain life course change, regardless of when that change occurred. Between-effects models eliminate within-person variation by averaging observations over time and correspond to a regression based on group means (Allison, 2009). Thus, between-effects estimates are equivalent to taking the person-specific mean of each particular variable across time and estimating an OLS regression on this set of means. In doing so, between-person estimates allow for differences between subjects to be assessed without temporal changes influencing the results. The results of the fixed effects part of the hybrid model of starting humanitarian volunteering are presented in Table 4.3. The results of the between effects part can be found in Appendix 4.1. Crucially, we limit our analyses to individuals who are ‘at risk’ to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations. This means that we selected persons who did not volunteer at $t-1$ and seek to predict whether or not they started volunteering at time $t0$.

4.4 Results

Starters, quitters and stayers per year

Figure 4.1 shows changes in the proportion of survey participants who started, quitted or continued humanitarian volunteering during the years of study. The figure distinguishes 1) those who started volunteering compared to the year before (*starters*); 2) those who quitted volunteering compared to the year before (*quitters*) and those who volunteered for two consecutive years (*stayers*). Note that for each year, the total of starters, quitters and stayers adds up to a hundred percent.

Figure 4.1 displays that there is large fluctuation in the volunteer pool of humanitarian organizations, given that the more solid core of stayers is low and the inflow and outflow of volunteers is high. In 2014 - 2015 larger numbers started volunteering for humanitarian organizations. This larger inflow is likely to be related to the refugee crisis of 2015, when the influx of asylum seekers in the Netherlands was twice as high compared to the year before and more than four times larger than 2013 (Statistics Netherlands, 2024). In the years 2016 - 2018 and around 2021 the number of volunteers who quitted was higher than those who started. This may also be related to the

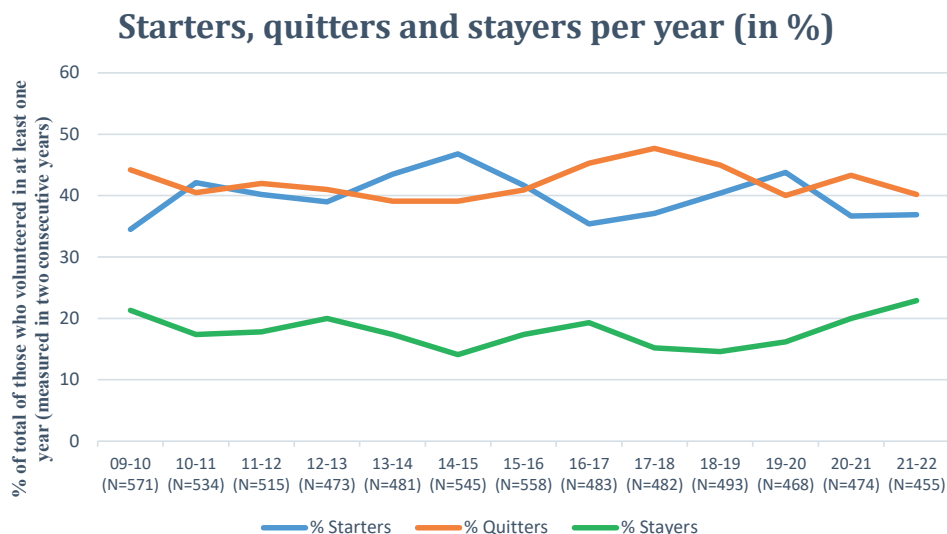


Figure 4.1 longitudinal overview of starters, quitters and stayers per year (in percentages)
Source: LISS (2008-2022).

influx of asylum seekers, as those numbers in 2016 - 2018 were sharply lower than in 2015 (Statistics Netherlands, 2024). The larger outflow of volunteers in 2021 could be related to the impact of the COVID-19 crisis. Dederichs (2023) demonstrated that the elderly, women and the higher educated in particular stopped volunteering at that time, and these are also the people who are more likely to volunteer for humanitarian organizations (Meijeren et al., 2023a). These descriptive results support our argument on the over-time volatility of this type of volunteering as compared to other types of volunteering.

Starting to volunteer for humanitarian organizations

Table 4.3 presents the results of the fixed effects portion of the hybrid model of starting with humanitarian volunteering. The analyses concern 50,009 observations of 9,474 respondents. We start with a focus on significant findings. We find support for hypothesis 7: respondents who expand their social network are more likely to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations, though the association is weak ($b = 0.002$, $p < .05$). We find a contradictory relationship for hypothesis 2. Here, the result shows that when Dutch people increase their attendance at religious gatherings, they are less likely to start humanitarian volunteering ($b = -0.003$, $p < .05$). This result runs counter to the prediction, and thus provides food for thought: not only is hypothesis 2 rejected, the outcome is also the exact opposite of what this hypothesis proposed.

We find no support for our hypotheses on an increase in educational attainment (hypothesis 1, $b = 0.003$, $p > .05$), changes in monthly income (hypothesis 3, $b = -0.001$, $p > .05$), changes in number of children (hypothesis 4, respectively: $b = 0.017$, $p > .05$ (first child in household), $b = -0.006$, $p > .05$ (additional child in household), $b = -0.000$, $p > .05$ (child leaving the household)), a change into retirement (hypothesis 5, $b = 0.009$, $p > .05$) and changes in subjective health (hypothesis 6, $b = -0.002$, $p > .05$). Notably, the signs of the parameters of monthly income, number of children and subjective health run counter to the predictions, though they are not significant, and all associations are weak. Some of the parameters point in the direction we expected, such as the parameters of an increase in educational attainment and a change to retirement, though they are close to zero. The rejections of our hypotheses imply that (recent) changes in people's lives do not (directly) relate to their voluntary behavior regarding starting volunteering for humanitarian organizations.

Table 4.3 Parameters from a mixed effects model on starting with humanitarian volunteering

	B	SE
Change in educational attainment	0.003	0.002
Change in frequency of religious attendance	-0.003*	0.001
Change in average income per household member	-0.001	0.001
Change in number of children		
First child in household	0.017	0.009
Additional child in household	-0.006	0.006
Child leaving the household	-0.000	0.004
Last child leaving the household	ref.	
Change in primary occupation		
Change to paid work	ref.	
Change to retirement	0.009	0.005
Change to other activities	0.006	0.004
Change in subjective health	-0.002	0.001
Change in number of social contacts	0.002*	0.001
Year of survey		
2008		
2009	-0.010***	0.003
2010	-0.008**	0.003
2011	-0.003	0.003
2012	-0.008**	0.003
2013	-0.005	0.003
2014	-0.005	0.003
2015	ref.	
2016	-0.006*	0.003
2017	-0.005	0.003
2018	-0.006*	0.003
2019	-0.001	0.003
2020	-0.000	0.003
2021	-0.009**	0.003
2022	-0.001	0.003
constant	0.005	0.008
R2 (within component of variance explained)	0.002	

Source: LISS (2008-2022). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (tested two-tailed).

Notes: 1) the analyses concern 50,009 observations of 9,474 respondents; 2) year 2008 not estimated due to lagged predictors; 3) estimations are from one mixed effects model including the predictors displayed in Appendix 4.1.

While the results of the fixed effects analyses lead to the rejection of most of our theoretical expectations, the results of the between effects analyses paint a more familiar picture that is largely in line with previous literature. These results, and its discussion, are presented in Appendix 4.1.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter examined to what extent life course changes are associated with the likelihood to start volunteering for humanitarian organizations, and how many people start, quit or continue humanitarian volunteering over a longer period of time. We took advantage of Dutch panel data in which humanitarian volunteers were individually tracked over a period of fifteen years, with an average panel participation of almost 11 years. Regarding our first research question, we found that the volunteer pool of humanitarian organizations is characterized by large fluctuations. On average, based on all pairs from consecutive years in the period 2009 - 2022, we found that more than 42 percent of the volunteers quitted, whereas almost 40 percent started and only 18 percent sustained humanitarian volunteering. To some extent, the fluctuations in the inflow and outflow of volunteers can be related to fluctuations in the inflow of asylum seekers coming to the Netherlands. In the years of the refugee crisis of 2015, when the influx of asylum seekers in Europe was considerably larger than the years before, the amount of starting volunteers was higher. In the years thereafter, when the influx of asylum seekers was considerably lower (Statistics Netherlands, 2024), the amount of quitting volunteers was higher. This tells us that volunteers in some years are more needed than in other years, which influences the dynamics of starting, quitting and continuing humanitarian volunteering. Previous work suggests that humanitarian volunteers tend to quit when they find that they only have few tasks left to perform (Meijeren et al., 2024a).

We used two complementary theoretical perspectives to derive testable hypotheses about the relationship between life course changes and starting humanitarian volunteering to address our second research question. First, the resource perspective emphasizes the dependency on resources for the likelihood to volunteer. Second, the role substitution perspective emphasizes the tradeoff between multiple social roles in life which could ultimately fuel or hamper volunteering.

Hypotheses about the life course changes are discussed in the order in which they typically, but not necessarily, occur over the course of life. Overall, the pattern is that the majority of life course changes in people's lives do not (directly) relate to individuals' voluntary behavior regarding starting humanitarian volunteering. This applies to educational attainment (hypothesis 1) as well, as we found that obtaining an educational degree was not related to an increased likelihood to start humanitarian volunteering in the subsequent year. This result is in line with a finding for voluntary work in general. Lancee and Radl (2014) argue that the higher prevalence of volunteering among the higher educated is due to a selection effect: people who will later attain a higher level of education perform more voluntary work even before they finish their education. Next, and to our surprise, increasing religious attendance (hypothesis 2) is associated with a lower likelihood to start humanitarian volunteering. This contradicts the evidence of Aksoy and Wiertz (2023) and Johnston (2013) for the UK and the US. Future research should further examine this relationship to assess if our outcome is an exception, as the Netherlands is a very specific case with a high level of secularization (e.g. Kregting et al., 2023). Further, findings revealed that changes in income are unrelated to starting humanitarian volunteering (hypothesis 3). This fits with the outcome of a meta review on determinants of voluntary participation (Niebuur et al., 2018), where it was found for the majority of studies that income appeared to be unrelated to volunteering of any kind.

Changes in number of children were unrelated to starting humanitarian volunteering, rejecting hypothesis 4. This implies that important changes in the composition of the household, being the birth of a first child, children leaving the household and the moment that the last child leaves the household, creating an empty nest (e.g. Einolf, 2018), do not lead to a decreased likelihood to volunteer. These outcomes contradict several studies in the broader volunteering domain (Einolf, 2018; Nesbit, 2012; Niebuur et al., 2022), but findings from a meta review found more heterogeneous results on this relationship (Niebuur et al., 2018). The straightforward interpretation may be that parents are not drawn into humanitarian volunteering via their children, as this is more applicable to leisure-related activities (Einolf, 2010, 2018). As such, in the case of humanitarian volunteering, parents' social networks and social activities are not affected when their child(ren) leave(s) the household. Next, a change to retirement had no significant relationship with starting humanitarian volunteering, in contrast to hypothesis 5. This is in line with

some previous contributions on volunteering in general, although there are also contributions reporting positive (e.g. Eibich et al., 2022) or negative (e.g. Qvist, 2021) relationships. In addition, changes in health are also unrelated to starting humanitarian volunteering (hypothesis 6). The explanation might be that changes in health are generally small and gradual, and the impact of those changes is also small (de Wit et al., 2022). Next, an expanding social network is positively related to starting humanitarian volunteering, supporting hypothesis 7. This finding is in line with outcomes of static work (Meijeren et al., 2023a).

In sum, we have found some important associations between life course changes and starting humanitarian volunteering. Furthermore, results for the between effects part of the hybrid model on differences between persons starting to volunteer for humanitarian organizations and those who do not are largely consistent with predictions based on previous static studies. Importantly, however, these theories cannot explain how life course changes are associated with changes in humanitarian volunteering.

4.6 Discussion

Taken together, the results in this chapter do not constitute a reason to disqualify important theories about volunteering altogether. The resource perspective (Wilson & Musick, 1997, 1998) and the role substitution perspective (Mutchler et al., 2003) received considerable support in the explanation of differences between volunteers and non-volunteers. But it is clear that these theories are not that fruitful when transposed to dynamic conditions to picture changes in humanitarian volunteering. The question that remains is whether our results are unique to humanitarian volunteering. We cannot rule out the possibility that both theories would have received support when applied to the broader volunteering field. Therefore, we suggest that future research expands the analysis we presented here to all forms of volunteering. In expanding the analysis, the unique contribution of this chapter – being the monitoring of specific volunteering behavior within individuals as related to changes in the life course over time – could be examined for other volunteering forms as well.

Next, we primarily assumed that volunteers for humanitarian organizations provided help to outgroups in society rather than giving aid to their ingroup.

At the same time, aid recipients may also become volunteers themselves (Fadel et al., 2024). However, we suspect that this phenomenon is rather rare and moreover not covered by our data, since these have not been designed to contain representative amounts of minorities. This suggests that the boundary between in- and outgroups is more blurred than the chapter might imply.

Finally, this chapter focused on theories applied to the decision whether people start to or quit to volunteer. The theories do not necessarily hold for other aspects of volunteering, such as the frequency and the number of hours spent on volunteering. Theories on the allocation of time (e.g., Becker, 1965) and the application of the opportunity cost approach are suitable theoretical directions to explain these decisions (Downward et al., 2020; Wallrodt & Thieme, 2023).

Part II

A closer look within one organization



Chapter 5

Assessing the ‘why’ in volunteering for refugees: exploring volunteer motivations

A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as:

Meijeren, M., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2024). Assessing the ‘why’ in volunteering for refugees: exploring volunteer motivations. *Voluntas*, 35(1), 129-139.

Marcel Lubbers and Peer Scheepers are co-authors of this chapter. The study on which this chapter is based was presented at SCOOP’s annual conference in Soesterberg, the Netherlands in 2022 and at RUNOMI’s annual conference in Nijmegen in 2022.

5.1 Introduction

Humanitarian crises mobilize parts of civil society (della Porta, 2018; Zamponi & Bosi, 2018), triggering people by the acuteness of the situation, who are willing to volunteer for others who have fled (Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017). Volunteers for refugees are considered to fulfil an important bridge function between the host society and refugees. They are among the first to reach out to refugees on behalf of the host society. What distinguishes volunteering for refugees from other volunteering is that time is given to a vulnerable group of newcomers in society, who are not (necessarily) considered to be part of the national ingroup (e.g. Kende et al., 2017). Given their bridge position, it is relevant to study why they want to volunteer for refugees and what motivations lie beneath the willingness to help.

Previous research showed that volunteers for refugees have “a broader and more inclusive scope of justice” (Kals & Strubel, 2017, p. 66). Moreover, volunteers for refugees are motivated by moral convictions (Kende et al., 2017), as “refugees are depicted as representing a moral category, whose support is an ethical duty” (Wyszynski et al., 2020, p. 608). However, what still lacks is a comprehensive overview of the different motivations for volunteering for refugees and whether these correspond to motivations previously already identified to be relevant for volunteering in general. Such motivations for volunteering in general are captured by the measurement instrument the Volunteer Function Inventory (VFI) (Clary et al., 1998a). We aim to understand whether volunteers for refugees share the motivations to volunteer that are included in the VFI or whether they or representatives of involved refugee volunteer organizations emphasize additional motivations.

By conducting focus groups with volunteers and interviews with their coordinators of refugee volunteer organizations, we provide a more comprehensive overview of the motivations of volunteers for refugees. We study this in the Netherlands, among volunteers for refugees who mainly fled from Afghanistan in the summer of 2021 when the Taliban came to power.³⁶ As shown by van der Veer (2022), these ad hoc social crises situations

36 Note that we do not intend to position the refugees as ‘passive aid receivers’ only, without acknowledging their own agency. Volunteer tasks were aimed at meeting the needs identified by refugees such as, providing legal and welfare assistance on the rights refugees have. Furthermore, daily interactions in the camp further give way to more equal (power) relations between volunteers and refugees (e.g. Sandri, 2018; Monforte & Maestri, 2022b).

activate volunteers to reach out to those in need. Therefore, we pose the following research question: What are motivations to volunteer for refugees and do these motivations differ from or complement the general motivations to volunteer as derived from previous theoretical insights?

In doing so, the contribution of this chapter lies in identifying (un)popular motivations for volunteering for refugees and in connecting theory around motivational instruments like the VFI with relatively new literature on refugee solidarity and politicization to interpret our results and identify missing motivations. It expands the understanding of volunteering in general with exploring and testing to what extent motivations that are considered key, also hold in the context for volunteering for refugees specifically and whether additional motivations apply. Thus, this chapter explores how applicable a general, leading motivational framework is in a specific area of volunteering. Moreover, our approach helps unraveling specific motivations of volunteering for refugees and may help involved organizations and municipalities to better understand and / or mobilize their volunteers. For instance, by designing more targeted policies to recruit and retain volunteers.

The chapter is structured as follows: we start with a theoretical inventory to grasp relevant motivations for volunteering for refugees. Then, we outline our methodological approach, together with a clarifying paragraph on the specific Dutch refugee reception situation. Next, we use the results' section to solely describe results. We provide theoretical reflections on the results in the subsequent discussion section, and end the chapter with conclusions regarding the research question, main results, implications for future research and limitations of the research.

5.2 Theoretical insights on motives to volunteer

We start with an inventory of previous research on motivations to volunteer, providing us with theoretical insights on these motivations. Then we select a wide range of particular motivations considered plausibly related to motivations to volunteer for refugees. The Volunteer Function Inventory is point of departure. From other volunteering motivation scales we derive motivations complementary to the VFI we deem relevant for volunteering for refugees. We use these insights to inform our topic list submitted to focus groups with volunteers for refugees.

5.2.1 Volunteer function inventory

One of the most influential motivational instruments to explain volunteering is the VFI (Clary et al., 1998a). The VFI has been tested in many studies (for a review, see Mannino et al., 2011) and identifies a set of motivations that contribute to volunteer work (Wilson, 2012). It assumes that motivations impel actions, and assesses both self-focused and other-focused reasons as to why people volunteer (Mannino et al., 2011). The VFI also acknowledges that different people may volunteer for different reasons.³⁷ In total, the VFI is a 30-item instrument to empirically assess six key motivations in volunteering: *values*, *understanding*, *social*, *career*, *protective* and *enhancement*.

Personal *values* are related to a person's "altruistic and humanitarian concern for others" (Clary et al., 1998a, p. 1517). It is through acts of compassion that volunteers aim to demonstrate their beliefs and humanitarian values (Wuthnow, 1991). Volunteers for refugees in Calais were particularly motivated by such feelings of compassion (Sandri, 2018). Next, *understanding* is concerned with an individual exercising the opportunity to utilize skills on understanding others as well as to develop new skills (Clary et al., 1998a). It thus refers to volunteering as means of personal growth (Musick & Wilson, 2007) and is found to be an important motivator for refugee volunteers (Milan, 2018). *Social* motivations give volunteers a means "to be with one's friends or to engage in an activity viewed favorably by important others" (Clary et al., 1998a, p. 1518). Dávila and Díaz-Morales (2009) showed that social motives were only of importance among the oldest age volunteers. *Career* motivations relate to career exploration and enhancement (Clary et al., 1998a). Straightforwardly, young people are most likely to volunteer for this reason, especially when they are about to enter the labor market (Musick & Wilson, 2007). Subsequently, *protective* motivations serve volunteers by reducing feelings of guilt associated with their own fortunate circumstances (Clary et al., 1998a). It has to do with enabling people to deal with inner conflicts, uncertainty about the self, emotional needs and the like (Musick & Wilson, 2007). Therefore, humanitarian aid work can be seen as "a moral fulfillment that provides comfort and satisfaction to one's own self" (Chouliaraki, 2013, p. 4). Finally, *enhancement* motivations "involve positive strivings of the ego" such that the volunteer develops a positive affect by growing psychologically (Clary et al., 1998a, p. 1518). Malkki (2015, p. 3), for

37 It should thus be noted that even motivations that prove to be of little relevance for many people, might be very important for certain individuals.

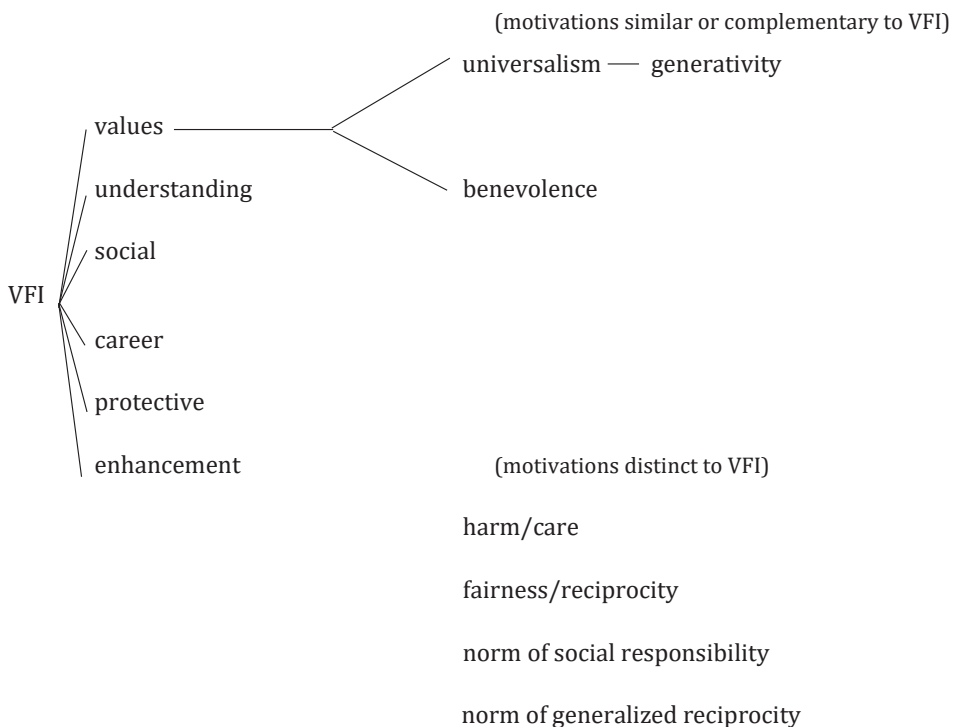
instance, found an “undeniable neediness” among humanitarian aid workers being fulfilled through their volunteering.

5.2.2 Complementary motivations

There is however more research on motivations for volunteering that does not rely on the VFI. That research is discussed here with the aim to discover potential motivations to volunteer for refugees complementary to the VFI. A conceptual map of these additional concepts and how we consider these to relate to the VFI is presented in Figure 5.1. Jiranek et al. (2013) also studied additional motives for improving the VFI and added a social justice component. That justice component is also reflected in the *universalism* value of Schwartz (1992; Schwartz et al., 2001).³⁸ *Universalism* refers to being broadminded and tolerant, expressing societal concern for others in society and showing concern for nature (Schwartz et al., 2001). Two items that represent *universalism* are social justice and equality (Schwartz, 1992). Justice, societal concern, broadmindedness and being tolerant may be relevant to volunteering for refugees. Next, we also select Schwartz' *benevolence* as these “are also the values most often linked with helping and also volunteering” (Grönlund, 2011, p. 869). *Benevolence* covers actions aimed at improving the welfare of others who need one's help (Verkasalo et al., 2009). This may apply to volunteering for refugees. Two exemplary items that express *benevolence* are helpfulness and loyalty (Schwartz, 1992). *Universalism* and *benevolence* may be considered part of the VFI *values* function, but are made explicit as separate dimensions by Schwartz.³⁹

38 Other distinguished values do not, or barely, apply to volunteering for refugees, as *achievement* and *power* values emphasize own relative success and control over others (Verkasalo et al., 2009). *Conformity*, *tradition* and *security* refer to values emphasizing self-restriction, preservation of traditional practices and protection of stability, whereas *hedonism*, *stimulation* and *self-direction* are 'openness to change' values which emphasize own independent thought and action (Verkasalo et al., 2009). Moreover, *benevolence* and *universalism* are most often linked with volunteering (Clary et al., 1998b). See Schwartz (1992) and Schwartz et al. (2001).

39 See for instance the similarities between VFI *values* item: *I feel it is important to help others* and *benevolence* item: *I volunteer, because it is important to respond to the needs of others*.

Figure 5.1: Conceptual map of theoretical insights

Next, *generativity* is mentioned in the literature as a possible motivation for people to volunteer and we consider it potentially relevant for volunteering for refugees as well (Musick & Wilson, 2007). Generativity points to a concern some people display for the welfare of the next generation and, more general, the welfare of the wider community (Musick & Wilson, 2007). The *Loyola Generativity Scale* (LGS) is developed to measure individual differences in the concern that people have for present and future generations (Morselli & Passini, 2015). Musick and Wilson (2007) found that this generativity predicts volunteering for a wide range of activities and thus might be related to volunteering for refugees as well. LGS relates to VFI *values* and Schwartz' *universalism* when it comes to concerns about (unknown) others, but is distinct in an explicit concern for the welfare of future generations.

Two other motivations come from Haidt's (2013) *Moral Foundation Theory* (MFT), where a framework of morality is introduced. MFT states that there are five basic moral foundations, that can be viewed as the building blocks of morality (Prince, 2010). We select *harm/care* and *fairness/reciprocity*, as these foundations may relate most plausibly to volunteering for refugees.⁴⁰ *Harm/care* gives rise to specific virtues and vices (Haidt, 2013). Under this foundation, people value kindness and compassion and disapprove cruelty, suffering and aggression. As kindness and compassion are valued by people, it might motivate volunteering for refugees as refugees represent a 'moral category' for whom support is an ethical duty that will be rewarded by society (Wyszynski et al., 2020). The need to alleviate the suffering of refugees was the main motivation for many of the volunteers in the study of Monforte and Maestri (2022b). Next, the *fairness/reciprocity* foundation represents the perhaps "most universally recognized virtue–justice" (Prince, 2010, p. 1296). The justice component, as previously added to the VFI by Jiranek et al. (2013), is therefore also reflected in this moral foundation. Hence, *fairness/reciprocity* relates to *universalism* when the importance of justice is considered. As research revealed that volunteers for refugees have a broader and more inclusive scope of justice (Kals & Strubel, 2017; Milan, 2018), this moral foundation is likely to be a relevant motivation in volunteering for refugees.

Further, two norms can serve as motivation in volunteering for refugees.⁴¹ A norm of *generalized reciprocity* indicates that people provide service to others, or act for the benefit of others, in the generalized expectation that this kindness will be given back at some undefined time by some unknown person, in case of future need (Musick & Wilson, 2007). A norm of *social*

40 We argue that the other moral foundations do not, or barely, apply to volunteering for refugees, as *ingroup/loyalty* refers to dedication towards the own ingroup while refugees represent an outgroup (for at least most of the volunteers). This chapters' sampling strategy namely complicated the participation of (former) refugees (see limitations in the conclusion). For studies about refugee volunteering see Baillie Smith et al. 2022 and Carlsen et al. 2022 (these are also studies where ingroup/loyalty could apply to volunteering for refugees, in contrast to this chapter). Furthermore, *authority/respect* and *purity/sanctity* refer to moral standards that seem to lay outside the scope of volunteering for refugees. See Haidt (2013) for more background.

41 We acknowledge that a norm of *social justice* might be relevant as well (e.g. Musick & Wilson, 2007). The justice related motivation is, however, already included in Schwartz' *universalism* and the *fairness/reciprocity* foundation of MFT.

responsibility requires people to place community's wellbeing over personal interests. Volunteers are more likely than non-volunteers to mention that a "good citizen is socially responsible" (Musick & Wilson, 2007, p. 102.). The abstract norm of *generalized reciprocity* deviates from the foregoing, as an explicit appeal is made to the goodness of an unknown person in the future. A norm of *social responsibility* approaches the LGS, but is more directed to the own local area instead of wider present and future generations.

5.3 Methodological strategy

5.3.1 Data collection in the Dutch context

The Central Organization for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (short: COA) is responsible for the reception of refugees and asylum seekers. It is an assignment from the Dutch Ministry of Justice and Safety that is politically responsible. The demand for asylum reception in the Netherlands fluctuates and increased to an estimated 42.000 places by the end of 2022 (COA, 2022a). This aim, however, was set before the war in Ukraine. COA uses five strategies to deal with fluctuations: 1) expanding existing reception centers, reopening reception centers or opening new ones; 2) deploying space capacity at existing centers; 3) deploying temporary capacity, as recreation parks; 4) deploying emergency reception, as refugee camp Heumensoord, where volunteers in this chapter mainly volunteered and 5) crisis reception in sports halls. COA always (re)opens or closes a reception center only after the local municipality has agreed to it. A municipality is currently not obliged to accommodate newcomers, however, the government works on a law that will oblige municipalities to accommodate newcomers in the future (COA, 2022b). COA works with cooperation partners, such as organizations related to refugees. These organizations have volunteers, who volunteer for refugees under authority of COA. Note that these volunteers themselves are not affiliated to the government. However, as COA is responsible, volunteers must adhere to the guidelines prescribed by COA.

5.3.2 Background of refugee situation and selection of volunteers in focus groups

In order to host the, approximately, 1000 Afghan refugees who came to the Netherlands, refugee camp Heumensoord was opened by COA in the fall of 2021. This camp is closely located to the Dutch city of Nijmegen, close to the German border. Volunteers were included in this research if they met

a number of criteria.⁴² First, we included volunteers who had direct contact with refugees. Second, volunteers had to do their voluntary work in refugee camp Heumensoord, or in Nijmegen. Third, volunteers had to work under the auspice of an involved organization. Selected organizations were the Yalla Foundation Nijmegen and VluchtelingenWerk Nijmegen (Refugee Work Nijmegen). Their selection was based on three criteria: (1) they both had permission to enter the refugee camp; (2) they were willing to cooperate and (3) they could cooperate on short notice (after all, the camp was only temporarily open). Fourth, we only spoke with volunteers who engaged in time consuming regular support initiatives (e.g. Kals & Strubel, 2017), so those who had frequent contact with refugees while volunteering. On the one hand, with permission, volunteer recruitment took place by the authors with calls on the private Yalla Foundation Facebook page. On the other hand, permanent staff of VluchtelingenWerk Nijmegen took care of their recruitment for this research.

We held focus groups with six to eight volunteers per group. Such group sizes are large enough to gain a variety of perspectives and small enough to avoid that focus groups become disorderly or fragmented. Due to strict Covid-19 measures in the Netherlands that were imposed during the data collection, especially during the lockdown in the winter of 2021, three focus groups were conducted online in Zoom. We then chose for a maximum of six participants, to ensure an orderly online environment for optimal data collection. In total, eight focus groups were conducted with a total of 44 participants. Similar to Monforte and Maestri (2022a, 2022b), the majority of the sample was female and older than 50. Females and elderly were overrepresented. Further, all participants were of Dutch nationality. Most volunteers had only recently started volunteering. They were mobilized to volunteer in the temporary refugee camp. Finally, five individual interviews (physical or online) were conducted with coordinators of the involved volunteers.

42 Note that we obtained permission for this research after extensive screening by the University's Social Science Ethics Committee. In addition, we sought permission from the organizations involved and formalized it. Next, all focus group participants and also the interviewees were briefed in writing in advance (active informed consent) about the background and purpose of the study. The Ethics Committee's approval for this research is attached as Appendix 5.4.

5.3.3 Development of topic lists for focus groups

We developed two separate topic lists: one for the focus groups with volunteers (see Appendix 5.1), the other for the individual interviews with coordinators. Note that both lists are identical, with only the difference that coordinators are questioned about their volunteers. In doing so, we apply triangulation as coordinators functioned as ‘third eye’ in the data collection. The focus groups topic list was developed in such a way that participants first were asked about their motivation(s) to volunteer for refugees with an open question. Afterwards, participants were referred to existing motivations to volunteer as outlined in the theoretical section, with the use of a small questionnaire. It is with this questionnaire that we aimed to appeal to the intrinsic motivation(s) of participants. Moreover, by using the questionnaire, we were able to ensure that participants could think about motivations that are mentioned in the literature and whether these applied to them. Precisely, participants were questioned which motivations were (un)important in their volunteering, and whether other motivations applied to them that were not included in the questionnaire. With the latter question, we aimed to fully catch all (previously overlooked) motivations to provide a comprehensive overview of motivations for volunteering for refugees.

The questionnaire consisted of thirteen items. Every item represented a different motivation. Items one to six referred to, respectively, VFI *career*, *protective*, *understanding*, *enhancement*, *social* and *values*. Item seven measured Schwartz’ *benevolence*, and item eight *universalism*. Item nine referred to LGS. Items ten (*harm/care*) and eleven (*fairness/reciprocity*) represented MFT. Item twelve measured the *generalized reciprocity* norm and item thirteen the norm of *social responsibility*.

We had three criteria in the selection of items for the questionnaire: 1) only one item per motivation; 2) sufficient mutual differences between items, to avoid that participants got confused and 3) only include ‘positively’ formulated items. Note that all items were derived from existing and previously validated scales, except for items twelve and thirteen. We chose for one item per motivation only, to not interrupt the dynamic character of a focus group.

5.3.4 Strategy for analysis

Texts of focus groups and interviews were transcribed in separate manuscripts. Each manuscript was analyzed from start to finish, to include

any motivation that was mentioned more implicitly or appeared during a discussion between participants at any stage of the data collection. Next, by ways of the focus group discussions, people could apply that motive to themselves, even though they did not come up with the motive themselves initially. The latter demonstrates the added value of the focus groups.

The thirteen motives we derived from the literature were coded 'MO1' to 'MO13'. Note that all MO's correspond with the order of motivations in the questionnaire. We then counted whether a particular motivation was mentioned by any participant, irrespectively of whether it was mentioned multiple times. The counting procedure was as follows: 1) a respondent indicated in the questionnaire certain motivations as important or unimportant and, if applicable; 2) that same respondent mentioned in the focus group a *new* (un)important motivation that was not previously indicated as such in the questionnaire.

When participants referred to motivations that were not captured in the questionnaire, and as such were not derived from previous research, we coded them as 'Missing_MO:_(subject)'. Again, we counted the number of participants that referred to these missing motivations, where also a missing motivation could only count once per respondent. Further, we selected relevant quotes that clarified particular (missing) motivations.

Next, we applied two decision rules: 1) motivations included in the questionnaire were considered popular or unpopular if at least ten participants marked them as such (see Appendix 5.2); 2) missing motivations would be elaborated upon if they were mentioned at least by five participants (see Appendix 5.3). Interviews with coordinators served as means to underline the results from volunteers and were used to capture motivations that were not mentioned by volunteers, for instance related to VFI *protective*.

5.4 Results

We find that items of VFI *understanding* and *values* are popular motivations, as well as motivations based on social justice (reflected in Schwartz' *Universalism* and MFT's *fairness / reciprocity*). Items of VFI *career* and *social* proved to be unpopular. We identified four missing motivations, being *seeking for a meaningful role*; *pragmatism*; *being driven by media exposure* and *the*

emotional dimension. Triangulation identified the importance of VFI *protective*, and also *career*. Below, we systematically elaborate on these results.

5.4.1 Popular motivations

The item in the questionnaire *‘Volunteering lets me learn things through direct, hands on experience’* (VFI *understanding*) was the most popular motivation. One volunteer declared: “I’m very interested in other cultures anyway, and it’s so enriching to meet those people and see how they deal with their struggles and miseries”.⁴³ Also popular was *‘I feel compassion toward people in need’* (VFI *values-item*) and *‘I volunteer, because I want everyone to be treated justly, even people I don’t know’* (*universalism*). Because this expression of the importance of social justice is also strongly reflected in MFT’s *fairness / reciprocity*, we list that moral foundation as popular motivation. A volunteer stated: “Everyone should have equal opportunities, but the people at the bottom of the ladder are the refugees ... the moment they put their feet on Dutch ground they have, by definition, an unequal chance and have to go through an institutional jungle. And if I am someone who has to lead them through that jungle, then I want to do that”.⁴⁴ Another volunteer indicated: “I cannot stand it when people have it so lousy. I think that is so terrible”.⁴⁵

5.4.2 Unpopular motivations

‘Volunteering experience will look good on my resume’ (VFI *career-item*) was most unpopular. A volunteer said: “We are here with older people some of whom are already retired, that just does not play a role anymore then, or much less”.⁴⁶ Younger volunteers, however, said: “I am still in the beginning of my career, so that is definitely something that is important to me”.⁴⁷ The other unpopular motive was *‘people close to me do this type of voluntary work as well’* (VFI *social-item*). Volunteers repeatedly indicated that no one around them did this type of work. However, some volunteers mentioned the role of socialization, which could be considered part of the social function as well, for example: “My grandmother was already taking in Belgian refugees in 1914. And later Hungarian refugees. For me this was normal, I grew up with it. For me it was something very natural. Ordinary, that is what you

43 Participant in focus group 1, Nijmegen, 23/11/2021.

44 Participant in focus group 7, online, 25/01/2022.

45 Participant in focus group 1, Nijmegen, 23/11/2021.

46 Ibid.

47 Participant in focus group 5, online, 22/01/2022.

do".⁴⁸ Another noteworthy finding was that a few volunteers told that they lost contact with some family members after saying they were doing this volunteer work, or conversely did not tell about this volunteer work for fear of reactions from some of their loved ones. These stories also relate to VFI *social*.

5.4.3 Missing motivations

Four missing motivations arose in the analysis. One, volunteers were *seeking for a meaningful role* in life through their volunteering. A volunteer declared: "I started because I just did not want to sit behind the geraniums. And I was looking for something that was useful and that kept me up to date".⁴⁹ One coordinator described: "helping refugees gives many volunteers also a goal in their lives. They have found a meaning in their life again after retiring from work".⁵⁰ A second missing motive was the *pragmatism* of volunteers. A volunteer told: "I can exercise my hobby, mean something to those people at the same time and see the immediate results of my actions".⁵¹

A third missing motivation was *being driven by media exposure*. Volunteers frequently referred to a situation in a Dutch village in August 2021, where people protested against the refugee arrival. These protests formed the direct motivation for some to start volunteering: "What I also heard a lot was that people wanted to give a counter signal to the protests in Harskamp. Then, of course, you also respond to events shown in the media".⁵² A last missing motivation was *the emotional dimension*. A volunteer recalled: "Yes, it does affect me. Because if I have a client in front of me, well that could be my father. And that was actually my motive for doing this".⁵³

5.4.4 Findings from triangulation

The VFI is often used in (anonymous) questionnaires. It is possible that focus groups are more prone to social desirability bias. To overcome this issue, we applied triangulation by interviews with coordinators. An important aspect that was signaled by coordinators was volunteering to feel less lonely, an

48 Participant in focus group 1, Nijmegen, 23/11/2021.

49 Participant in focus group 1, Nijmegen, 23/11/2021.

50 Author interview with anonymous coordinator from Yalla Foundation, Nijmegen, 18/11/2021.

51 Participant in focus group 2, Nijmegen, 29/11/2021.

52 Ibid.

53 Participant in focus group 6, Nijmegen, 24/01/2022.

item of VFI *protective*, from which we had chosen an item that was formulated positively. One coordinator stated: “I also have some people who did not say that literally, but in which I really saw that they just needed it. People in whom I did see all sorts of signs of loneliness and in whom I thought: yes, they just need the contact themselves”.⁵⁴ Triangulation also disentangled that people use this type of volunteering to help them work through their own personal problems. Again derived from VFI *protective*, this applied to those who use this volunteer work to reintegrate into society after illness, burnout or dismissal. Lastly, people use this type of volunteering to explore different career options. That belongs to VFI *career*. This might happen when people get stuck in their careers and consider a change. One coordinator declared: “Some see it as, I want to make a switch and I am going to see what that is like, working with refugees or migrants”. They really see it as ‘I got stuck in my career and now I want something else’.⁵⁵

5.5 Discussion

Focus groups with volunteers for refugees indicated that they value justice, and show a concern for unknown others. This chapter thus finds support for the social justice function, previously added as important motive to the VFI by Jiranek et al. (2013). It demonstrates their broader and more inclusive scope of justice (Kals & Strubel, 2017). Similar to Sandri (2018) volunteers were to a large extent motivated by feelings of compassion. This displays the altruistic, other-focused, humanitarian actions of the volunteers, as people “understand their ‘help’ as a humane duty to people in need” (Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017, p. 19). Note that we already argued in the theory section that *universalism* (and *benevolence*) is more or less represented in VFI *values*, however, given the results, the volunteers in our research do explicitly identify it as a distinct important value.

Next, VFI *understanding* was very popular, thereby supporting the findings of Milan (2018) in her research among volunteers for refugees in Austria. An aspect that might explain the popularity of the *understanding* function is that

54 Author interview with anonymous coordinator from Vluchtelingenwerk, Nijmegen, 31/01/2022.

55 Author interview with anonymous coordinator from Vluchtelingenwerk, Nijmegen, 08/12/2021.

volunteers for refugees are mostly higher educated (Kalogeraki, 2018). It may be possible that higher educated volunteers may appreciate more the learning effect in doing this volunteer work and also are more open to (learning from) other cultures because of their broader horizons (Wilson, 2012). Subsequently, this might partly explain the popularity of Schwartz' *universalism* in this chapter, because of its reference to broadmindedness.

Results also revealed that volunteers mainly mobilize without career perspectives in mind. However, this outcome may be due to the composition of our sample. Most volunteers were retired, indicating that a resume was not important anymore. Triangulation, nevertheless, showed that some non-retired, older volunteers started volunteering to explore different career options. In this regard, VFI *career* can also be relevant for some older volunteers. The few younger people we had in our sample (like Monforte and Maestri, 2022a, 2022b) displayed the importance to volunteer in function of their CV. This supports the assumption derived from Musick and Wilson (2007) that young people are likely to volunteer out of career perspectives, especially when they are about to enter the labor market. It, however, raises the question why refugee support organizations have difficulties to attract and retain young volunteers. Della Porta (2018) suggested that heightened criminalization of refugees in which even practices of those offering support have come under attack (della Porta & Steinhilper, 2021b) may demotivate these young volunteers.

Another clear result was the unpopularity of VFI *social*. Since we had an older sample, our findings contradict Dávila and Díaz-Morales (2009) who found that social motives were of importance among the oldest age volunteers. It should be noted, however, that some volunteers had experienced volunteering for refugees in the family sphere or have relatives who work in the field of immigration and got mobilized through these ways. These types of mobilization contain a social component. Additionally, some volunteers revealed that they were reluctant to talk about their volunteer work because they had unpleasant experiences. In these cases, (extreme) right-wing ideas of the other were the reason. These stories provide evidence that practices of humanitarian volunteers are increasingly under attack (della Porta & Steinhilper, 2021b) and might be understood in terms of shrinking civic space in light of 'contentious solidarity' (della Porta & Steinhilper, 2021a).

We also discuss the absence of political motivations, which are mentioned in more recent studies to be relevant for volunteering for refugees. In our research it was only mentioned once. Earlier studies show that political motivations become more important the longer people volunteer for refugees (della Porta & Steinhilper, 2021b; Hinger, 2016; Monforte & Maestri, 2022a; Sandri, 2018). This is related to 1) situations where volunteers face adversity and hostility towards their engagement and, consequently, politicize their motivations (Monforte & Maestri, 2022a); 2) interactions in the ‘spaces of encounters’ between volunteers (among themselves) and refugees (Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017) and 3) the highly politicized societal context with the subject of migration as dominant issue of political conflict (e.g. della Porta & Steinhilper, 2021b). Our sample, however, consisted mostly out of recently started volunteers who were activated by the opening of the temporary refugee camp. It is, therefore, quite possible that political motivations were not yet relevant to them. On the other hand, we identify the response to major events as portrayed in the media as a missing motive, which can easily be linked to the political motivation. But overall, this chapter found that political motivations were less important for the volunteers who recently started, which is in line with the literature (Eliasoph, 1998; Fleischmann & Steinhilper, 2017; Malkki, 2015; Monforte & Maestri, 2022a; Sandri, 2018).

Subsequently, triangulation demonstrated the importance of VFI *protective*. People volunteer for refugees to overcome their personal problems and to feel less lonely. Sandri (2018) demonstrated that volunteering for refugees indeed creates a significant space for sociality and new forms of community. Consequently, it offers “some degree of protection against loneliness, social isolation and asocial time” (Malkki, 2015, p. 134).

Next, four missing motivations were discovered. First, *exposure to controversial media* messages turned out to be an important motive. We define *media exposure* as a process where volunteer involvement is fueled by what people see and hear in the media. For example, people began volunteering for refugees after seeing the poignant images of dead toddler Alan Kurdi on a beach in Turkey in 2015 (Alcalde & Portos, 2018), or when former British Prime Minister David Cameron referred to refugees in Calais as a ‘swarm’ (Sandri, 2018). *Seeking for a meaningful role* in volunteering is a second missing motive. Not the least because many volunteers in the sample were retired and therefore were seeking for a meaningful daily activity. This closely relates to the role-substitution-perspective (Lancee & Radl, 2014), because

retirees lose an important role in their lives and might try to retrieve another by volunteering for refugees. However, doing something meaningful also relates to VFI *values* (doing something for a cause that is important to me). So, it remains to be seen to what extent this missing motivation actually forms a different dimension as compared to the content of the VFI.

Another missing motivation was the *pragmatism* of volunteers. Following Malkki (2015) and Monforte and Maestri (2022a), we refer to pragmatism as a perspective where volunteers focus on the tangible, visible and often quantifiable outcomes of their actions. Through this, they obtain their personal gratification (Krause, 2014). This immediate efficacy of their direct, hands-on aid, “can be identified as one of the main reasons why volunteers took part in [this] aid operation in such high numbers” (Sandri, 2018, p.74). It should be noted that pragmatism to some extent may be related to VFI *understanding*, as the tangible practice of skills is also central here. Considering *the emotional dimension*, the fourth missing motivation, volunteers mobilize because they identify emotionally with refugees based on (similar traumatic) biographical experiences in the past (Milan, 2018; Milan & Pirro, 2018). Volunteers are, for instance, emotionally involved because of a shared flight history (of a close relative) (Milan & Pirro, 2018). We should note that this also seems to contain a social component and therefore may be related to VFI *social* in some way. However, we suggest that these missing motivations should be tested in large scale surveys to test their potential as a motive for volunteering.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined the motives for volunteering for refugees and the extent to which the VFI is able to capture those motives. After all, a critique is that VFI functions are not exhaustive or fully comprehensive (Wilson, 2012). We find support for the added value of a social justice function, as previously added to the VFI by Jiranek et al. (2013). Next, four motivations that were missing from the theoretical framework we derived from earlier studies, arose from our data analyses. First, volunteers do this work because they search for meaningful roles. Second, volunteers have pragmatic reasons and engage in this work because of the tangibility and visibility of their volunteer actions. Third, exposure to controversial media messages fuels volunteer engagement. Emotions, being the final missing motivation, mobilize

volunteers as they identify emotionally with refugees based on (similar traumatic) biographical experiences in the past. At first glance, the identified missing motivations seem distinct from the VFI. However, taking a closer look, aspects of some of the identified motivations seem to relate to the VFI. Therefore, we stress the need to include and test them as a new motivational framework for volunteering for refugees in large scale surveys in order to assess their prevalence and distinctiveness.

This chapter supports the VFI's emphasis on the motive that is summarized as 'values'. People distinguish between different values that are all captured by the single dimension of VFI *values*. However, if the distinguished values would be operationalized by more items than is done in the VFI-instrument, we might arrive at distinctions in which Schwartz's *benevolence* and *universalism* also can be disentangled. For example, if in future research we have five separate items for each of the dimensions benevolence, universalism, compassion and helping others in need and we include those twenty items in a questionnaire and submit it to volunteers, do we still find one dimension of values or do we find those subdimensions? We therefore propose that future research should focus on this methodological matter to further improve the VFI *values* function. We also have to acknowledge, however, that the reduction in this chapter of the VFI scales to one item each might have affected the reliability of the results, since respondents were drawn e.g. to one specific value on the VFI-*value* dimension.

Next, we acknowledge that volunteers in our sample volunteered in a temporarily refugee camp that may reflect a response to act on a sudden crisis more explicitly than would have been found among volunteers who all volunteered for a longer period of time. We suggest to pose the question for future research whether motivations to volunteer are conditional on the context of the refugee-reception situation and the duration of volunteering. Further, there may have been sample bias since the data collection was in Dutch. Consequently, volunteers with a different migration background may have been excluded. Likewise, (former) refugees who volunteer themselves might have been excluded. We were thus not able to extend the research to refugees who volunteer themselves and possible inequalities in this process (Baillie Smith et al., 2022; Carlsen et al., 2022). Potentially, the absence of (former) refugees in the sample might have led to an underrepresentation of

the emotional dimension as missing motivation to volunteer. Moreover, this chapter may have been subject to social desirability bias. The VFI is often used in anonymous questionnaires. It is possible that focus groups are more prone to social desirability bias.

This chapter shed light on motivations to volunteer for refugees. We deem it important to get better understanding of the dynamics of volunteering as well and suggest to study whether there are factors during the process of volunteering for refugees that undermine or strengthen these motivations and how that matters for (dis)continuity in volunteering for refugees.



Chapter 6

How to keep them inside? Organizational and motivational factors that influence volunteer retention for refugee aid organizations

A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as:

Meijeren, M., Ellemers, N., & Lubbers, M. (2025). How to keep them inside? Organizational and motivational factors that influence volunteer retention for refugee aid organizations. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 1-30. doi: 10.1002/nml.21667

Naomi Ellemers and Marcel Lubbers are co-authors of this chapter. The study on which this chapter is based was presented at the conference of the European Research Network on Philanthropy in Zagreb, Croatia in 2023 and at the conference of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action in Washington DC, the United States in 2024.

6.1 Introduction

Prior studies have examined what motivates people to volunteer. This has revealed to what extent demographics, beliefs, and motivations distinguish volunteers from non-volunteers (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2018; Lockstone-Binney et al., 2022; Meijeren et al., 2023a; Musick & Wilson, 2007). However, once started, an important question is whether and why volunteers continue. This is particularly important, “as volunteer-using organizations globally report an increasingly challenging search for volunteers, fueled partly by rising turnover rates” (Koolen-Maas et al., 2023, p. 354). Sourcing new volunteers is seen as a serious challenge by organizations (Warburton et al., 2018), likely to only increase in the future (Koolen-Maas et al., 2023). However, limited theoretical and empirical attention is paid to volunteer retention, despite its critical importance for organizational sustainability (Piatak & Carman, 2023; Warburton et al., 2018). Moreover, there is a lack of theory and comprehensive models that explain why people want to continue to volunteer, especially in light of the different forms of support that volunteers receive (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007). This lack of knowledge does not help nonprofit organizations that often struggle with volunteer shortages (Compion et al., 2022).

Earlier studies do suggest the importance of organizational factors for volunteers’ motivation to continue, as for example found in the study on continuing or quitting volunteering at the Belgian Red Cross from Hustinx (2010). The study also showed that the role of the organization was more important the longer volunteers were involved. Hustinx (2010) and also Brudney and Meijs (2013) notice a tendency that volunteers are not necessarily committed to one specific organization. This tendency, called *reflexive volunteering* (Hustinx, 2010; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003) may not be problematic from a volunteer perspective, as it means that volunteers can ‘drop-by’ and ‘move-on’ when they want (Eliasoph, 1998; Hustinx, 2010).⁵⁶ However, from an organizational perspective, reflexive volunteering may be

56 Most volunteers in this study are defined as *ongoing*, or *traditional* volunteers (e.g. Brudney & Meijs, 2013; Koolen-Maas et al., 2023). “Ongoing volunteering is a commitment to help the organization or a cause for a significant period (usually more than six months) that requires skill and features the volunteer providing service on a regular basis” (Cnaan et al., 2022, p. 417). See Appendix 6.2 (duration of volunteering). For more forms of volunteering in contemporary times (for instance, on the increasing importance of episodic volunteering), see Cnaan et al. (2022) and Koolen-Maas et al. (2023).

undesirable, as it forces organizations to costly investments in terms of time and money in ongoing cycles of volunteer recruitment and professionalization (Hager & Brudney, 2004). Also therefore sustaining the volunteer energy (e.g. Brudney & Meijs, 2013) is key.

When volunteering, experiences with the volunteer organization and stakeholders come thus into play. Satisfaction with both the organization and the work itself may then possibly carry people beyond the initial motivation to volunteer. Only few studies have examined these factors for volunteer retention (Forner et al., 2024; Piatak & Carman, 2023). Those studies stress the relevance of experiences and contextual conditions, such as task-oriented and emotion-oriented organizational support (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007; Vecina et al., 2009) next to individual beliefs and personal motivations (Clary et al., 1998a). In this chapter, we examine refugee volunteers for the largest Dutch refugee aid organization, and evaluate how experiences with the organization relate to connectedness to the volunteer organization and what personal factors relate to the willingness to continue volunteering.

Value-driven motivations are key for starting refugee volunteering (Landmann et al., 2023; Meijeren et al., 2024c). However, how to commit and retain those volunteering for refugees once they have started their volunteer work, has hardly been identified yet. Addressing this among people who are already in the organization will advance the understanding of what keeps people motivated to volunteer in refugee aid. To get a better understanding of what drives volunteers in their work we will also theorize about the unique position these volunteers have, as a bridge between newcomers and society and how this motivates volunteers to continue. This is critical, since the volunteer pool of refugee organizations is very dynamic, and may be even more dynamic compared to other organizations, as less than one-fifth of them volunteers for two consecutive years (Meijeren et al., 2025a). Consequently, these insights will benefit refugee aid organizations to improve their retention strategies.

To summarize, we examine first which organizational factors contribute to maximize volunteers' organizational connectedness. Second, we explore what personal factors contribute to volunteer's willingness to continue while we compare whether these motivations are different from motivations identified in earlier research to start volunteering for refugees. In answering these questions, this chapter makes two important contributions. First,

it deepens knowledge with regard to volunteer retention in a specific volunteering area, namely humanitarian (e.g. for refugees) volunteering. This is important, as the way volunteering is organized and managed differs from volunteering sector to sector (Brudney et al., 2019). Some of the answers to our questions are expected to hold for volunteering in general as well, and spill over to other organizations that work with volunteers. Second, this chapter establishes to what extent task-oriented and emotion-oriented explanations for both organizational connectedness (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007) and people their willingness to continue hold in the volunteering for refugees context. We uniquely make use of data collected among volunteers working for the largest refugee organization in the Netherlands and analyze both answers to open-ended questions as well as a statistical analyses of answers to close-ended questions.

We first will provide a theoretical rationale to focus on what factors to understand both organizational connectedness and people's willingness to continue. Then we analyze volunteers answers to open-ended questions on people's intention to continue to volunteer, to find evidence for the factors we derived from the theory. Thereafter, we explore with regression analyses what role identified factors play and furthermore, get more detailed information from the open answers on why people are or are not willing to continue to volunteer. Lastly, we conclude with suggestions for further research and with practical and theoretical recommendations based on this chapter's outcomes.

6.2 Theoretical framework

6.2.1 Sustainable volunteering under pressure

In contemporary societies volunteering has come under pressure, which has been dubbed 'reflexive volunteering' (Hustinx, 2010; Hustinx and Lammertyn, 2003). It aligns with a suggested broader shift in society to continuous self-monitoring of individual life courses and lifestyles. Reflexive volunteering "refers to the idea that individualized conditions and volunteer experiences have to be reconciled in an active and permanent way: [volunteer] motivation, occasion, and opportunity have to match a particular biographical stage or situation" (Hustinx, 2010, p. 238). Volunteering is thus seen as an extension of oneself and is expected to be a source of personal satisfaction and fulfillment (Cnaan et al., 2022). As such, these volunteers are mainly focused on what is on offer for them and typically develop only weak organizational

attachments, leading to less overall organizational commitment (Brudney & Meijs, 2013). This would imply a high turnover. In terms of having a pool of volunteers of a sufficient size, this is not necessarily a problem, but it requires more investment from an organizational perspective, since it costs time and money to train and guide a continuous refreshing cohort of volunteers. The level of support that organizations provide to volunteers may be a crucial aspect to counter this reflexive volunteering and to create a more sustainable volunteers base.

6.2.2 Organization-related factors for volunteer retention

Multiple organizational strategies and best practices have been identified (e.g. Hager & Brudney, 2004), most of them rooted in HRM traditions (Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013), to increase volunteer satisfaction that in turn positively affect retention. Prior research observed that volunteers expect that organizations support them, for instance, to overcome problems that may occur during their volunteering (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007). This is important, as weak organizational support is considered to be one of the strongest predictors for volunteer turnover (Forner et al., 2024). Boezeman and Ellemers (2007) distinguish two forms of organizational support that are deemed relevant to the field of volunteering. These forms are *task-oriented* and *emotion-oriented* organizational support, based on how these forms of support reduce stress and serve coping mechanisms (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984). It may be relevant in the context of refugee volunteering as well since refugee volunteers usually perform skilled tasks for which substantial support from refugee aid organizations is required (Habracken et al., 2013; Meijeren et al., 2023a).

Following Boezeman and Ellemers (2007), we use the term task-oriented support to indicate provisions and resources that help volunteers address and resolve practical problems they encounter during their volunteer work (cf. Lazarus & Folkman, 1984). Supervision and training are examples of instruments for task-oriented support. They provide someone to go to discuss problems and skills on best practices. Okada et al. (2022) found that training opportunities lead to volunteer satisfaction, which in turn led to intention for future volunteering. Also Studer and von Schnurbein (2013) and Piatak and Carman (2023) report that organizational commitment is positively affected by volunteer training. Hustinx (2010), in turn, found that issues with training (such as useless courses) and supervision (feelings of being left alone) were important reasons to quit volunteering. Also Hager and Brudney (2004)

show that organizations who offer training and professional development opportunities for their volunteers have higher retention rates.

Other task-oriented factors that may affect retention might be material rewards, such as expense reimbursements (Wu et al., 2019). However, in the volunteer business, “financial means or other resources available to reward, motivate, and retain volunteer workers are limited” (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2009, p. 898). But organizational commitment can be shaped independently of material rewards, for example by caring for work pressure. This may go in two directions: if too many volunteers are recruited, people may experience there is too little work, resulting in feelings of uselessness and a dissatisfying volunteer experience, ultimately hampering retention (Maas et al., 2021). On the other hand, high work pressure and / or the feeling that there are not enough volunteers to make a difference can be just as off-putting. Indeed, ongoing volunteers are sometimes overused (e.g. Brudney & Meijs, 2013), resulting in high work pressure that might diminish retention as well.

We differentiate task-oriented from emotion-oriented organizational support, to indicate forms and sources of support that do not directly address or resolve actual problems encountered, but help volunteers cope with negative *feelings* they may experience as a result of their work. In line with theoretical notions on emotion-focused coping (e.g. Lazarus & Folkman, 1984), volunteer organizations can offer these forms of support to reduce stress among volunteers – even if the actual sources of such stress are not taken away. Organizations and their representatives can accomplish this for instance by expressing appreciation or gratitude for the volunteer’s time and effort and by communicating the worth of their effort.

Several scholars articulated the importance of recognizing the efforts of volunteers for volunteer retention (Hager & Brudney, 2004; Meijs and Brudney 2007). They showed that the experience of being valued was positive for volunteer retention. Also in a study about quitting, Hustinx (2010) found that volunteers were more likely to do so when they did not feel appreciated by the organization. Haski-Leventhal et al. (2011) and Piatak and Carman (2023) demonstrated that volunteers consider a sense of being acknowledged and appreciated by the organization as very important. As such, it is important that nonprofit organizations have multiple contact channels, to adequately address volunteer needs, preferences and emotions (Mato-Santiso

et al., 2023). In sum, the distinction between more task-oriented support and more emotion-oriented support offers potential insight into what factors of perceived organizational support are relevant for connectedness to the organization that also in the specific field of refugee aid may be crucial for retention of volunteers.

6.2.3 Motivations-related factors for volunteer retention

The previous section outlined how volunteers experience the organization in terms of the support they receive during their volunteering. This section elaborates on what volunteers aim to get out of their volunteer experience and what they want to contribute to by ways of their volunteering. The distinction we made between task-oriented and emotion-oriented may be relevant here as well. First, we focus on the perceived volunteers' *task* to contribute to improving the situation of refugees. Second, we address the potential positive *emotions* volunteers experience when helping refugees, such that volunteers feel valued by the refugees they volunteer for.

For volunteers to continue volunteering, it is suggested to be relevant that their expectations are met (Hopkins & Dowell., 2022; Maas et al., 2021). Expectations that are met are part of a successful and pleasant volunteer experience, which fosters volunteer motivation and satisfaction and, consequently, fuels volunteer retention (Brudney & Meijjs, 2013; Vecina et al., 2009). This leads to the question what the motivations of volunteers for refugees are to continue doing this work.

There is a growing body of literature that focuses on motivations to start volunteering for refugees. Landmann et al. (2023) and Meijeren et al. (2024c) applied the Volunteer Function Inventory (VFI) to assess its importance specifically for volunteering for refugees, and found the *Values* function (altruistic and humanitarian concerns for others) and the *Understanding* function (the opportunity to utilize skills on understanding others as well as to develop new skills) to be of particular importance. In contrast, few studies focused on motivations to continue refugee volunteering. Motivations to start or to continue are not necessarily the same, as motivations to continue volunteering may differ from the initial motivation(s) that applied when the volunteering began (Cnaan et al., 2025; Finkelstein, 2008). After all, refugee volunteers have committed themselves to a *cause* (e.g. the situation of refugees) they are committed to, and do this on behalf of an organization.

When volunteering, volunteers for instance may become more aware of their ‘bridge-function’. They may increase awareness during their volunteering that they are the first, and often most-trusted (e.g. Landmann et al., 2023) representatives of the host society through the refugees’ lens and, vice versa, are seen as people who first connect with newcomers in society through the host society representatives’ eyes. Hence, this bridge function refers to the important dual role that volunteers may play in communities, towards refugees and the host society: 1) supporting refugees participate in society and 2) improving societal tolerance toward refugees. These concrete outcomes make dual role motivations task-oriented, as volunteers may use their volunteering as a task to achieve these kind of changes in society. This type of motivations may emerge especially within ongoing volunteers (e.g. Cnaan et al., 2022). We explore the role of this *bridging motivation*, that is more specific to volunteering for refugees, next to the earlier identified VFI functions as motivations for starting volunteering, to evaluate their applicability as a motivation for sustained volunteering for refugees.⁵⁷

6.3 Methods

6.3.1 Data collection

Data are collected by the authors in the Netherlands in 2023, among volunteers for refugees working for Dutch refugee aid organization VluchtelingenWerk (VWN). VWN’s volunteer pool consisted of 9,381 volunteers in 2023 (VluchtelingenWerk, 2023). The majority (63%) of these volunteers are female, and almost a quarter (24%) is 61 to 70 years old. We refer to the study of Brudney et al. (2019) for a well described account of the specifications of the Dutch volunteer context.⁵⁸ Several procedures were used to promote the survey: 1) volunteers received the survey invitation via the email-account of the organization; 2) volunteer coordinators were informed about the survey with a request to communicate this to their volunteers; 3)

57 Our aim is, thus, not to identify all possible motivations for sustained volunteering for refugees, but rather to draw attention to the usefulness of motivations that relate to the dual role of volunteers for refugees.

58 Following Brudney et al. (2019), the Dutch volunteer context is marked by a high percentage of volunteers who are active in membership associations or in organizations that know their members well. Accordingly, a large number of volunteer-involving organizations in the Netherlands are membership-based, with most of them being grassroots associations (locally based, basically autonomous, volunteer-run, formal, nonprofit with an official membership of volunteers).

the survey was described and a link to the survey was posted in a message on the organization's Intranet and 4) the survey was sent to the organization's online panel.^{59, 60} The survey could be completed from mid-January 2023 to mid-March 2023, so volunteers had over nine weeks to complete the survey. Towards 7,727 volunteers a survey invitation was sent and 1,090 volunteers completed the survey, leading to a response rate of 14%. Discussing the response with the organization, it turned out that many volunteers did not use the special email-account that was set up by the organization and hence were not reached by the survey invitation, partly explaining the relatively low response. We refer to the dataset and codebook for further details (Meijeren et al., 2024a).

Similar to previous studies that focused on volunteering for refugees (Meijeren et al., 2024c) the majority of the sample was female and older than 50. Moreover, compared to the Dutch population, our sample was very educated, relatively often retired and more often of Dutch descent (see Appendix 6.1). Next, Appendix 6.2 shows that two-thirds of the volunteers have been doing their volunteering for less than six years.

The questionnaire was partly based on existing items from pre-validated measures, such as the VFI (Clary et al., 1998a). Some items were based on earlier qualitative research that examined motivations for volunteering for refugees that were not captured by the VFI (Meijeren et al., 2024c). Specifically, the survey was structured as follows. First, the survey questioned behavioral indicators of the volunteering, such as the time spent on it, the connectedness to the organization and the motivation to continue volunteering. Second, questions on motivations to volunteer were designed. Third, the survey questioned the volunteers' experiences with partner organizations in the field. Fourth, the survey continued by asking the social economic characteristics of the volunteers. Lastly, questions concerning volunteers' background characteristics were asked. In total, the survey consisted of 81 questions, of which 13 questions were open-ended and 68 were close-ended.

59 Note that all of these steps were performed in cooperation with and after approval from the organization. The procedures themselves were performed by an employee of the organization who had access to all resources, such as email addresses of the volunteers.

60 The organization has an online panel to answer internal questions. This panel is composed entirely of volunteers and the number is over four hundred.

The survey was cognitively tested in a pilot among a group of eleven volunteers, who were recruited from the aforementioned online panel based on availability and willingness to participate in the pilot. The pilot included a critical examination of the length of the survey and (lack of) clarity of questions. We conduct quantitative research on close-ended questions. Further, we perform a thematic analysis of open-ended questions in the survey.

6.3.2 Data measurement

In the selection of variables and their possible answers, we account for both motivating factors as well as demotivating factors. In the quantitative analyses of the closed-ended questions, we make use of two dependent variables. The first is *Connectedness to organization* and functions as dependent variable in the model of organization-related factors for volunteer retention (the *OF-model*) and was constructed by two items: 'How strongly do you feel connected to the local organization of VluchtelingenWerk Nederland?' and 'How strongly do you feel connected to the national organization of VluchtelingenWerk Nederland?' The correlation between the two items is positive and significant ($r = .307, p < .001$). The scale ranges from 1 'not connected at all' to 5 'very strongly connected'.

The second dependent variable is *Motivation to continue volunteering* and functions as dependent variable in the model of motivations-related factors for volunteer retention (the *MF-model*) and was asked with the question: 'Are you motivated to continue with this volunteer work?' Answer categories were first reversed so that higher scores indicate a larger degree of motivation to continue volunteering. Categories were (1) no, strongly demotivated; (2) no, demotivated; (3) I am in doubt; (4) yes, strongly motivated and (5) yes, very strongly motivated.

Independent variables for the OF-model

Questions on job satisfaction were used to measure support that is given to the volunteers. The task-oriented job satisfaction was measured with the question: 'To what extent are you satisfied with VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, in terms of ...'. Five aspects were then distinguished, being (1) supervision; (2) training opportunities; (3) quality of training courses; (4) reimbursements and (5) work pressure. Answer categories range from 1 'very dissatisfied' to 5 'very satisfied'. Two scales of job satisfaction were

then derived with the use of factor analyses. Rotations revealed two clusters, being (1) the developmental part of the job and (2) the conditions' part.⁶¹

Job satisfaction (development), as a reflection of task-oriented support, consists out of items on 'training opportunities' and 'quality of training courses'. The scale displays a good reliability (Cronbach's alpha .813). *Job satisfaction (conditions)* consists of 'supervision', 'reimbursements' and 'work pressure' and has moderate scale reliability (Cronbach's alpha .559).⁶² Satisfaction with supervision loaded on both factors, but was allocated to the conditions' part of job satisfaction, partly because it loaded stronger on that factor. Also theoretically, we think that supervision can be distinguished from 'training opportunities' and 'quality of training courses', since it is less explicitly related to acquiring skills. Although supervision will also address guidance in development, we think it better fits the idea of a condition of work under which agreements on development are made.

Emotion-oriented support was measured by a question on the *feeling to be valued by the organization*: 'To what extent do you feel valued by VluchtelingenWerk Nederland as a volunteer?' Answer categories run from (1) 'not valued at all' to (5) 'strongly valued'.

Independent variables for the MF-model

The *bridging motivations scale* refers to the dual role that volunteers may play in communities, for refugees and the host society. Items for this scale were developed by the authors. It is considered part of task-oriented motivations, as volunteers may use their volunteering as a task to achieve change in society. The new items address whether volunteers were motivated to do the work because of 1) supporting refugees to participate in Dutch society and 2) improving societal tolerance toward refugees.⁶³ The scale encompasses five items. Respondents received the question: 'Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements?' Answer

61 The identified scales of job satisfaction and items that load on a particular scale are the same, regardless of type of factor analysis (principal component analysis, principal axis factoring) and type of rotation (Varimax, Oblimin). See Appendix 6.5.

62 We do not consider this to be problematic, as the scale only consists out of three items, and scale reliability usually increases when more items are added to a scale.

63 Factor analyses revealed that all five items loaded on one, single component. This outcome was the same for type of factor analysis (principal component analysis, principal axis factoring) and type of rotation (Varimax, Oblimin). See Appendix 6.6.

categories range from 1 'strongly disagree' to 7 'strongly agree'. Included items are: 'With my volunteer work, I want to show that the Netherlands is a hospitable country', 'As a volunteer, I can help refugees take advantage of the opportunities of Dutch society', 'I think refugees should be treated the same as others', 'I think it is important to show that the Netherlands is open to immigrants / cultural minorities' and 'I can counter negative responses to clients in this way'. The Cronbach's alpha (.734) presents acceptable reliability.

Feeling to be valued by the refugee, related to emotion-oriented support, was measured with the question: 'To what extent do you feel valued by your client(s)?' Categories were (1) not valued at all; (2) not valued; (3) neutral; (4) valued and (5) strongly valued.

Our survey also included information on the VFI as described by Clary et al. (1998a), consisting of six different functions for engaging in voluntary activities: 1) Values, who are related to a volunteer's altruistic and humanitarian concern for others; 2) Social, which gives volunteers a means "to be with one's friends or to engage in an activity viewed favorably by important others" (Clary et al., 1998a, p.1518); 3) Career, which relates to career exploration; 4) Enhancement, which points to developing a positive affect by growing psychologically (Clary et al., 1998a); 5) Understanding, which points to developing new skills as well as utilizing skills for understanding others and 6) Protective, which serve volunteers by reducing feelings of guilt associated with their own fortunate circumstances (Clary et al., 1998a). As the VFI is used to assess the functional approach concerning *starting* to volunteer for refugees (Landmann et al., 2023; Meijeren et al., 2024c), the functions are also included in this study to assess its importance when it comes to *maintaining* volunteering for refugees.⁶⁴ Each function is described with three specific items, following the practice of previous research (e.g. Kinsbergen et al., 2013). Cronbach's alpha per VFI function range from .73 to .89.

64 Factor analyses revealed the six distinguished VFI functions, regardless of type of factor analysis (principal component analysis, principal axis factoring) and type of rotation (Varimax, Oblimin). See Appendix 6.7.

6.3.3 Data analysis

Descriptive information of all variables included in both analytical approaches, including their correlations, are presented in Table 6.1. In the OF-model, we test the role of *organization-related factors for volunteer retention* on organizational connectedness from which the findings are given in Table 6.3. The MF-model (Table 6.4) tests the *motivations-related factors for volunteer retention* next to the VFI for the motivation to continue volunteering for refugees. We perform a stepwise regression using forward regression, because we want to identify the predictor that explains the most variance as well as that we want to explore if additional predictors explain additional variance. In doing so, we stepwise add the one variable that gives the single best improvement to our models. Once a model no longer improves when variables are added, the process stops.

In the survey, respondents were also asked to motivate their answer on continuing volunteering, in an open-answer format. From the 1,008 respondents that completed the question about their motivation to continue volunteering, 897 respondents (89%) answered the open question. Because of the small group of volunteers who are demotivated, volunteers being hesitant or demotivated have been grouped together to contrast the findings to respondents who are (very) strongly motivated to continue. In sum, we use the open answers from 678 volunteers who are motivated to continue and the open answers from 219 volunteers who are hesitant / demotivated to continue. We focus the analysis on the first-mentioned reason, as we consider this to reflect the most important reason.

We used thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), a qualitative method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (or *themes*) within data. A major advantage of thematic analysis is that it organizes and describes data in rich detail (Braun & Clarke, 2006). We combined a theoretical deductive approach with predictors of the regression analyses as leading theoretical codes with inductive analysis (to reveal possible novel or less considered factors that may be theoretically enriching). Our deductive, top-down, coding strategy is thus guided by existing theory and theoretical concepts used in the regression analyses, where the inductive approach has the potential to crystallize what (novel) factors lie beneath these major theoretical concepts which may further deepen theoretical understanding.

Table 6.1 Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations of variables in the analyses (Valid N= 1,090)

Measure	Min/ Max	Avg. %	Std. dev.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
1. Connectedness to organization	1 5	3.31	0.64	-												
2. Feeling valued by organization	1 5	3.90	0.87	.375**	-											
3. Job satisfaction (development)	1 5	3.74	0.74	.288**	.291**	-										
4. Job satisfaction (conditions)	1 5	3.37	0.67	.266**	.527**	.360**	-									
5. Motivation to continue volunteering	1 5	3.92	0.74	.312**	.293**	.198**	.331**	-								
6. Bridging motivations scale	1 7	5.46	0.89	.227**	.194**	.161**	.165**	.203**	-							
7. Feeling valued by refugee	1 5	4.31	0.68	.135**	.214**	.083*	.093**	.168**	.268**	-						
8. VFI Protective	1 7	3.32	1.35	.186**	.142**	.146**	.133**	.181**	.192**	.017	-					
9. VFI Values	1 7	6.15	0.74	.186**	.165**	.161**	.120**	.164**	.484**	.293**	.178**	-				
10. VFI Career	1 7	3.31	1.58	.092**	.066*	.115**	.066*	.106**	.130**	-.039	.485**	.167**	-			
11. VFI Social	1 7	4.42	1.15	.253**	.171**	.076*	.182**	.092**	.303**	.123**	.138**	.204**	.016	-		
12. VFI Understanding	1 7	5.12	1.12	.156**	.190**	.216**	.166**	.160**	.354**	.083*	.383**	.300**	.425**	.171**	-	
13. VFI Enhancement	1 7	4.55	1.31	.204**	.234**	.149**	.098**	.164**	.361**	.122**	.421**	.281**	.325**	.258**	.470**	-

Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

With regard to the latter approach, the principle is to add to existing theoretical concepts if a specific aspect of it seemed particularly meaningful because it was emphasized by multiple respondents. Coding was done by the PI only (i.e., a single rater). However, the coding process was repeatedly discussed with the second and third authors of the paper to resolve ambiguities.

6.4 Results

The results section encompasses four parts. First, we provide an overview of whether the open answers on the motivation to continue refugee volunteering offer support for the relevance of the theoretical model to be tested with the quantitative analysis. This is presented in Table 6.2. Second, we present the models from the regression analyses (Table 6.3 and Table 6.4) to assess the predictive value of the indicators with regard to, respectively, organizational connectedness and motivation to continue volunteering. Third, we present the results of the thematic analysis of open-ended questions separately for the motivated and the hesitant/demotivated group. Fourth, we move to a more detailed level by (inductively) mapping the open answers of both groups as to why respondents are (de)motivated or hesitant to continue volunteering, thereby offering further insights in volunteer retention.

6.4.1 Step 1: Relevance of the theoretical model through open answers

Step 1 of the results presents an overview of whether the open answers on the motivation to continue refugee volunteering offer support for the relevance of the theoretical model that we will test in the quantitative analysis. Table 6.2 shows how often respondents mentioned the theoretically identified organization-related factors for volunteer retention (the OF-model) or motivations-related factors for volunteer retention (the MF-model). Predictors of both models are mentioned by about a quarter of the respondents, indicating that a quarter to almost half of the entire sample mentioned factors specified in our theoretical analysis. Task-oriented factors are in both models more frequently mentioned than emotion-oriented ones.

Table 6.2 Overview of reasons to continue volunteering for refugees

Reason	Times mentioned	% of total N
Referring to OF-model	214	24
of which: Task-oriented	(115)	(13)
of which: Emotion-oriented	(99)	(11)
Referring to MF-model	213	24
of which: Task-oriented	(146)	(16)
of which: Emotion-oriented	(67)	(8)

Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023). Total N = 897.

Note: numbers in brackets add up to the above total number.

6.4.2 Step 2: Test of selected predictors in regression analyses

In step 2 of the results, the theoretical models are tested with regression analyses for, respectively, organizational connectedness (OF-model) and motivation to continue volunteering (MF-model). Table 6.3 presents the outcomes of the forwarded regression analysis predicting connectedness to the organization. The standardized regression coefficients are displayed, so that the strength of selected variables can be compared. Included variables for this analysis are both measures of job satisfaction and the extent that volunteers feel valued by the organization. The forwarded regression procedure estimates two models, meaning that the stepwise inclusion of two variables significantly improves the model.⁶⁵ The extent that volunteers feel valued by the organization is the first variable selected (Model 1), displaying a strong positive relationship ($\beta = 0.370, p < .001$). Job satisfaction (development) is the other variable that significantly improves the model (Model 2), which shows a positive relationship with connectedness to the organization ($\beta = 0.190, p < .001$). The forwarded regression does not select a third model, meaning that the third potential predictor does not significantly improve the model and therefore does not significantly contribute to a better estimation of the organizational connectedness, over and above the other predictors in the model.

⁶⁵ The effects of the excluded variables can be found in Appendix 6.3.

Table 6.3 Forwarded regression estimating connectedness to organization

	Model 1		Model 2	
	β	S.E.	β	S.E.
Feeling valued by organization	0.370***	0.022	0.314***	0.023
Job satisfaction (development)			0.190***	0.027
Intercept	2.260***	0.090	1.814***	0.115
R ²	0.137		0.170	

Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

Standardized coefficients are presented. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Excluded variables Model 1: job satisfaction (development), job satisfaction (conditions).

Excluded variables Model 2: job satisfaction (conditions).

Table 6.4 shows the results of the forwarded regression estimating motivation to continue volunteering. Again, standardized regression coefficients are presented. The initial variables included in this procedure are the bridging motivation scale, the extent that volunteers feel valued by refugees and all six VFI functions. The regression procedure estimates three models, indicating that the stepwise inclusion of three variables significantly improves the model.⁶⁶ The bridging motivation scale is the first variable selected (Model 1), reporting a positive relationship ($\beta = 0.208$, $p < .001$). The second best predictor is VFI *Protective* (Model 2), displaying a positive relationship with the motivation to continue refugee volunteering ($\beta = 0.147$, $p < .001$). In the third model, the extent to which volunteers feel valued by refugees is added. This variable contributes positively to the willingness to continue this volunteer work ($\beta = 0.122$, $p < .001$). The forwarded regression does not select a fourth model, indicating that four VFI functions, *Values*, *Career*, *Social*, *Understanding* and *Enhancement*, do not significantly improve the model and thus do not significantly contribute to a better estimation of the motivation to continue volunteering for refugees. As such, it seems that these VFI functions are less important for explaining retention in volunteering for refugees.

⁶⁶ The effects of the excluded variables can be found in Appendix 6.4.

Table 6.4 Forwarded regression estimating motivation to continue volunteering

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	β	S.E.	β	S.E.	β	S.E.
Bridging motivation scale	0.208***	0.029	0.179***	0.029	0.146***	0.030
VFI Protective			0.147***	0.019	0.151***	0.019
Feeling valued by refugee					0.122***	0.038
Intercept	2.992***	0.158	2.845***	0.159	2.363***	0.202
R ²	0.043		0.064		0.078	

Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

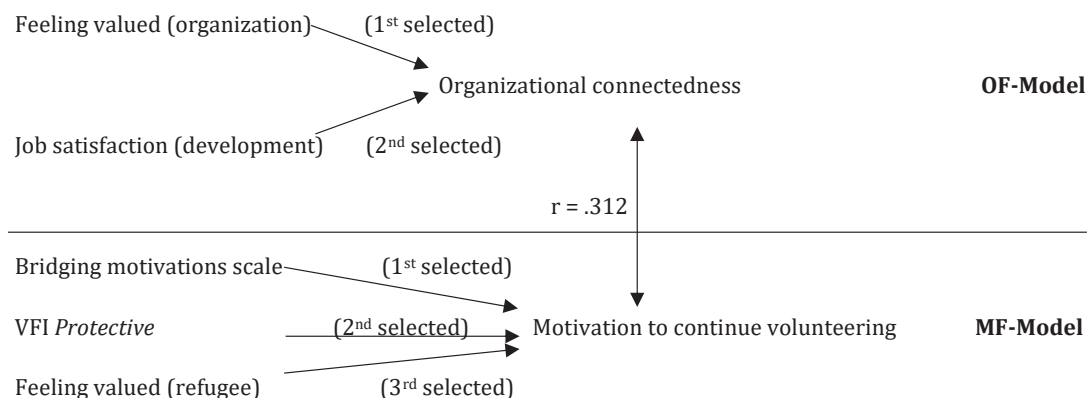
Standardized coefficients are presented. * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Excluded variables Model 1: VFI Protective, feeling valued by refugee, VFI Values, VFI Career, VFI Social, VFI Understanding, VFI Enhancement.

Excluded variables Model 2: feeling valued by refugee, VFI Values, VFI Career, VFI Social, VFI Understanding, VFI Enhancement.

Excluded variables Model 3: VFI Values, VFI Career, VFI Social, VFI Understanding, VFI Enhancement.

A visual representation of selected variables after the two forwarded regression analyses including their standardized regression coefficients is showed in Figure 6.1. Note that we observe a positive correlation between connectedness to the organization and motivation to continue volunteering as well ($r = .312$, $p < .01$).

**Figure 6.1** OF-model and MF-model after forwarded regression

For the standardized coefficients, see Table 6.3 and Table 6.4.

Pearson correlation ($r = .312$) between connectedness to organization and motivation to continue volunteering is significant ($p < .001$).

6.4.3 Step 3: Thematic analysis of open-ended questions

Step 3 of the results reports the outcomes of the thematic analysis of open-ended questions split between the motivated and the hesitant/demotivated group. We use the open answers given to the question why people are motivated, hesitant or demotivated to continue refugee volunteering, to derive the extent to which determinants of the OF-model and MF-model are relevant for these separate groups, willing to continue and those hesitant or not willing to continue. Figure 6.2 presents pie charts of motivations for the (a) motivated and (b) hesitant/demotivated volunteers. We present the extent to which predictors of the OF-model and MF-model are mentioned, distinguishing task-oriented and emotion-oriented motivations, in addition to other (not further specified) motivations.

For the group of motivated volunteers, as visible in Figure 6.2a, determinants of the MF-model (30%) are more frequently mentioned as motivation to continue volunteering than the determinants of the OF-model (10%). Within the MF-model, especially task-oriented factors (22%) appear to motivate volunteers to continue volunteering. This refers to the bridging motivations

MOTIVATED GROUP (A)

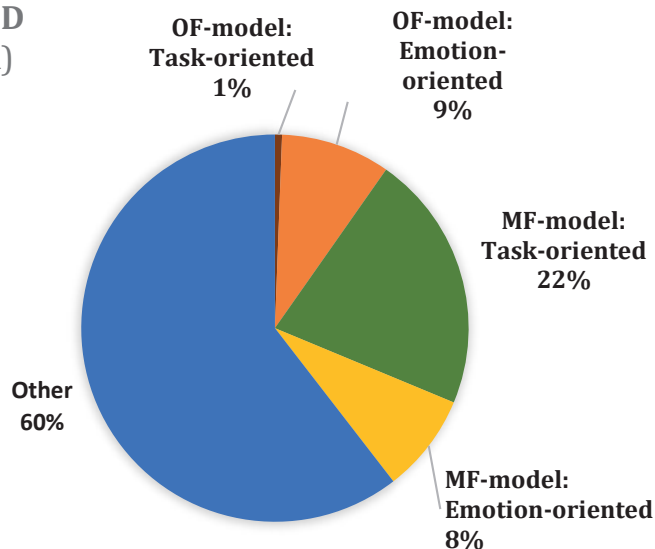


Figure 6.2a Pie chart of volunteers being motivated to continue (N= 678)
Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

that highlight the dual role of volunteers for refugees. A smaller group (8%) considers it important that they feel valued by the refugees they volunteer for. With regard to the OF-model, only emotion-oriented factors (9%) seem of importance as a motivator to continue volunteering. Volunteers regard a sense of feeling valued by the organization as more important, than for instance good training opportunities or other task-oriented services that may address problems that occur during their volunteering.

Figure 6.2b presents the pie chart of the hesitant / demotivated volunteers. In more than two-thirds of the cases, volunteers hesitate or are demotivated to continue because of predictors from the OF-model. Issues with task-oriented factors (51%) are most frequently mentioned. This points to problems with, for instance, supervision or work pressure. Predictors of the MF-model are less often mentioned (5%) as hampering the motivation to continue refugee volunteering. When comparing the two pie charts, it can be noted that predictors from the OF-model do not really function as a catalyst for

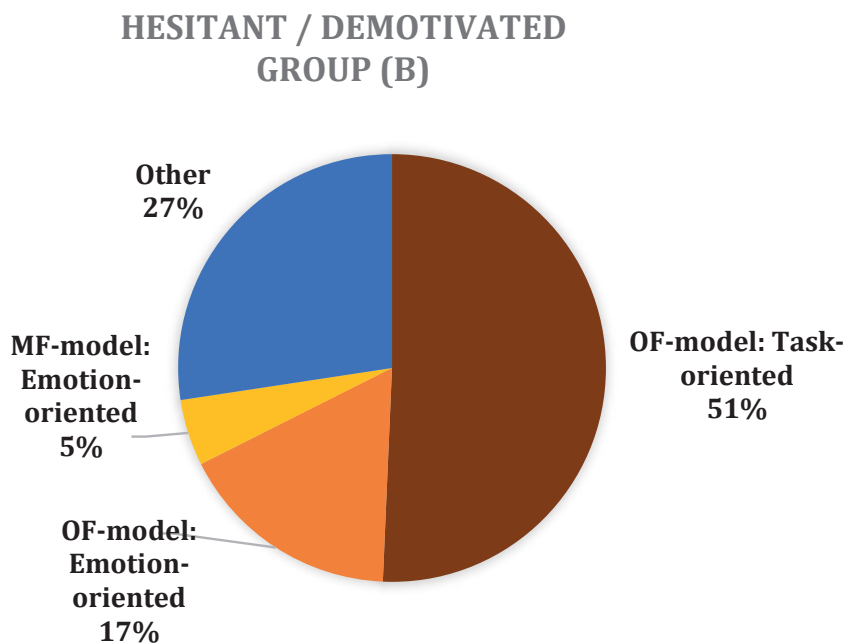


Figure 6.2b Pie chart of volunteers being hesitant/demotivated to continue (N= 219)
Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

volunteer retention in refugee aid. However, they are largely present among volunteers being hesitant/demotivated to continue.

6.4.4 Step 4: Mapping the open answers

While step 3 of the results showed the outcomes of the thematic analysis on the abstract level and related to our concepts from the theoretical model, step 4 allows to move to the detailed level by mapping the open answers as to why respondents are (a) motivated or (b) hesitant / demotivated to continue refugee volunteering. In doing so, we get a better understanding of what good practices volunteers mention and what refugee aid organizations specifically can do to improve their retention strategies. Note that other motives that do not concern the OF-model or MF-model are left out, as they are outside the scope of this research.

Figure 6.3a shows the overview of reasons mentioned to be willing to continue volunteering for refugees by the motivated group. Respondents mentioned that feeling valued by the organization means that volunteers need to feel valued by their team leaders and need to feel part of a supportive team, such that they also feel valued by their colleagues and feel part of a supportive working atmosphere. With regard to the MF-model, respondents mentioned specifically helping refugees to participate in society as well as increasing societal tolerance to outgroups, which was described as such already in the task-oriented bridging motivations. Next, feeling valued by refugees indicates the role of emotion-oriented support. In both cases, the thematic analysis corroborates the results of the quantitative analysis and did not reveal new (sub)elements.

Figure 6.3b specifies reasons as to why volunteers are hesitant/demotivated. Poor supervision (with poor communication as a specific derivative), poor facilities, poor experiences with field partners and disagreement over work procedures are mentioned relatively often and all point to problematic conditions in which volunteers for refugees work. Work pressure clearly relates to these problematic conditions as well, but results also demonstrate the importance of a balanced volunteer role. The more detailed picture shows that a loss of tasks might lead to volunteers having too few tasks, whereas bureaucracy and feelings of undue responsibilities emphasize the danger that volunteers can be overcharged.

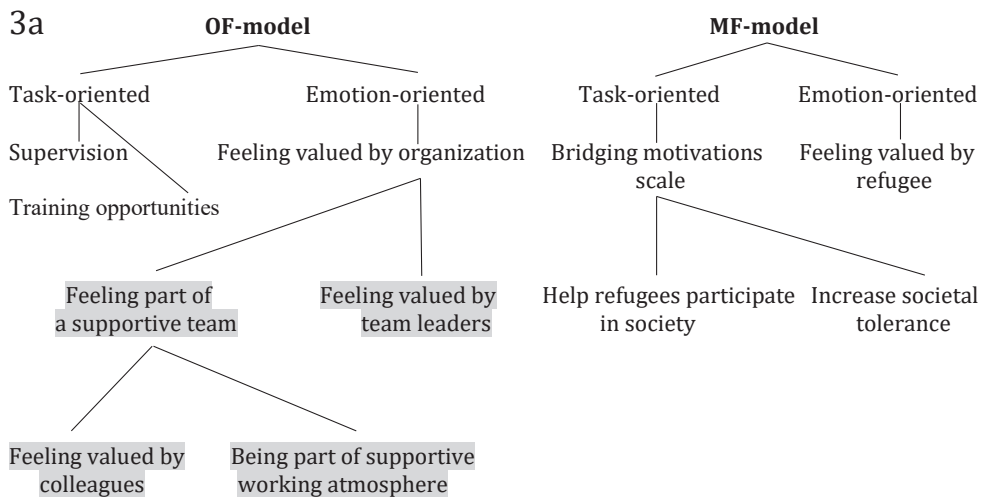


Figure 6.3a Coding of motivations to continue volunteering of motivated group. Note: Grey fields indicate motivations that are further specified than those conceptualized in the theory

Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

Emotion-oriented aspects of the organization-related factors reveal that hesitant/demotivated volunteers distinguish between the national organization of VWN and the local organization.⁶⁷ Volunteers mentioned that they do not feel valued by the national organization of VWN, even though they mainly work at local departments. Concerning the local organization, volunteers sometimes do not feel valued either, sometimes not by their supervisors or sometimes not by their team. Further, related to the MF-model, some volunteers mention that they are hesitant/demotivated to continue because they do not feel valued by the refugees they help. Specifically, volunteers sometimes experience behavior from refugees they think is difficult to cope or work with.

⁶⁷ VWN is centrally managed by the head office, but volunteers mainly work at local departments in the region.

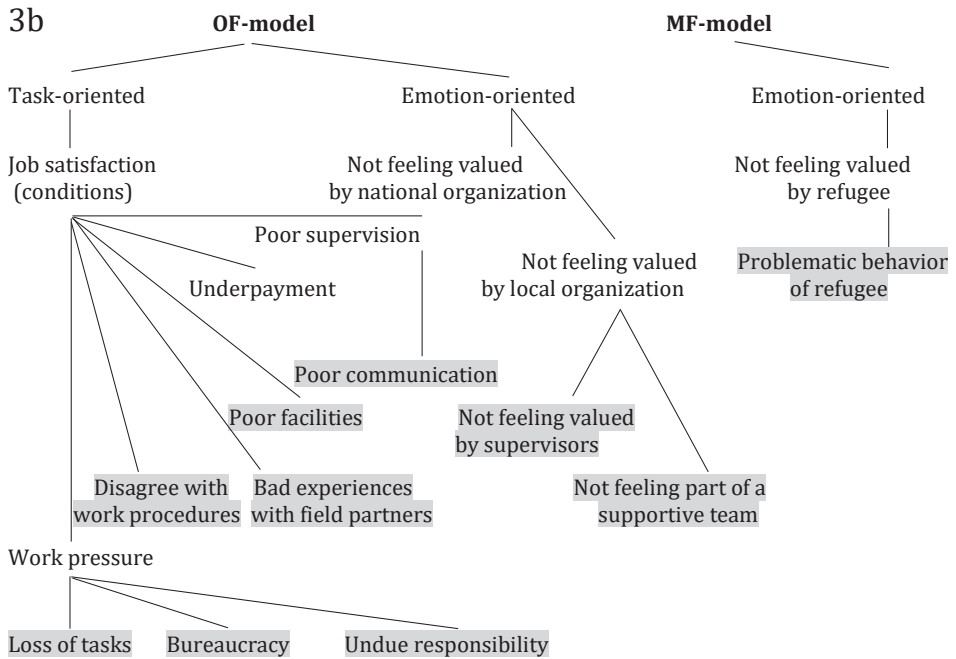


Figure 6.3b Coding of motivations being hesitant/demotivated to continue. Note: Grey fields indicate motivations that are further specified than those conceptualized in the theory

Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

6.5 Discussion

The results in this chapter enable us to develop practical recommendations, for which refugee aid organizations can take advantage to improve their volunteer retention strategies. First, the results underline the importance of emotion-oriented support as motivator to continue volunteering for refugees. This has practical value for refugee aid organizations, as it is a social resource that mostly can be offered without further financial costs. For continued volunteering, volunteers consider it important that they feel valued for their work. Consequently, activities or communications that convey this appreciation can help. A concrete example is the recommended HRM practice by Hager and Brudney (2004), also discussed in Brudney et al. (2019), in which they opt for publicly acknowledging the contributions of volunteers, for instance via award ceremonies. Second, the new identified motivator of functioning as a bridge and its importance for continuing

volunteering offers organizations the opportunity to recognize and value this dual role more explicitly and actively. Third, our results revealed that volunteers find it important to feel valued by their target group (i.e. the refugees they help). This mostly happens in the direct interaction between refugee and volunteer, but we can also imagine that certain refugees would like to express something more actively from them to their volunteers, for which they have no time, energy or means. Perhaps organizations can think of ways to accommodate this, by organizing meet-ups, if such a wish exists, without bringing refugees in an uneasy situation that they feel they need to do this.

Fourth, results demonstrated that refugee aid organizations must offer good work conditions where volunteers can help refugees as best as possible. To achieve this, refugee aid organizations should use volunteers as a source of input for feedback for improvement of their work conditions. In line with what Brudney and Meijs (2013) indicate, volunteers have voice and can provide feedback on the effectiveness of organizational practices, including practices that concern volunteers themselves. In systematic progress conversations between team leaders and volunteers, organizations can ask for feedback from volunteers, for instance to improve work conditions in which volunteering for refugees takes place. Moreover, volunteers can express their experiences, problems and expectations of their volunteering during these conversations. Consequently, volunteers feel seen and taken seriously by their supervisors, which ultimately may have good effects on retention. Table 6.5 presents the specific retention strategies for refugee aid organizations.

The findings in this chapter also allow us to theoretically reflect on the results. We consider it important that organizations explicitly acknowledge and value the work of their volunteers, as also has been found by Hustinx (2010). Therefore, we agree with Cnaan et al. (2025) who encourage volunteer managers to express their appreciation for the volunteers' time and effort in a sincere manner in order to deepen relationships and to increase the meaningfulness of the volunteer experience. However, valuing volunteers not only implies verbal or symbolic expressions of gratitude and appreciation. In addition, just like paid workers, volunteers measure the appreciation of the organization they work for by the degree to which it invests in provisions that allow them to work effectively.

Table 6.5 Overview of specific retention strategies for refugee aid organizations

Type	Why	Who	What
Emotion-oriented support	Volunteers consider it important to feel valued by the organization they work for	Refugee aid organizations	Publicly acknowledging volunteer contributions through award ceremonies, next to small gifts and attentions
Task-oriented support	Bridging motivation is important for volunteer retention	Refugee aid organizations	Giving volunteers a platform (in folders and communication) to show their role not only for refugees but society as well
Emotion-oriented support	Volunteers consider it important to feel valued by the refugees they aim to help	Refugee aid organizations, refugees	Already part of the refugee-volunteer interaction, but refugees may be given opportunity to express this in other formats as well
Task-oriented support	Volunteers consider it important to have good working conditions to help refugees as best as possible	Refugee aid organizations	Arrange systematic progress conversations a) to use volunteer feedback to improve working conditions and b) to let volunteers express their experiences, problems and expectations

Next, the absence of provisions for performance was mentioned by volunteers as contributing to their decision to leave the organization. As such, the findings are in line with the literature on work motivation concerning hygiene factors and motivational factors (Herzberg et al., 1957). The basic provisions in which volunteers for refugees function, serve as *hygiene factors* as they do not specifically motivate volunteers to continue volunteering for refugees, but can cause volunteers to quit volunteering if these conditions are not met. In turn, valuing volunteers for their efforts is a *motivational factor* as it makes volunteers actually willing to continue refugee volunteering. Furthermore, results align with prior findings reported by Hustinx (2010), who observed that the more long-term volunteers were involved, the more important organizational factors became in their motivation to continue volunteering.

Lastly, the results provide some nuance to the notion of reflexive volunteering (Hustinx, 2010; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). Reflexive volunteering emphasizes that volunteers have short(er) voluntary careers at organizations that best fit the needs of volunteers that apply to them at that moment in time. Our results demonstrate that volunteers do account for the social-emotional support, respect and appreciation and are in these circumstances willing to volunteer longer for an organization.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined which organizational factors contribute to refugee volunteers' organizational connectedness and what personal factors contribute to the motivation to continue volunteering for refugees. Both organizational connectedness and the motivation to continue volunteering are considered crucial for volunteer retention. We analyzed close-ended and open-ended data from volunteers working for a Dutch refugee aid organization. We find that organizational connectedness strengthens when volunteers feel valued by their organization and when the organization invests in the development of volunteers' skills and abilities, by means of training opportunities and quality of training courses. This is in line with Huynh et al. (2024), who found that volunteers are more dedicated and involved in their work when they notice that organizations invest in them.

The motivation to continue volunteering for refugees is determined most strongly by, what we labeled, 'bridging motivations'. These refer to 'bridging' activities that 1) enable refugees to participate in the receiving society and to 2) increase societal tolerance toward refugees. When volunteering for their cause (the precarious situation of refugees), volunteers' awareness for their so-called 'bridge-function' seems to strengthen their motivation to continue volunteering. In this process, volunteers indicate being motivated when they feel valued by the refugees they aim to help. Moreover, we find that motivations that have been found to determine the decision to start volunteering for refugees (Landmann et al., 2023; Meijeren et al., 2024c), seem less important for retention once volunteers have started their activities.

However, our results showed that refugee aid organizations can do more to support their volunteers. If refugee aid organizations want to improve their volunteer retention, they must offer a professional work environment where

volunteers are treated professionally. Hence, relying blindly on the intrinsic motivation of volunteers to help refugees is not enough to sustain the motivation and commitment needed to retain volunteers. Next, whereas the bridging motivations may apply specifically to volunteers for refugees, this chapter also entails a key message for other service fields: if organizations want to 'keep their volunteers inside', they have to value volunteers and show appreciation for their efforts. This way of managing volunteers is not context specific but universally important (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007).

The present chapter focused on what refugee aid organizations can do to retain volunteers. A limitation is that volunteers who have quitted volunteering (e.g. Hustinx, 2010), were not part of the sample. Potentially, their concerns differ from those still active but indicating to possibly quit. Linked to this, the present chapter brings an innovative perspective because it looked at the motivation to continue volunteering for refugees, rather than the motivation to start. Now that we have found that other motives play a role, it is worthwhile in follow-up research to study the actual decision to quit volunteering for refugees. Furthermore, we focused on the perspective of the volunteer, to examine motivations to continue volunteering for refugees. Having explored the volunteers' perspective, it becomes relevant for future research to mirror this with the organizational perspective as well as with the refugee perspective. This would also shed light on why organizations are sometimes willing to part with volunteers by themselves (e.g. Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013), but it also would allow to better picture relations between paid staff and volunteers as these relations can be complex and even problematic (Hodgins et al., 2025). A last limitation is that the survey design may have increased self-selection bias. If volunteers are motivated to continue, they may also be more inclined to complete a survey with the aim of improving the organization. This might explain why there were relatively few demotivated volunteers who responded to the survey. That said, this chapter showed special relevance of the bridge function that is particular for the type of volunteering we studied here: volunteering for refugees. Volunteers are motivated strongly to continue because of their dual role: supporting refugees to participate in the receiving society and increasing societal tolerance toward refugees.



Chapter 7

Opening the box of quitting volunteering in refugee aid organizations

A slightly different version of this chapter has been published as:

Meijeren, M., & Meijs, L. (2025). Opening the box of quitting volunteering in refugee aid organizations. *Voluntas*, 1-12. doi: 10.1007/s11266-025-00787-3

Lucas Meijs is co-author of this chapter. The study on which this chapter is based was presented at SCOOP's annual conference in Soesterberg, the Netherlands in 2024 and at the Nonprofit Management and Governance Research Workshop in Vienna, Austria in 2025.

7.1 Introduction

Studies in the field of volunteering mainly focus on why people start volunteering (Clary et al., 1992; Hustinx et al., 2022; Lee & Brudney, 2012; Ma & Konrath, 2018), and how volunteers can be retained (Compion et al., 2022; Forner et al., 2024; Hager & Brudney, 2004; Studer & von Schnurbein, 2013; Wu et al., 2019). However, there is much less focus on why people stop volunteering (Brudney & Meijs, 2009). Several contributions stress the need for research about discontinuity in volunteering, “recognizing that the literature has focused much more closely on the reasons for remaining as opposed to explaining why volunteers leave” (de-Miguel-Molina et al., 2024, p. 277-278). Quitting volunteering is therefore a “phenomenon [that] largely has been overlooked in empirical research” (Hustinx, 2010, p. 237). The few studies that address this issue did so from a variety of perspectives. Some directly assessed reasons for quitting volunteering (McLennan et al., 2008), and some used volunteers’ neural networks (de-Miguel-Molina et al., 2024). Others used the role of emotions and burnout to explain quitting intentions (Magrone et al., 2024; Yanay & Yanay, 2008), forms of capital (McNamara & Gonzales, 2011) or motivational frameworks about starting to volunteer to explain quitting (Willems et al., 2012). Additionally, some studies about quitting online volunteering exist (e.g. Konieczny, 2018), but that is less relevant for this research.

Although indeed few empirical studies into quitting volunteering exist, the study of quitting volunteering at the Flemish Red Cross (Hustinx, 2010) marks an important contribution to the field. Hustinx found two main clusters for quitting volunteering, under which many exit-reasons can be subsumed. These are personal circumstances and organization-related reasons. The present chapter revisits and nuances Hustinx’ (2010) contribution, emphasizing that we explore organizational quitting *without* thereby claiming that volunteers dropout from volunteering altogether. They simply have left this organization.

Several developments make it relevant to revisit the work of Hustinx (2010). First, individualization has continued, hampering civic engagement (Meijeren et al., 2023b). Second, the instrumentalization of volunteering has increased (Meijs & Koolen-Maas, 2022). Third, work-life balance and work pressure have become increasingly challenging and unbalanced (Notten et al., 2017). So,

next to the limited studies on quitting volunteering, these arguments make it plausible that this chapter can provide nuance to the findings of Hustinx (2010). Similar to Hustinx, this chapter addresses quitting volunteering in a human service organization (Lee, 2019). We explore reasons for quitting volunteering for refugees among a sample of former volunteers who worked for the Netherlands' largest refugee aid organization.

Little is known about volunteering for refugees (Ferris et al., 2024; Landmann et al., 2023). Some studies have examined motivations to start volunteering for refugees (Landmann et al., 2023; Meijeren et al., 2024c; Meyer & Simsa, 2018), and other studies looked at volunteer retention in refugee aid organizations (Meijeren et al., 2025b). Moreover, Ferris et al. (2024) studied sociodemographic characteristics of volunteers in the United States, whereas Meijeren et al. (2023a) did so in Europe. However, the number of studies concerning this topic is small, and the question about discontinuity in volunteering for refugees remains largely a black box. This is critical, since its volunteer pool is volatile (Meijeren et al., 2025a) and because we research a unique type of volunteering (Ferris et al., 2024), namely those who typically do not volunteer for the benefit of in-group members as compared to other types of volunteering. Addressing to this specific context of volunteering for refugees moves the study of volunteering forward to a deeper level of analysis, since this is often approached too generally (Brudney et al., 2019). Therefore, the research question is: why do people quit their volunteering in a refugee aid organization?

This chapter makes four contributions, thereby contributing to the specific field of refugee aid but also to the general study of volunteering. First, this chapter revisits and nuances the influential study of Hustinx (2010), and the general quitting volunteering literature. Second, this chapter adds a third perspective on reasons for quitting volunteering, being more egocentric-oriented reasons, next to the identified clusters on personal circumstances and organization-related reasons for quitting (Hustinx, 2010). Third, this chapter will raise attention for (not enough) work pressure as reason for burn- or boreout in volunteering. Fourth, this chapter sheds light on challenges in mentor-mentee relationships, being volunteer-refugee relationships where volunteers quit out of frustration, disappointment or unfulfilled expectations in the interactions with refugees; a specific form of burn- or boreout.

This chapter first provides theoretical reasons for quitting volunteering as identified in the literature. Then, we analyze former volunteers' open answers as to why they quit volunteering for refugees, as well as that we build three profiles of distinguished groups of quitters. Next, we discuss theoretical implications of the results, before presenting the conclusions and suggestions for further research.

7.2 Theoretical insights on quitting volunteering

Studies demonstrated large volunteer turnover in recent years (Forner et al., 2024; Meijeren et al., 2025a), making it relevant to map reasons to quit volunteering as discovered in the literature. This section describes two main themes that seem related to quitting volunteering: organization-related reasons and personal circumstances. Next, we build a case for a third theme for quitting volunteering: exit-reasons that are rooted in egocentric considerations. Whereas organization-related reasons and personal circumstances might enforce volunteers to quit, egocentric-oriented reasons depart from a free choice to quit without external forces influencing the decision. We build on insights centered around self-actualization and the self-determination theory for the latter theme.

7.2.1 Organization-related reasons for quitting volunteering

To retain volunteers, organizations should provide support to their volunteers and offer professional working conditions (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2007; Hager & Brudney, 2004; Meijeren et al., 2025b), where this may vary depending on the context (Brudney et al., 2019). If organizations fail to do so, volunteers consider leaving. Organizational deficiencies are important reasons for quitting volunteering (Hustinx, 2010; McLennan et al., 2008; Tang et al., 2010). Hustinx (2010) identified three dimensions of organization-related reasons that relate to quitting volunteering: 1) the organization of the volunteer work, 2) governance of the organization and 3) affective experiences of volunteers. The organization of the volunteer work referred to a volunteer role that fits the competences and interests of volunteers. Additionally, the amount of work had to be neither too much nor too little. These aspects point to a balanced volunteer role. Indeed, volunteers become demotivated or dissatisfied if they have too little tasks, resulting in feelings of uselessness (Maas et al., 2021). Conversely, too much work resulted in high

work pressure and volunteers being demotivated to continue because of too much responsibilities (Allen & Mueller, 2013; Florian et al., 2019).

The governance of the organization (e.g. Hustinx, 2010) is divided into the hierarchical structure of the organization and the lack of voice in the way the work was organized. As Brudney and Meijs (2013) mentioned, volunteers have 'voice' that can be of use to improve organizational practices. Consequently, refugee aid organizations were given the recommendation to use the input of volunteers for their own benefit (Meijeren et al., 2025b). The hierarchical structure of the organization refers, amongst others, to bureaucratic apparatuses as sources of frustration. Too much bureaucracy was indeed a frustration among a sample of active volunteers for refugees (Meijeren et al., 2025b). The third identified indicator was the affective component, emphasizing the lack of satisfaction, recognition and appreciation that was displayed to volunteers (Hustinx, 2010). Boezeman and Ellemers (2007) refer to these aspects as emotion-oriented forms of organizational support, which point to practices that help volunteers cope with negative feelings resulting from their volunteering. This may result from a bad atmosphere in the volunteer group (Hustinx, 2010), or adverse reactions on the volunteering displayed by volunteers' relatives and close ones. Such negative comments from the broader public might be increasing, especially when it concerns migrant support practices (della Porta & Steinhilper, 2021).

7.2.2 Personal circumstances for quitting volunteering

Next to organization-related reasons, Hustinx (2010) distinguished personal circumstances for quitting volunteering. These are divided in 1) family, 2) work and 3) leisure. Family reasons comprise changes, shifting priorities and/or other matters regarding one's family that lead to volunteer dropout. Nesbit (2012) and Piatak (2023) showed that the birth of a child decreases the likelihood to start volunteering. In turn, the findings about the relationship between divorce and quitting volunteering are mixed. Hustinx (2010) reported that divorcees were more likely to quit volunteering, whereas Nesbit (2012) wrote that they are more likely to volunteer and even increased their volunteering hours. Nevertheless, family reasons are a frequently mentioned reason to quit volunteering (Hustinx, 2010; McLennan et al., 2008).

Hustinx (2010) found that volunteers also quit because of work-related reasons. According to time constraints theory (Qvist, 2021), "people can only

allocate as much time to volunteering as their work responsibilities permit” (p. 983). Indeed, people with starting jobs and high time demands are more likely to quit volunteering (Wiertz & Lim, 2019). Quitting volunteering because of work-related conflicts were also frequently mentioned among a sample of former volunteer firefighters (McLennan et al., 2008), possibly referring to a mismatch between the needed flexibility in case of an emergency and the flexibility the employer could offer. Hustinx (2010) also noted that changes in the work situation and working irregular hours were mentioned as reasons for quitting volunteering.

The third category of personal circumstances for quitting volunteering were leisure-related reasons. “Respondents considered other leisure activities (...) to be more important and desired to invest more time in these hobbies at the expense of volunteering” (Hustinx, 2010, p. 247). Other personal circumstances to quit volunteering were health-related. McLennan et al. (2008) found that many volunteers quitted because of health issues, while Broese van Groenou and van Tilburg (2012) describe that health issues decrease the likelihood to volunteer. Another strand of answers appeared to be more practical, pointing to moving to a different place or not having adequate transport (Hustinx, 2010).

7.2.3 Egocentric-oriented reasons for quitting volunteering

Whereas organization-related reasons and personal circumstances mainly enforce volunteers to quit, egocentric-oriented reasons underline the freedom volunteers experience to quit their volunteering without external forces influencing the decision. These can be rooted in self-authored, individualized biographies centered around the self. The self-determination theory therefore seems a suited perspective, since it refers to tendencies to develop an elaborated and more unified sense of the self (Deci & Ryan, 1985, 2002). This implies having a personal choice and self-control of one’s actions (Deci & Ryan, 1985). When transferred to volunteering, a successful biography appears “when the volunteering behavior is in line with personally endorsed values, goals, and needs that are already part of the self; for example, in individuals who volunteer because it matches with their life goals” (Haivas et al., 2013, p. 1870).

Next, related to self-determination theory, is the self-actualization perspective (Hustinx, 2010). Fueled by processes of individualization, contemporary volunteers are able to chase their own views and preferences, developing

them into autonomous and self-conscious persons (Hustinx, 2010). Similar to Haivas et al. (2013), Hustinx (2010) emphasizes that individualized conditions and volunteer experiences have to be reconciled, meaning that “motivation, occasion, and opportunity have to match in a particular biographical stage or situation” (p. 238). Building on both theoretical perspectives it becomes, thus, problematic for individualized biographies when volunteer goals no longer align with the personal goals of volunteers. Consequently, a ‘biographical mismatch’ exists, pointing to a misfit with the volunteer’s needs and goals *at that moment in time* which may result in volunteers quitting their volunteering as the volunteering no longer matches the needs and goals of the volunteer itself.

7.3 Methods

7.3.1 Organizational context

Former volunteers were volunteering at VluchtelingenWerk (VWN), the largest refugee aid organization in the Netherlands.⁶⁸ Volunteers could have performed various tasks. These include, amongst others, providing legal support to refugees, social support, language support, labor support or general support. Early 2023, VWN’s volunteer pool existed of 9,381 volunteers (VluchtelingenWerk, 2023). The majority (63%) was female, and almost a quarter (24%) was 61 to 70 years old. The annual report of VWN (2023) did not provide numbers on inflow and outflow of volunteers. However, Meijeren et al. (2025a) demonstrated that the volunteer pool of these type of organizations is marked by many starters and quitters and very few ‘stayers’, indicating the substantial volunteer turnover that refugee aid organizations have to face. VWN has recently been studied in relation to characteristics of Dutch civil society (Habracken et al., 2013), as well as motivations for starting volunteering for refugees (Meijeren et al., 2024c). More context about VWN can be found in these studies.

7.3.2 Data collection

Data are collected by VWN and shared with the authors after formalizing the ethical procedures.⁶⁹ As of May 2023, VWN has started to collect so-called ‘exit-data’, using an electronic survey to gain insights into why volunteers

⁶⁸ For specifications about the Dutch asylum seeker system, see Meijeren et al. (2024c).

⁶⁹ The ethical agreement (in Dutch) can be found in Appendix 7.1.

quitted their volunteering. Between May 2023 and February 2024, the email invitation to the survey including the link to complete the survey was sent manually to volunteers who quitted their volunteering in that period *and* whose private email address was known by the organization. These manual actions were held four times.

After February 2024, an ‘exit-email’ was automatically sent to all volunteers whose private email address was known, on the day that they quitted their volunteering with the request to fill in the exit questionnaire. When necessary, reminders were sent after ten days. In sum, we make use of VWN’s exit data that has been collected between May 2023 and October 2024. In that period, 2,003 exit-emails have been sent. This resulted in 605 completed questionnaires, of which 543 questionnaires were fully completed and 62 partially completed.⁷⁰ The response rate of the survey is approximately 30%.

The exit survey is designed by the organization.⁷¹ It starts by asking what the reason(s) is/are for quitting volunteering for refugees, followed by questions about the initial motivation(s) for starting volunteering and whether volunteers felt valued and supported by the organization. The survey ends with questions about how many hours a week were spend on the volunteering, the duration of the volunteering and the sociodemographic characteristics of the volunteers.

7.3.3 Measurements

Reason for quitting volunteering, our crucial question, was measured as follows: ‘Can you tell us why you decided to stop volunteering at VluchtelingenWerk?’. This is an open-ended question. Variable *expectations of volunteering* was measured with the question: ‘Did the volunteering meet the expectations you had on beforehand?’. Respondents could indicate this on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is ‘not at all’ and 10 is ‘very much’. Next, variable *felt valued* was measured through the question: ‘Did you feel valued as a volunteer?’. Again, respondents could use a scale ranging from 0 to 10, where 0 meant ‘not at all’ and 10 meant ‘very much’. Similarly, this scale was used to measure variable *recommend volunteering at VWN to others*, using the question: ‘How likely

70 We also included partially completed questionnaires because the open-ended question about why someone quitted volunteering, the crucial question for our study, was the first question of the survey. Hence, it is very likely that partial responses still include an answer to that question.

71 The authors were, thus, not involved in the development of the questionnaire.

would you be to recommend volunteering at VluchtelingenWerk to friends, family and/or acquaintances?'.

Building on Boezeman and Ellemers (2007), variable *organizational support* was constructed out of three items, being 'How did you experience the support from your project/team leader?', 'Do you feel you were adequately provided with the knowledge you needed to do your volunteer work well?' and 'Do you feel you were adequately provided with the facilities you needed to do your volunteer work well?'. The Cronbach's Alpha (α : .868) displays a good reliability. Answer categories are: 1) insufficient; 2) moderate; 3) sufficient; 4) good and 5) excellent.

Subsequently, variable *weekly hours of volunteering* was measured with the question: 'On average, how many hours per week did you spend volunteering at VluchtelingenWerk?'. Answer categories have been recoded into 1) less than 4 hours; 2) 5 to 8 hours; 3) 9 to 16 hours; 4) 17 to 24 hours and 5) more than 24 hours. Variable *length of service* was measured through: 'How long have you been volunteering at VluchtelingenWerk?'. Following Hustinx (2010), answer categories were recoded into 1) 0 to 2 years; 2) 3 to 5 years; 3) 6 to 10 years and 4) more than 10 years. Lastly, *age* was measured via: 'What is your age?'. Answer categories are 1) 18 to 24 years; 2) 25 to 34 years; 3) 35 to 44 years; 4) 45 to 54 years; 5) 55 to 64 years and 6) 65 years or older.

7.3.4 Strategy for analysis

Descriptive information about the used variables, and their intercorrelations, are presented in Table 7.1. We use thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) to unravel why volunteers quit their volunteering. Thematic analysis is a qualitative method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns within data structures. Following Braun and Clarke (2006), a major advantage is that it describes and organizes data in rich detail. In doing so, we use inductive, bottom-up analysis as coding strategy to derive the main reasons for quitting volunteering for refugees. This enables us to see to what extent reasons for quitting are reflected in the volunteering literature and / or to reveal novel or less considered reasons for quitting volunteering that may be theoretically enriching. So, it holds the potential to reveal novel aspects in the study of volunteer turnover.

Coding was done by the PI only. However, the coding process was repeatedly discussed with the second author to resolve ambiguities. Note that, when

respondents gave multiple reasons for quitting their volunteering, we focused our qualitative analysis on the first-mentioned reason, as we consider this to be the most important reason. Next, we use the other selected variables, described in the measurements section, to build three profiles of distinguished groups of quitters. In doing so, this chapter aims to give more insight into characteristics of and differences between these specific groups of quitters.

Table 7.1 Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations of used variables (Valid N= 605)

Measure	Min	Max	Average	Std. dev.	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Expectations of volunteering	0	10	6.62	2.39	-					
2. Felt valued	0	10	7.28	2.48	.657**	-				
3. Organizational support	1	5	3.11	1.07	.559**	.671**	-			
4. Weekly hours of volunteering	1	5	1.78	0.98	.135**	.037	.057	-		
5. Length of service	1	4	1.65	0.97	.258**	.096*	.103*	.214**	-	
6. Age	1	6	4.77	1.40	-.069	-.071	-.138**	-.041	.262**	-

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$.

Source: Quitting volunteering for refugees (2024).

7.4 Results

We find that organization-related reasons and personal circumstances are important for quitting volunteering for refugees, thereby confirming the outcomes of Hustinx (2010). Moreover, we identified another ‘umbrella’ under which many exit-reasons can be subsumed: reasons to quit volunteering that are rooted in egocentric considerations. Lastly, we present a profile of these three groups that quit volunteering for refugees. Below, we systematically elaborate on the results.

7.4.1 Organization-related reasons for quitting volunteering for refugees

Organizational deficiencies appeared to be an important driver for why volunteers quitted. The thematic analysis shows three main underlying reasons: overload or underutilization of volunteers, a lack of supervision

and support and a lack of appreciation. Similar to Hustinx (2010), former volunteers emphasized the importance of a balanced volunteer role. Too little work led to an underutilization of the volunteers' capacities and willingness to help refugees, resulting in a disappointing volunteer experience: "I volunteered for the Ukrainian refugees. From April 2023. So much had now been arranged for them, that there was very little to do for me. It became a bit boring. Hence I stopped." Other volunteers also volunteering for Ukrainian refugees framed it as: "sometimes there were more volunteers than refugees". Moreover, the bureaucratic procedures were sources of frustration, distracting some volunteers from what they regarded as the essence of the work: helping the refugees. "What disappointed me about this volunteer work was the abundance of forms to be filled in for and by refugees. I had expected the voluntary work to be much more hands-on."

By contrast, volunteers also indicated that they quitted because the voluntary work was too demanding, pointing to a volunteer overload. An important source was the responsibility of the work, which felt as too heavy for many: "I found my assignment too big and the coaching too little. Being given immediate responsibility for one or more refugees or families without much coaching was too much for me." Additionally, some volunteers even declared that they suffered mentally from the responsibilities they had: "I experienced too much pressure from the volunteering. The work is wonderful and I am very committed to refugees, but I think the work is very demanding for the volunteers. I wonder if this is responsible." For some, the mental consequences became alarming: "Outside volunteering, I was too preoccupied with the problems of the refugees I was helping. I started sleeping worse and worse and felt a growing gloom."

Second, similar to Hustinx (2010), volunteers described the lack of supervision and support as reason for quitting their volunteering. Especially the communication with supervisors and team managers were sources of dissatisfaction: "I received insufficient practical support from the team. Incomplete, incorrect or contradictory information meant I repeatedly mis-supported the family I was counselling. I found it so frustrating that I stopped." Others also emphasized the many changes in paid staff, hampering the support they received: "There was a lack of structure, clarity and communication within the organization / department where I was working. Also, the turnover of paid staff we had to rely on was substantial." Third, volunteers quitted volunteering because of a felt lack of appreciation by paid

staff, also fueled by changes in paid staff: “In the beginning, I felt supported by an enthusiastic supervisor. However, I did have to figure out for myself what to do. Later, the supervisor was often changed and I felt like I was on my own.” Others indicated that they did not feel respected by their supervisor: “I found the manager very arrogant. It was neither fun nor pleasant to work there.” Contradictory to Hustinx (2010), volunteers did not report problems with fellow volunteers as reason to quit volunteering.

7.4.2 Personal circumstances for quitting volunteering for refugees

Similar to Hustinx (2010), personal circumstances were important reasons for why volunteers quit. These circumstances mainly referred to volunteers who experienced time constraints and were no longer able to combine the voluntary work with other duties in their lives. These duties mainly centered around work, study, or family. For the latter, time constraints especially arose when caregiving activities increased due to sickness of close family members, and the birth of a (first) child. Contradictory to Hustinx (2010), volunteers did not frequently refer to leisure-related activities when indicating to experience time constraints. Other personal circumstances why volunteers quit were health issues, mainly due to high age. Next, quitting reasons were practical, such as moving to another place.

A striking finding in the open-ended answers were the numerous references to how sorry some people were to quit volunteering. These were, for instance, related to health issues: “Unfortunately, due to my health, it is no longer possible”, or related to work: “Unfortunately, the voluntary work was not compatible with my paid job” or multiple causes: “Unfortunately, it no longer fitted into my own schedule, next to studying and working.”

7.4.3 Egocentric-oriented reasons for quitting volunteering for refugees

A third distinguished group are those who quit volunteering because of egocentric-oriented reasons. This refers to those who have achieved their instrumental goal(s) in this volunteering, have started volunteering at another (more fitting) organization or quit because they felt they were getting too little cooperation from the refugees they were helping. Those who quit because they had achieved their instrumental goal(s) indicated that their needs and wishes in this volunteering were fulfilled: “I committed to helping eleven refugees to find their way in Dutch society. I thought that was enough.” Other volunteers more explicitly described that the volunteering at VWN no longer

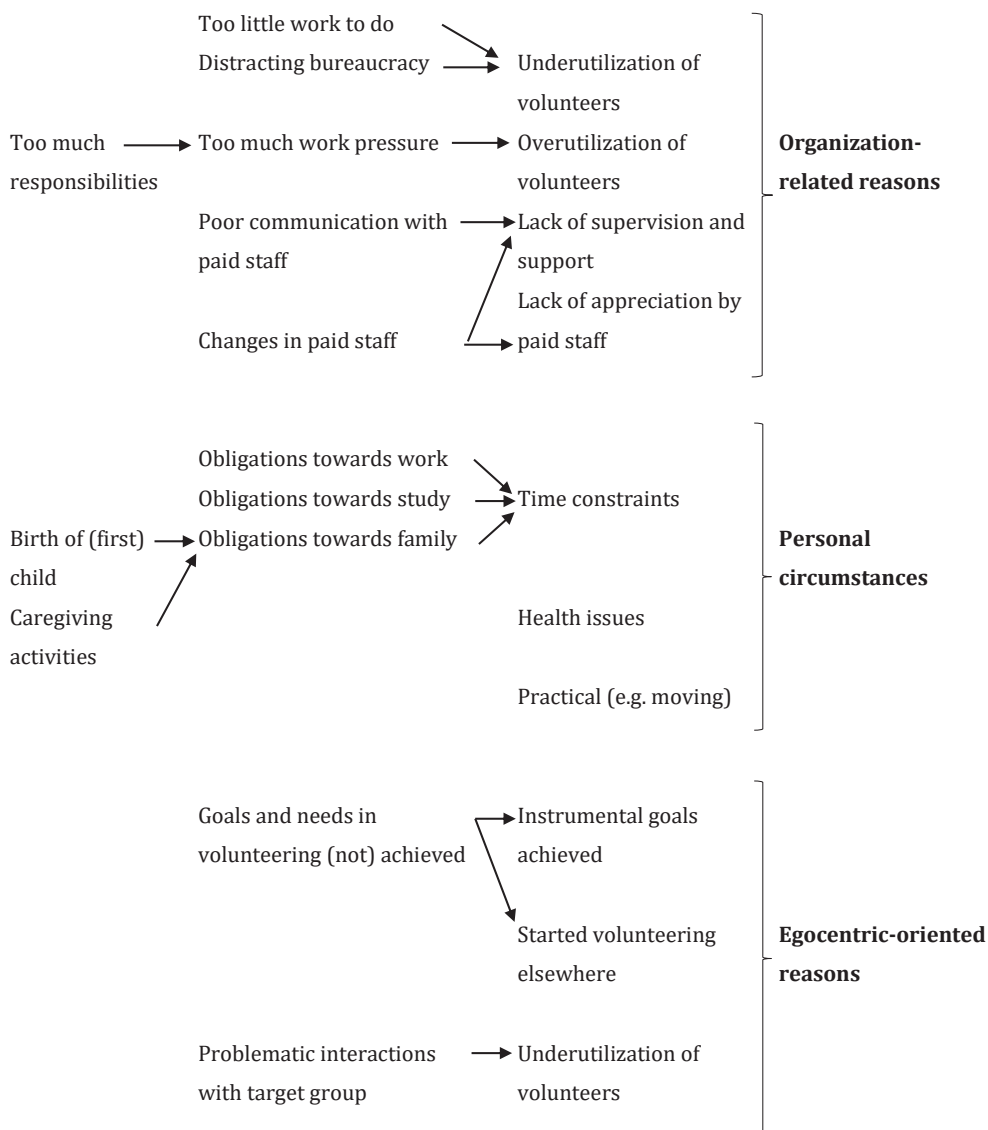
fitted their ambitions and interests in life: “I have been doing this volunteer work since the Syria crisis, and having done anything I wanted, it is now time for me to do something else”. And: “After 10 years of being a language buddy, first elsewhere and later through VWN, it is time for something else.” These answers seem to point to individual biographies that no longer align with the volunteering they did. They ‘moved on’, looking for another (volunteer) experience that matches their contemporary goals and needs.

Second, volunteers declared having quitted volunteering because they started volunteering at another organization. Similar to the previous section, volunteers seem to have ‘moved on’ to another volunteering experience because they assume that it better fits their contemporary goals and preferences: “I started volunteering elsewhere, where it is smaller-scale and more personal and that suits me better.” And: “I exchanged my volunteer work for other volunteer work. It is more defined, also in time, and I find that a great advantage.” However, some volunteers also indicated that the way they were treated by the organization functions as a reason for preferring to volunteer at another organization: “Sorry but I do more voluntary work and there, unlike here [at VWN], my work is appreciated.” To some extent, these responses also seem to point to a competition between volunteer involving organizations, with volunteers thinking they are better off at other organizations than the one they are currently volunteering for. Organizations are in need of volunteers (Forner et al., 2024) and volunteers may capitalize on this by sometimes taking advantage of the fact that they can choose between different organizations.

Third, volunteers quitted their volunteering due to a felt unwillingness in the interactions with the refugees they were helping. In this line of answers, there was underutilization of the volunteers’ capacities and willingness to help refugees, ultimately leading to frustration, disappointment or unfulfilled expectations in the volunteering experience: “The structural failure from the refugees to arrive on time, forgetting appointments, and the indifference towards me. This went on for months, I am done with it. I cannot stand it anymore and feel used.” And: “Quitting the volunteering is mainly due to the fact that I was increasingly waiting for ‘no shows’, which then cost me an hour of my valuable time.” Here, volunteers could have quitted because the problematic interactions with the refugees they were helping prevented them from reaching their individual goals and needs they were expecting to find in this volunteering. Next, some volunteers expressed that they had

expected to receive more gratitude for the help they offered: “I did a lot for a refugee. But everything seemed to be ‘taken for granted’ for her. Even if you are a refugee, a little gratitude is allowed.” This seems to indicate that, next to organizations volunteers volunteer for, volunteers should also be treated well by the target group they help (i.e. the refugees) for sustained volunteering.

Figure 7.1 Schematic overview of codes (from left to right)



7.4.4 Profiles of groups of quitters

Table 7.2 presents the profiles of the three groups of quitters. The listed variables represent two different parts. 'Expectations of volunteering', 'felt valued', 'recommend volunteering at VWN to others' and the scale of 'organizational support' which all say something about the volunteers' satisfaction with the volunteer experience. As Table 7.2 clearly visualizes, there is a fixed rank order in how the different groups of quitters perceived the satisfaction of their volunteering. For all described indicators, those who quit because of organization-related reasons are most unsatisfied with the volunteering experience. The volunteering met their expectations the least, they felt the least valued, they were the least inclined to recommend the volunteering to others and they were most dissatisfied with the organizational support they received. Those who quit because of egocentric-oriented reasons hold the middle position. This makes sense, as some in this group were able to reach their instrumental goal(s) in the volunteering, while others had unfulfilled expectations and goals. In turn, those who had to quit because of personal circumstances were most satisfied with the volunteer experience. Being the group with the most satisfaction with the volunteer experience may explain some quotes of them, which pointed to that some regretted that personal circumstances forced them to quit.

The remaining variables of Table 7.2 refer to volunteers' background characteristics. Contradictory to the previous set of variables, the profiles of the three groups of quitters do not display a particular pattern. There is not an order or systematic pattern between the groups with regard to weekly hours devoted to the volunteering, the length of service or the volunteers' age.

Table 7.2 Profiles of three groups of quitters

	Organization- related	Egocentric- oriented	Personal circumstances
	N=267	N=101	N=215
Expectations of volunteering ^a	5.91	6.69	7.63
Felt valued ^a	6.59	7.47	8.27
Recommend volunteering at VWN to others ^a	5.55	6.64	8.08
Organizational support ^b			
insufficient	14.4	5.2	0.5
moderate	23.6	19.8	12.6
sufficient	35.2	33.3	30.3
good	22.4	30.3	43.5
excellent	4.4	11.5	13.1
Weekly hours ^b			
less than 4 hours	48.6	51.1	51.4
5 to 8 hours	29.6	28.7	27.3
9 to 16 hours	15.2	11.7	16.9
17 to 24 hours	4.1	5.3	3.8
more than 24 hours	2.5	3.2	0.5
Length of service ^b			
less than 2 years	62.0	58.5	67.6
3 to 5 years	14.9	17.0	14.8
6 to 10 years	15.3	18.1	9.9
more than 10 years	7.9	6.4	7.7
Age ^b			
18 to 24 years	0.8	3.2	3.3
25 to 34 years	2.9	5.3	17.0
35 to 44 years	8.3	7.4	10.4
45 to 54 years	13.6	10.6	23.1
55 to 64 years	23.1	17.0	17.6
65 years or older	51.2	56.4	28.6

^a Means are displayed. ^b Frequencies are displayed.
Category 'other reasons' (N=22) not presented.
Source: Quitting volunteering for refugees (2024).

7.5 Discussion

The chapter's findings allow us to reflect on the results. First, we find a confirmation of the findings by Hustinx (2010). As evidenced in this chapter, similar to Hustinx (2010), organization-related reasons and personal circumstances are important reasons to quit volunteering. Within these two main reasons, several similarities exist with Hustinx' study. This chapter also underlines the importance of a balanced volunteer role and the detrimental impact of a lack of supervision and support. Further, the lack of volunteer appreciation is emphasized, next to the time constraints that are caused by work, study or family. Interestingly, contrary to Hustinx (2010), this chapter did not reveal that volunteers quitted because of fellow volunteers. This might be attributable to the sample, as volunteers for refugees at VWN primarily work with refugees and not frequently with (large teams of) fellow volunteers.

Second, this chapter finds support for egocentric-oriented considerations as another umbrella of reasons to quit volunteering. This points to several processes where volunteer goals have been reached, or situations that prevent volunteers from reaching their goals. This relates, in both cases, to a volunteering experience that no longer aligns with the goals and needs of volunteers, pointing to a biographical mismatch (Haivas et al., 2013; Hustinx, 2010). Indeed, the discrepancy between goal fulfillment, expectations and satisfaction is found to be both important for the study of volunteer turnover as well as that these matters are understudied (Weiss, 2022).

Third, the profile of the three groups of quitters provides relevant reflections. Table 7.2 demonstrates a clear, fixed rank order in how satisfied the three groups were with their volunteer experience. However, despite these differences in satisfaction, we barely note differences in time that has been spent on the volunteering, in terms of weekly hours devoted to it and the length of service. Possibly, the volunteer experience may not relate to the devoted time for *this* volunteering. Nevertheless, a disappointing volunteer experience could hamper the volunteer energy (Brudney & Meijs, 2009, 2013) in case of *future* volunteering.

Fourth, this chapter shows that reasons for being demotivated to continue volunteering (Meijeren et al., 2025b), can transform into actual reasons for having quitted the volunteering. As such, volunteer involving organizations

should use the ‘voice’ of volunteers (Brudney & Meijs, 2013), to help prevent that reasons for being demotivated evolve into actual reasons for volunteer turnover.

Fifth, the results provide support for the dangers of burnout and boreout in volunteering. The former refers to an overutilization of the potential of volunteers, for instance when volunteers experience too much work pressure resulting from too much responsibilities. Conversely, boreout refers to an underutilization of the potential of volunteers, for instance when there is too little work, fueling feelings of boredom and uselessness. Weiss (2022) found that volunteers who blame their boredom to organizational conditions are more likely to decrease their participation. These findings underline the importance of a balanced volunteer role, being a range of tasks that volunteers can handle but simultaneously is found to be challenging and fulfilling (Maas et al., 2021).

Sixth, the results demonstrate the challenges in mentor-mentee relationships. Volunteers indicated that they were dissatisfied in the interactions with refugees, for instance when appointments were missed or – in a broader sense – the time of volunteers was not properly used by refugees. This underutilization – thus boreout, frustrated volunteers to such a degree that it sometimes formed their primary reason to quit volunteering for refugees.

7.6 Conclusion

This chapter examined why volunteers quitted their volunteering in a refugee aid organization. In doing so, we aimed to shed light to the black box of quitting volunteering, because most scholarly attention goes to recruitment and retention of volunteers (de-Miguel-Molina et al., 2024). We analyzed exit-data from former volunteers who volunteered for the largest Dutch refugee aid organization. We find that fifteen years after the influential contribution to the study of volunteer turnover, the outcomes of Hustinx (2010) are again confirmed in this chapter. This implies that the majority of the volunteers quitted their volunteering out of organization-related reasons or personal circumstances. These two large ‘umbrellas’ mark a duality: the former relates to the organization as the culprit for volunteer turnover, whereas the latter primarily refers to external forces that push volunteers towards the exit with the organization more likely to be the victim of these

acts. Moreover, another duality arises in terms of how volunteers perceived their volunteer experience. Quitters because of organization-related reasons were most dissatisfied, whereas those who quit because of personal circumstances were most satisfied. These different experiences may even impact future volunteer recruitment, as this chapter demonstrates that it is less likely that dissatisfied volunteers recommend their volunteering to others.

Second, this chapter raises attention for a third novel explanation for exit reasons that are explained by egocentric-oriented considerations. In this line of reasoning volunteers 'moved on', sometimes because goals in the volunteering were reached or because processes prevented them from reaching their goals. Another line of answers pointed to quitting because 'the grass was found to be greener' at another organization, which is also in line with the growing competition on the volunteer labor market (Bussell & Forbes, 2002, 2003). Brudney et al. (2020) advocate for adding an offboarding step to volunteer management practices to help volunteers to move on to another volunteer opportunity with another organization in order to recycle volunteer energy and volunteering.

The present chapter underlines that 'the organization matters'. While there indeed were hardly any differences in devoted time to the volunteering between the three groups of quitters, organizations straightforwardly would be better able to retain volunteers if they improve their weaknesses in order to make their volunteers more satisfied. Conversely, however, volunteer involving organizations will also have to accept that while their service to volunteers may be as good as it can be, personal circumstances still may force volunteers to quit, as well as that volunteers may quit when the volunteering no longer aligns with their personal goals. Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the most dissatisfied group, those who quit because of organization-related reasons, could be retained for longer when organizational deficiencies are improved (Magrone et al., 2024; Weiss, 2022; Yanay & Yanay, 2008). Hence, a better organization will not be able to convince every volunteer to stay longer, but is still worthwhile as some can be convinced.

This chapter contributed to a neglected area, as it is more challenging to question former volunteers that are not in the picture of the respective organization anymore (Hustinx, 2010). Consequently, the results in this chapter could have been subject to selection bias. It is conceivable that

the most dissatisfied volunteers were more likely to refuse participation in the survey more often. Therefore, the possibility exists that our sample was somewhat biased toward satisfied volunteers, who had more positive volunteer experiences. Next, for clarity, we only used the first-mentioned reason for quitting in case of multiple answers given, as we presumed that the first answer reflects the most important incentive. Nevertheless, this procedure implied that in some cases we did not use all the available information behind volunteer turnover. In addition, former volunteers responses were retrospective, and therefore may have been subject to recall bias. Although the period between quitting and the survey was not very long, we cannot rule out that former volunteers reframed their answers.

Further, outcomes in this chapter cannot easily be generalized to organizations in other volunteering sectors. VWN is a human service organization (Lee, 2019) that asks commitment from their volunteers in terms of training requirements and agreements being formalized in a volunteer contract. Conversely, for instance, sports organizations are more likely to rely on episodic volunteers (e.g. Okada et al., 2022) who display less commitment and organizational attachment (Cnaan et al., 2022; Compion et al., 2022). Therefore, we recommend to extend this research to other volunteering fields. Next, future research should also focus on the role of burnout and boreout in volunteering, with a specific focus on the latter as boreout has only received fleeting attention so far (Weiss, 2022). Lastly, future research should delve into egocentric-oriented reasons for quitting volunteering, to assess whether these reasons also exist in other fields and to give voluntary organizations concrete ideas of how prominent these type of reasons are for volunteer turnover.



References

- Aksoy, O., & Wiertz, D. (2024). The impact of religious involvement on trust, volunteering, and perceived cooperativeness: evidence from two British panels. *European Sociological Review*, 40(1), 143-159.
- Alcalde, J., & Portos García, M. (2018). Refugee solidarity in a multilevel political opportunity structure: the case of Spain. In D. Della Porta (Ed.), *Solidarity mobilizations in the 'refugee crisis': Contentious moves*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Allen, J. A., & Mueller, S. L. (2013). The revolving door: a closer look at major factors in volunteers' intention to quit. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(2), 139-155.
- Allison, P. D. (2009). *Fixed effects regression models*. Los Angeles / London: Sage.
- Arends, J., & Schmeets, H. (2018). *Vrijwilligerswerk: Activiteiten, duur en motieven*. Den Haag / Heerlen: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
- Baggett, J. (2001). *Habitat for humanity*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Baillie Smith, M., Mills, S., Okech, M., & Fadel, B. (2022). Uneven geographies of youth volunteering in Uganda: multi-scalar discourses and practices. *Geoforum*, 134, 30-39.
- Baines, S., & Hardill, I. (2008). 'At least I can do something': the work of volunteering in a community beset by worklessness. *Social Policy and Society*, 7(3), 307-317.
- Bauman, Z. (2001). Identity in the globalizing world. *Social Anthropology*, 9(2), 121-129.
- Beck, U. (1992). *Risk society: towards a new modernity*. Munich: Sage.
- Beck, U., & Beck-Gernsheim, E. (2002). *Individualization*. Munich: Sage.
- Becker, G. S. (1965). A theory of the allocation of time. *The Economic Journal*, 75(299), 493-517.
- Bekkers, R. (2005). Participation in voluntary associations: relations with resources, personality, and political values. *Political Psychology*, 26(3), 439-454.
- Bekkers, R. (2006). Traditional and health-related philanthropy: the role of resources and personality. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 69(4), 349-366.
- Bekkers, R., de Wit, A., & Wiepking, P. (2017). Jubileumspecial: Twintig jaar Geven in Nederland. In R. Bekkers, T. N. M. Schuyt, & B. M. Gouwenberg (Eds.), *Geven in Nederland 2017: Giften, Sponsoring, Legaten en Vrijwilligerswerk* (pp. 61-94). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bekkers, R., Gouwenberg, B. M., Koolen-Maas, S., & Schuyt, T. N. M. (Eds.). (2022). *Geven in Nederland 2022*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bekkers, R., Gouwenberg, B. M., & Schuyt, T. N. M. (Eds.). (2020). *Geven in Nederland 2020*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bekkers, R., & Ruiter, S. (2008). Education and voluntary association participation: evidence for selection and causation. In *103d ASA Annual Meeting, Boston* (Vol. 2).
- Bekkers, R., & Ruiter, S. (2009). Generatieverschillen in maatschappelijke waarden en vrijwillige inzet. In P. Dekker & J. de Hart (Eds.), *Vrijwilligerswerk in meervoud* (pp. 178-194). Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.

- Bekkers, R., & Schuyt, T. N. M. (2008). And who is your neighbor? Explaining the effect of religion on charitable giving and volunteering. *Review of Religious Research*, 50(1), 74–96.
- Bekkers, R., & Van Teunenbroek, C. (2020). Generatieverschillen in geefgedrag en vrijwilligerswerk. In R. Bekkers, B. M. Gouwenberg, & T. N. M. Schuyt (Eds.), *Geven in Nederland 2020* (pp. 22–48). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Benenson, J., & Stagg, A. (2016). An asset-based approach to volunteering: exploring benefits for low-income volunteers. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 45(1), 131–149.
- Bier, M., Fathi, R., Stephan, C., Kahl, A., Fiedrich, F., & Fekete, A. (2025). Spontaneous volunteers and the flood disaster 2021 in Germany: development of social innovations in flood risk management. *Journal of Flood Risk Management*, 18(1), e12933.
- Boezeman, E.J., & Ellemers, N. (2007). Volunteering for charity: pride, respect, and the commitment of volunteers. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 92(3), 771–785.
- Boezeman E.J., & Ellemers, N. (2009). Intrinsic need satisfaction and the job attitudes of volunteers versus employees working in a charitable volunteer organization. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 82, 897–914.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101.
- Bourdieu, P. (1984). *Distinction: a social critique of the judgement of taste*. London: Routledge.
- Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Ed.), *The handbook of theory: Research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241–258). New York: Greenwood Press.
- Broese van Groenou, M., & van Tilburg, T. (2012). Six-year follow-up on volunteering in later life: a cohort comparison in the Netherlands. *European Sociological Review*, 28(1), 1–11.
- Brown, E., & Ferris, J. M. (2007). Social capital and philanthropy: an analysis of the impact of social capital on individual giving and volunteering. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 36(1), 85–99.
- Brüderl, J., & Ludwig, V. (2015). Fixed-effects panel regression. In *The Sage handbook of regression analysis and causal inference* (pp. 327–357). London: SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Brudney, J. L. (2005). Designing and managing volunteer programs. In R. D. Herman & Associates (Eds.), *The Jossey-Bass handbook of nonprofit leadership and management* (pp. 310–344). San Francisco: Wiley.
- Brudney, J. L., & Meijs, L. C. (2009). It ain't natural: toward a new (natural) resource conceptualization for volunteer management. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 38(4), 564–581.
- Brudney, J. L., & Meijs, L. C. (2013). Our common commons: policies for sustaining volunteer energy. *Nonprofit Policy Forum*, (4)1, 29–45.

- Brudney, J., Meijs, L., Koolen-Maas, S., & Van Overbeeke, P. (2020). *Preserving the past, present and future of volunteering: the responsible volunteer stewardship framework*. Paper presented at ARNOVA's 49th Annual Conference November 11-14, 2020 – Virtual.
- Brudney, J.L., Meijs, L.C.P.M., van Overbeeke, P.S.M. (2019). More is less? The volunteer stewardship framework and models. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 30, 69–87.
- Burger, A., & Veldheer, V. (2001). The growth of the nonprofit sector in the Netherlands. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 30(2), 221–246.
- Bussell, H., & Forbes, D. (2002). Understanding the volunteer market: the what, where, who and why of volunteering. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing*, 7(3), 244–257.
- Bussell, H., & Forbes, D. (2003). The volunteer life cycle: a marketing model for volunteering. *Voluntary Action*, 5(3), 61–79.
- Carlsen, H. B., Doerr, N., & Toubøl, J. (2022). Inequality in interaction: equalizing the helper-recipient relationship in the refugee solidarity movement. *Voluntas*, 33, 59–71.
- Centerdata. (2022). LISS background variables, <https://doi.org/10.57990/qn3k-as78>; social integration and leisure, <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-zaf-casa>; health, <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-ze3-5uk9>; religion and ethnicity, <https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-xkwt8dm>; Tilburg: Centerdata.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. (2022). Steeds minder mensen doen vrijwilligerswerk. Retrieved from: <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2022/42/steeds-minder-mensen-doen-vrijwilligerswerk>.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. (2024). Asielverzoeken en nareizigers; nationaliteit, geslacht en leeftijd. Retrieved from: <https://www.opendatacbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/83102ned/table?fromstatweb>.
- Chacón, F., Gutiérrez, G., Sauto, V., Vecina, M. L., & Pérez, A. (2017). Volunteer functions inventory: a systematic review. *Psicothema*, 29(3), 306–316.
- Chouliaraki, L. (2013). *The ironic spectator. Solidarity in the age of post-humanitarianism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., & Ridge, R. (1992). Volunteers' motivations: a functional strategy for the recruitment, placement, and retention of volunteers. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 2(4), 333–350.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Copeland, J., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J., & Meine, P. (1998a). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: a functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(6), 1516–1530.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., & Stukas, A. A. (1998b). Service-learning and psychology: lessons from the psychology of volunteer's motivations. In R. G. Bringle & D. K. Duffy (Eds.), *With service in mind: Concepts and models for service-learning in psychology* (pp. 35–50). New York: Routledge.

- Cnaan, R. A., Daniel Heist, H., & Storti, M. H. (2017). Episodic volunteering at a religious megaevent: Pope Francis's visit to Philadelphia. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 28(1), 85-104.
- Cnaan, R. A., & Handy, F. (2005). Towards understanding episodic volunteering. *Vrijwillige inzet onderzocht*, 2(1), 29-35.
- Cnaan, R. A., Handy, F., & Wadsworth, M. (1996). Defining who is a volunteer: conceptual and empirical considerations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 25(3), 364-383.
- Cnaan, R. A., Meijs, L., Brudney, J. L., Hersberger-Langloh, S., Okada, A., & Abu-Rumman, S. (2021). You thought that this would be easy? Seeking an understanding of episodic volunteering. *Voluntas*, 33, 415-427.
- Cnaan, R. A., Unetic, P. E., & Choi, D. (2025). In-person volunteering in the times of the pandemic: lessons for organizations dependent on essential volunteering. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 1-11. doi: 10.1002/nml.21654.
- COA. (2022a). Opvangcapaciteit: een bed voor iedereen. Retrieved from: <https://www.coa.nl/nl/opvangcapaciteit-een-bed-voor-iedereen>.
- COA. (2022b). Spreidingswet helpt en moet op onderdelen beter en scherper. Retrieved from: <https://www.coa.nl/nl/nieuws/spreidingswet-helpt-en-moet-op-onderdelen-beter-en-scherper>.
- Coenders, M., & Dagevos, J. (2024). Asiel en migratie. In: L. Vermeij, Y. de Kluizenaar, M. Reijnders en M. Coenders (red.), *Koersen op kwaliteit van de samenleving. Sociale en Culturele Ontwikkelingen 2024* (p. 104-120). Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Coenders, M., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2013). Resistance to immigrants and asylum seekers in the European Union: cross-national comparisons of public opinion, in Freeman, G., Hansen, R. & Leal, D. (2013). *Immigration and public opinion in liberal democracies*. New York: Routledge, p. 21-50.
- Compion, S., Meijs, L., Cnaan, R. A., Krasnopolskaya, I., von Schnurbein, G., & Abu-Rumman, S. (2022). Repeat and non-returning volunteers: the promise of episodic events for volunteer recruitment and retention. *Voluntas*, 33, 472-482.
- Cullen Dunn, E., & Kaliszewska, I. (2023). Distributed humanitarianism: volunteerism and aid to refugees during the Russian invasion of Ukraine. *American Ethnologist*, 50(1), 19-29.
- Damian, E. (2019). Formal volunteering in Europe: evidence across nations and time. *Cross-Cultural Research*, 53(4), 385-409.
- Dávila, M. C., & Díaz-Morales, J. F. (2009). Age and motives for volunteering: further evidence. *European Journal of Psychology*, 5(2), 82-95.
- Dean, J. (2016). Class diversity and youth volunteering in the United Kingdom: applying Bourdieu's habitus and cultural capital. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 45(1), 95-113.
- De Beer, J., Van Duin, C., Van der Gaag, N., & Ekamper, P. (2020). *Bevolking 2050 in beeld: drukker, diverser en dubbelgrijs*. Den Haag: Nederlands Interdisciplinair Demografisch Instituut.

- De-Miguel-Molina, B., Boix-Domenech, R., Martínez-Villanueva, G., & de-Miguel-Molina, M. (2024). Predicting volunteers' decisions to stay in or quit an NGO using neural networks. *Voluntas*, 35, 277-291.
- Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (1985). *Intrinsic motivation and self-determination in human behavior*. New York: Plenum.
- Deci, E. L. & Ryan, R. M. (2002). *Handbook of self-determination research*. Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press.
- Dederichs, K. (2023). Volunteering in the United Kingdom during the COVID-19 pandemic: who started and who quit? *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 52(5), 1458-1474.
- Dekker, P. (2002). *De oplossing van de civil society. Over vrijwillige associaties in tijden van vervagende grenzen*. Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Dekker, P. (2013). Dutch civil society in macro quantitative perspectives. In A. Zimmer (Ed.), *Civil society compared* (pp. 141-160). Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlag.
- Dekker, P. (2019). From pillarized active membership to populist active citizenship: the Dutch do democracy. *Voluntas*, 30, 74-85.
- Della Porta, D. (Ed.). (2018). *Solidarity mobilizations in the 'refugee crisis': contentious moves*. London / New York: Macmillan Publishers Limited.
- Della Porta, D., & Steinhilper, E. (2021a). Shrinking spaces and civil society contestation: an introduction. In: *Contentious migrant solidarity* (pp. 1-18). Abingdon / New York: Routledge.
- Della Porta, D., & Steinhilper, E. (2021b). Introduction: solidarities in motion: hybridity and change in migrant support practices. *Critical Sociology*, 47(2), 175-185.
- De Wit, A., & Bekkers, R. (2020). Can charitable donations compensate for a reduction in government funding? The role of information. *Public Administration Review*, 80(2), 294-304.
- De Wit, A., Qu, H., & Bekkers, R. (2022). The health advantage of volunteering is larger for older and less healthy volunteers in Europe: a mega-analysis. *European Journal of Aging*, 19(4), 1189-1200.
- Downward, P., Hallmann, K., & Rasciute, S. (2020). Volunteering and leisure activity in the United Kingdom: a longitudinal analysis of males and females. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 49(4), 757-775.
- Eberl, A., & Krug, G. (2021). When and how does volunteering influence wages?—Evidence from panel data. *Acta Sociologica*, 64(3), 274-293.
- Eibich, P., Lorenti, A., & Mosca, I. (2022). Does retirement affect voluntary work provision? Evidence from Europe and the U.S. *Labour Economics*, 76, 102185.
- Einolf, C. J. (2010). Gender differences in the correlates of volunteering and charitable giving. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 40(6), 1092-1112.
- Einolf, C. J. (2018). Parents' charitable giving and volunteering: are they influenced by their children's ages and life transitions? Evidence from a longitudinal study in the United States. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 47(2), 395-416.

- Eliasoph, N. (1998). *Avoiding politics: how Americans produce apathy in everyday life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ellemers, N., & Boezeman, E. J. (2010). Empowering the volunteer organization: what volunteer organizations can do to recruit, content, and retain volunteers. In S. Stürmer & M. Snyder (Eds.), *The psychology of prosocial behavior: group processes, intergroup relations, and helping* (pp. 245–266). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Fadel, B., Baillie Smith, M., Mills, S., Rogerson, D., Sahasranaman, A., Okech, M., Turyamureeba, R., Tukundane, C., Ahimbisibwe, F., Boyle, O., & Kanyandago, P. (2024). The scale, forms and distribution of volunteering amongst refugee youth populations in Uganda. *Population, Space and Place*, 30(8), 1–17.
- Ferris, A., Marrese, T., Cnaan, R., Choi, D., & Handy, F. (2024). Who volunteers at refugee and immigrant nonprofits? Results from two studies. *Nonprofit Policy Forum*, 1-28. doi: 10.1515/npf-2023-0066
- Finkelstein, M. A. (2008). Predictors of volunteer time: the changing contributions of motive fulfillment and role identity. *Social Behavior and Personality: an International Journal*, 36(10), 1353-1363.
- Fleischmann, L., & Steinhilper, E. (2017). The myth of apolitical volunteering for refugees: German welcome culture and a new dispositif of helping. *Social Inclusion*, 5(3), 17–27.
- Florian, M., Costas, J., & Kärreman, D. (2019). Struggling with meaningfulness when context shifts: volunteer work in a German refugee shelter. *Journal of Management Studies*, 56(3), 589-616.
- Forner, V. W., Holtrop, D., Boezeman, E. J., Slemp, G. R., Kotek, M., Kragt, D., Askovic, M., & Johnson, A. (2024). Predictors of turnover amongst volunteers: a systematic review and meta-analysis. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 45(3), 1-25.
- Ganzevoort, W., & van den Born, R. J. (2025). The everyday reality of nature volunteering: an empirical exploration of reasons to stay and reasons to quit. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 68(1), 207-226.
- Gee, L. K. (2011). The nature of giving time to your child's school. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 40(3), 552–565.
- Gesthuizen, M., & Scheepers, P. (2010). Educational differences in volunteering in cross-national perspective: individual and contextual explanations. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 41(1), 58–81.
- Gesthuizen, M., Scheepers, P., Van der Veld, W., & Völker, B. (2013). Structural aspects of social capital: tests for cross-national equivalence in Europe. *Quality & Quantity*, 47(2), 909–922.
- Geurts, N., Geurts, R., Scheepers, P., & Vergeer, M. (2021). Exposure to television and support for restrictive immigration policies in the midst of the immigration crisis: a cross-national comparison. *Social Science Quarterly*, 102(6), 3020-3035.
- Gordon, C. W., & Babchuk, N. (1959). A typology of voluntary associations. *American Sociological Review*, 24(1), 22–29.
- Granovetter, M. S. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology*, 78(6), 1360-1380.

- Gray, E., Khoo, S. E., & Reimondos, A. (2012). Participation in different types of volunteering at young, middle and older adulthood. *Journal of Population Research*, 29, 373–398.
- Grönlund, H. (2011). Identity and volunteering intertwined: reflections on the values of young adults. *Voluntas*, 22, 852–874.
- Grönlund, H., Cnaan, R. A., Kang, C., Yamauchi, N., Compion, S., & Butcher, J. (2023). Religion and episodic volunteering. *Voluntary Sector Review*, 14(1), 62-83.
- Grünwald, O., Damman, M., & Henkens, K. (2021). The differential impact of retirement on informal caregiving, volunteering, and grandparenting: results of a 3-year panel study. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 76(3), 607-619.
- Habraken, R., Meijs, L., Schulpen, L., & Temmink, C. (2013). Dutch civil society at crossroads. *Development in Practice*, 23(5-6), 742-754.
- Hager, M. A., & Brudney, J. L. (2004). *Volunteer management practices and retention of volunteers*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute. Retrieved from <https://www.urban.org/research/publication/volunteer-management-practices-and-retention-volunteers>
- Haidt, J. (2013). *The righteous mind: why good people are divided by politics and religion*. New York: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Haivas, S., Hofmans, J., & Pepermans, R. (2013). Volunteer engagement and intention to quit from a self-determination theory perspective. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 43(9), 1869-1880.
- Haski-Leventhal, D., Hustinx, L., & Handy, F. (2011). What money cannot buy: the distinctive and multidimensional impact of volunteers. *Journal of Community Practice*, 19, 138–158.
- Haski-Leventhal, D., Meijs, L.C.P.M., Lockstone-Binney, L., Holmes, K., & Oppenheimer, M. (2018). Measuring volunteerability and the capacity to volunteer among non-volunteers: implications for social policy. *Social Policy and Administration*, 52(5), 1139-1167.
- Heelas, P. (1996). Introduction: detraditionalization and its rivals. In P. Heelas, S. Lash, & P. Morris (Eds.), *Detraditionalization. Critical reflections on authority and identity* (pp. 1-20). Cambridge / Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hendriks, I. (2023). *Changes and contrasts in attitudes towards ethnic minorities*. Nijmegen: RU / ICS.
- Hendriks, I., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2022). A panel study of attitudes toward ethnic minorities and the role of changes in individuals' economic situations. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 34(1), 1-20.
- Herzberg, F., Mausner, B., Peterson, R.O., & Capwell, D. F. (1957). *Job attitudes: review of research and opinion*. Pittsburgh: Psychological Service of Pittsburgh.
- Hinger, S. (2016). Asylum in Germany: the making of the “crisis” and the role of civil society. *Human Geography*, 9(2), 78–88.

- Hodgins, M., Pursell, L., Itzkovich, Y., MacCurtain, S., & Rayner, C. (2025). A scoping review of bullying and harassment in nonprofit and voluntary organizations. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 1-24. doi: 10.1002/nml.21646.
- Hoffmann, J. P., & Miller, A. (1997). Social and political attitudes among religious groups: convergence and divergence over time. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 36(1), 52–70.
- Hogg, E. (2016). Constant, serial and trigger volunteers: volunteering across the life course and into older age. *Voluntary Sector Review*, 7(2), 169-190.
- Hoogervorst, N., Metz, J., Roza, L., & van Baren, E. (2016). How perceptions of altruism and sincerity affect client trust in volunteers versus paid workers. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 45(3), 593-611.
- Hopkins, B., & Dowell, D. (2022). Recruitment and retention in not-for-profit organizations: tailored strategies for younger and older volunteers. *Employee Relations: the International Journal*, 44(1), 259-273.
- Horton, N. J., & Kleinman, K. P. (2007). Much ado about nothing. A comparison of missing data methods and software to fit incomplete data regression models. *The American Statistician*, 61(1), 79–90.
- Hustinx, L. (2010). I quit, therefore I am? Volunteer turnover and the politics of self-actualization. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 39(2), 236-255.
- Hustinx, L., Grubb, A., Rameder, P., & Shachar, I. Y. (2022). Inequality in volunteering: building a new research front. *Voluntas*, 33(1), 1-17.
- Hustinx, L., & Lammertyn, F. (2003). Collective and reflexive styles of volunteering: a sociological modernization perspective. *Voluntas*, 14(2), 167-187.
- Huynh, J., Xanthopoulou, D., & Windsor, T. (2024). A longitudinal investigation of job demands-resources theory in volunteer firefighters working for the nonprofit sector. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 35(1), 35-59.
- Jiranek, P., Kals, E., Humm, J. S., Strubel, I. T., & Wehner, Y. (2013). Volunteering as a means to an equal end? The impact of a social justice function on intention to volunteer. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 153(5), 520–541.
- Johnston, J. B. (2013). Religion and volunteering over the adult life course. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 52(4), 733–752.
- Kalogeraki, S. (2018). Volunteering for refugees and asylum seekers in Greece. In C. Lahusen & M. T. Grasso (Eds.), *Palgrave studies in European political sociology: solidarity in Europe: citizens' responses in times of crisis* (pp. 169–194). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kals, E., & Strubel, I. (2017). Volunteering to support refugees: a question of one's scope of justice. *Refuge*, 33(2), 66–77.
- Kende, A., Lantos, N. A., Belinszky, A., Csaba, S., & Lukács, Z. A. (2017). The politicized motivations of volunteers in the refugee crisis: intergroup helping as the means to achieve social change. *Journal of Social and Political Psychology*, 5(1), 260–281.

- Kinsbergen, S., Tolsma, J., & Ruiter, S. (2013). Bringing the beneficiary closer: explanations for volunteering time in Dutch private development initiatives. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 42(1), 59-83.
- Knack, S. (2003). Groups, growth and trust: cross-country evidence on the Olson and Putnam hypotheses. *Public Choice*, 117(3-4), 341-355.
- Komp, K., van Tilburg, T., & van Groenou, M. (2011). Age, retirement and health as factors in volunteering in later life. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 41(2), 280-299.
- Konieczny, P. (2018). Volunteer retention, burnout and dropout in online voluntary organizations: stress, conflict and retirement of Wikipedians. In L. Kriesberg (Ed), *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change* (pp. 199-219). Leeds: Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Koolen-Maas, S. A., Meijs, L. C., van Overbeeke, P. S., & Brudney, J. L. (2023). Rethinking volunteering as a natural resource: a conceptual typology. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 52(1_suppl), 353S-377S.
- Krause, M. (2014). *The good project*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Kregting, J., Scheepers, P., Vermeer, P., & Eisinga, R. (2023). Explanations for individual secularization: exploring the effects of life course events on religious decline in the Netherlands between 2009 and 2020. *Review of Religious Research*, 65(4), 508-528.
- Kunst, S., Coenders, M., & Dagevos, J. (2025). *Migratie als spiegel van maatschappijbeelden. Een onderzoek naar opvattingen in de bevolking over migratie, nationale identiteit, samenleving en politiek*. Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Kuyper, L., Van Houwelingen, P., Dekker, P., & Steenbekkers, A. (2019). Maatschappelijke en politieke participatie en betrokkenheid. In A. Wennekens, J. Boelhouwer, C. Van Campen, & J. Kullberg (Eds.), *De sociale staat van Nederland 2019* (pp. 223-244). Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Lancee, B., & Radl, J. (2014). Volunteering over the life course. *Social Forces*, 93(2), 833-862.
- Landmann, H., Siem, B., Fuchs, B., & Rohmann, A. (2023). Key experiences of volunteers in refugee aid. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, 1-16. doi: 10.1080/15562948.2023.2238635.
- Larruina, R., Boersma, K., & Ponzoni, E. (2019). Responding to the Dutch asylum crisis: implications for collaborative work between civil society and governmental organizations. *Social Inclusion*, 7(2), 53-63.
- Larruina, R., & Ghorashi, H. (2016). The normality and materiality of the dominant discourse: voluntary work inside a Dutch asylum seeker center. *Journal of Immigrant and Refugee Studies*, 14(2), 220-237.
- Lazarus, R. S., & Folkman, S. (1984). *Stress, appraisal, and coping*. New York: Springer Publishing Company.
- Lee, Y. J. (2019). Variations in volunteer use among human service organizations in the USA. *Voluntas*, 30(1), 208-221.

- Lee, Y. J. (2020). Facebooking alone? Millennials' use of social network sites and volunteering. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 49(1), 203–217.
- Lee, Y. J., & Brudney, J. L. (2012). Participation in formal and informal volunteering: implications for volunteer recruitment. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 23(2), 159–180.
- Lelieveldt, H., Astudillo, J., & Stevenson, L. (2007). The spectrum of associational activities. In W. A. Maloney & S. Roßteutscher (Eds.), *Social capital and associations in European democracies: a comparative analysis* (pp. 99–133). London / New York: Routledge.
- Levine, M., & Thompson, K. (2004). Identity, place, and bystander intervention: social categories and helping after natural disasters. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 144(3), 229–245.
- Liang, K., & Zeger, S. L. (1986). Longitudinal data analysis using generalized linear models. *Biometrika*, 73(1), 13–22.
- Lockstone-Binney, L., Holmes, K., Meijs, L. C., Oppenheimer, M., Haski-Leventhal, D., & Taplin, R. (2022). Growing the volunteer pool: identifying non-volunteers most likely to volunteer. *Voluntas*, 33(4), 777–794.
- Longitudinal Internet Studies for the Social Sciences (LISS). (2025). Volunteering for humanitarian organizations. Retrieved from: <https://dataarchive.lissdata.nl/study-units/view/644>.
- Lubbers, M., & De Valk, H. (2020). Demographic profile of Syrians in the Netherlands. *Comparative demography of the Syrian diaspora: European and Middle Eastern destinations*, 261–280. London: Springer.
- Ma, J., & Konrath, S. (2018). A century of nonprofit studies: scaling the knowledge of the field. *Voluntas*, 29, 1139–1158.
- Maas, S. A., Meijs, L. C., & Brudney, J. L. (2021). Designing “national day of service” projects to promote volunteer job satisfaction. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 50(4), 866–888.
- Macduff, N. (2005). Societal changes and the rise of the episodic volunteer. *Emerging Areas of Volunteering*, 1(2), 49–61.
- Maggini, N. (2018). The social and political dimensions of solidarity in Italy. In C. Lahusen & M. T. Grasso (Eds.), *Palgrave studies in European political sociology: solidarity in Europe: citizens' responses in times of crisis* (pp. 127–168). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Magrone, M., Montani, F., Emili, S., Bakker, A. B., & Sommovigo, V. (2024). A new look at job demands, resources, and volunteers' intentions to leave: the role of work-home interference and burnout. *Voluntas*, 1–13. doi: 10.1007/s11266-024-00679-y.
- Malkki, L. (2015). *The need to help: the domestic arts of international humanitarianism*. Harrogate: Duke University Press.
- Mannheim, K. (1967). The problem of generations. *Psychoanalytic Review*, 53(3), 378–404.

- Mannino, C. A., Snyder, M., & Omoto, A. M. (2011). Why do people get involved? Motivations for volunteerism and other forms of social action. In D. Dunning (Ed.), *Social motivation* (pp. 127–146). New York: Psychology Press.
- Mato-Santiso, V., Rey-García, M., & Sanzo-Pérez, M. J. (2023). Volunteer omnichannel behavior in nonprofit organizations: key antecedents and implications for management. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 34(2), 433–463.
- McLennan, J., Birch, A., Cowlshaw, S., & Hayes, P. (2008). I quit! Leadership and satisfaction with the volunteer role: resignations and organizational responses. *Australian Psychological Society Annual Conference*, 214–219.
- McNamara, T. K., & Gonzales, E. (2011). Volunteer transitions among older adults: the role of human, social, and cultural capital in later life. *Journals of Gerontology Series B: Psychological Sciences and Social Sciences*, 66(4), 490–501.
- Meijeren, M., Bekkers, R., & Scheepers, P. (2025a). Hop in and drop out: how are changes in the life course related to changes in volunteering for humanitarian organizations? *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 1–32. doi: 10.1177/08997640251323574.
- Meijeren, M., Ellemers, N., & Lubbers, M. (2025b). How to keep them inside? Organizational and motivational factors that influence volunteer retention for refugee aid organizations. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 1–30. doi: 10.1002/nml.21667.
- Meijeren, M., Ellemers, N., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2024a). *Volunteering for refugees*. Nijmegen: Radboud University. <https://doi.org/10.17026/SS/S5QDWC>
- Meijeren, M., Ellemers, N., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2024b). Vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen: focusgroepen en interviews in Nijmegen. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17026/SS/PHHTFL>
- Meijeren, M., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2023a). Socio-structural determinants in volunteering for humanitarian organizations: a resource-based approach. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 52(4), 1058–1076.
- Meijeren, M., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2023b). Trends in forms of civic involvement in the Netherlands between 2008 and 2020. *Journal of Civil Society*, 19(4), 464–484.
- Meijeren, M., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2024c). Assessing the ‘why’ in volunteering for refugees: exploring volunteer motivations. *Voluntas*, 35, 129–139.
- Meijs, L.C.P.M., & Brudney, J.L. (2007). Winning volunteer scenarios: the soul of a new machine. *International Journal of Volunteer Administration*, 24(6), 68–79.
- Meijs, L., & Koolen-Maas, S. (2022). Civil society and (re-) embedding volunteering. In K. Biekart & A. Fowler (Eds), *A research agenda for civil society*, p. 161–172. Cheltenham / Northampton: Edward Elgar Publishing.
- Meuleman, R., Bekhuis, H., Lubbers, M., & Scheepers, P. (2013). Own culture first? Nationalism and the preference for national cultural goods. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 25(4), 436–458.
- Meyer, M., & Simsa, R. (2018). Organizing the unexpected: how civil society organizations dealt with the refugee crisis. *Voluntas*, 29, 1159–1175.

- Milan, C. (2018). Emotions that mobilize: the emotional basis of pro-asylum activism in Austria. In D. Della Porta (Ed.), *Solidarity mobilizations in the 'refugee crisis': contentious moves*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Milan, C., & Pirro, A.L.P. (2018). Interwoven destinies in the 'long migration summer' solidarity movements along the Western Balkan route. In: D. Della Porta (Eds.) *Solidarity Mobilizations in the 'Refugee Crisis': contentious Moves*. (155–182). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Monforte, P., & Maestri, G. (2022a). Between charity and protest. The politicization of refugee support volunteers. *International Journal of Politics, Culture, and Society*, 36(1), 1–19.
- Monforte, P., & Maestri, G. (2022b). From vulnerability to trust. Personal encounters and bordering processes in the British refugees welcome movement. *Migration and Society: Advances in Research*, 5(1), 59–74.
- Morselli, D., & Passini, S. (2015). Measuring prosocial attitudes for future generations: the social generativity scale. *Journal of Adult Development*, 22, 173–182.
- Musick, M. A., & Wilson, J. (2007). *Volunteers. A social profile*. Indiana: Indiana University Press.
- Mutchler, J. E., Burr, J. A., & Caro, F. G. (2003). From paid worker to volunteer: leaving the paid workforce and volunteering in later life. *Social Forces*, 81(4), 1267–1293.
- Nesbit, R. (2012). The influence of major life cycle events on volunteering. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 41(6), 1153–1174.
- Nesbit, R. (2013). The influence of family and household members on individual volunteer choices. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 42(6), 1134–1154.
- Niebuur, J., Liefbroer, A. C., Steverink, N., & Smidt, N. (2022). Transitions into and out of voluntary work over the life course: what is the effect of major life events? *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 51(6), 1233–1256.
- Niebuur, J., van Lente, L., Liefbroer, A. C., Steverink, N., & Smidt, N. (2018). Determinants of participation in voluntary work: a systematic review and meta-analysis of longitudinal cohort studies. *BMC Public Health*, 18, 1–30.
- Notten, N., Grunow, D., & Verbakel, E. (2017). Social policies and families in stress: gender and educational differences in work–family conflict from a European perspective. *Social Indicators Research*, 132, 1281–1305.
- Okada, A., Ishida, Y., Yamauchi, N., Grönlund, H., Zhang, C., & Krasnopolskaya, I. (2022). Episodic volunteering in sport events: a seven-country analysis. *Voluntas*, 33, 459–471.
- Parool. (2022). Waarom is een Oekraïner ons liever dan andere vluchtelingen? Retrieved from: <https://www.parool.nl/nederland/waarom-is-een-oekraïner-ons-liever-dan-andere-vluchtelingen~b9c6484e/>.
- Passy, F., & Giugni, M. (2001). Social networks and individual perceptions: explaining differential in social movements. *Sociological Forum*, 16(1), 123–153.
- Piatak, J. S. (2016). Time is on my side: a framework to examine when unemployed individuals volunteer. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 45(6), 1169–1190.

- Piatak, J. S. (2023). Do sociocultural factors drive civic engagement? An examination of political interest and religious attendance. *Nonprofit Policy Forum*, 14(2), 185–204.
- Piatak, J. S., & Carman, J. G. (2023). Unpacking the volunteer experience: the influence of volunteer management on retention and promotion of the organization. *Journal of Public and Nonprofit Affairs*, 9(3), 278–296.
- Pichler, F., & Wallace, C. (2007). Patterns of formal and informal social capital in Europe. *European Sociological Review*, 23(4), 423–445.
- Politi, E., Gale, J., Roblain, A., Bobowik, M., & Green, E. G. (2023). Who is willing to help Ukrainian refugees and why? The role of individual prosocial dispositions and superordinate European identity. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 33(4), 940–953.
- Pries, L. (2019). Introduction: civil society and volunteering in the so-called refugee crisis of 2015-ambiguities and structural tensions. In M. Feischmidt, L. Pries, & C. Cantat (Eds.), *Refugee protection and civil society in Europe* (pp. 1–25). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Prince, C. (2010). Moral foundations theory and the law. *Seattle University Law Review*, 33(4), 1293–1317.
- Prince, W., & Piatak, J. (2023). By the volunteer, for the volunteer: volunteer perspectives of management across levels of satisfaction. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 52(5), 1191–1209.
- Putnam, R. (2000). *Bowling alone: the collapse and revival of American community*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Putnam, R. D. (2007). E pluribus unum: diversity and community in the twenty-first century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2), 137–174.
- Qvist, H. P. Y. (2021). Hours of paid work and volunteering. Evidence from Danish panel data. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 50(5), 983–1008.
- Ramaekers, M. J., Verbakel, E., & Kraaykamp, G. (2021). Informal volunteering and socialization effects: examining modelling and encouragement by parents and partner. *Voluntas*, 33, 347–361.
- Rooney, P. M., Ottoni-Wilhelm, M., Wang, X., & Han, X. (2021). Dynamics of American giving: descriptive evidence. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 50(4), 729–752.
- Ruiter, S., & de Graaf, N. D. (2006). National context, religiosity, and volunteering: results from 53 countries. *American Sociological Review*, 71(2), 191–210.
- Salamon, L., & Sokolowski, W. (2004). *Global civil society: dimensions of the nonprofit sector (volume 2)*. Bloomfield: Kumarian Press.
- Sandri, E. (2018). ‘Volunteer humanitarianism’: volunteers and humanitarian aid in the jungle refugee camp of Calais. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44(1), 65–80.

- Scherpenzeel, A. (2009). *Start of the LISS panel: sample and recruitment of a probability-based internet panel*. Tilburg: Centerdata.
- Schmeets, H. (2013). Sociale samenhang brokkelt niet af. *Economisch Statistische Berichten*, 98 (4657), 212–215.
- Schmid, V., Evers, A., & Mildenerger, G. (2019). More or less political: findings on a central feature of local engagement for refugees in Germany. *Social Inclusion*, 7(2), 165–175.
- Schunk, R. (2013). Within and between estimates in random-effects models: advantages and drawbacks of correlated random effects and hybrid models. *The Stata Journal*, 13(1), 65–76.
- Schwartz, S. H. (1992). Universals in the content and structure of values: theoretical advances and empirical tests in 20 countries. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 25, 1–65.
- Schwartz, S. H., Melech, G., Lehmann, A., Burgess, S., Harris, M., & Owens, V. (2001). Extending the cross-cultural validity of the theory of basic human values with a different method of measurement. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 32(5), 519–542.
- Simsa, R. (2017). Leaving emergency management in the refugee crisis to civil society? The case of Austria. *Journal of Applied Security Research*, 11, 78–95.
- Simsa, R., Rameder, P., Aghamanoukjan, A., & Totter, M. (2019). Spontaneous volunteering in social crises: self-organization and coordination. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 48(2), 103–122.
- Smith, D. H. (1994). Determinants of voluntary association participation and volunteering: a literature review. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 23(3), 243–263.
- Snyder, M., & Omoto, A. (2008). Volunteerism: social issues, perspectives and social policy implications. *Social Issues and Policy Review*, 2(1), 1–36.
- Son, J., & Wilson, J. (2011). Generativity and volunteering. *Sociological Forum*, 26(3), 644–667.
- Stolle, D., Hooghe, M., & Micheletti, M. (2005). Politics in the supermarket: political consumerism as a form of political participation. *International Political Science Review*, 26(3), 245–269.
- Studer, S., & von Schnurbein, G. (2013). Organizational factors affecting volunteers: a literature review on volunteer coordination. *Voluntas*, 24, 403–440.
- Sustainable Cooperation (SCOOP). (2019). *Sustainable Cooperation annual report 2019: roadmaps to a resilient society*. Retrieved from: https://www.scoop-program.org/images/pdf/SCOOP_annual-report_2019.pdf.
- Tang, F., Morrow-Howell, N., & Choi, E. (2010). Why do older adult volunteers stop volunteering? *Ageing & Society*, 30(5), 859–878.
- Thoits, P. A., & Hewitt, L. N. (2001). Volunteer work and well-being. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 42(2), 115–131.

- Van der Meer, T., Te Grotenhuis, M., & Scheepers, P. (2009). Three types of voluntary associations in comparative perspective: the importance of studying associational involvement through a typology of associations in 21 European countries. *Journal of Civil Society*, 5(3), 227-241.
- Van der Veer, L. (2020). Residents' responses to refugee reception: the cracks and continuities between care and control. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 43(16), 368-387.
- Van der Veer, L. (2022). Treacherous elasticity, callous boundaries: aspiring volunteer initiatives in the field of refugee support in Rotterdam. *Voluntas*, 33, 83-92.
- Van Hek, M., & Kraaykamp, G. (2013). Cultural consumption across countries: a multi-level analysis of social inequality in highbrow culture in Europe. *Poetics*, 41(4), 323-341.
- Van Ingen, E. (2008). Social participation revisited: disentangling and explaining period, life-cycle and cohort effects. *Acta Sociologica*, 51(2), 103-121.
- Van Ingen, E., & Dekker, P. (2011a). Changes in the determinants of volunteering: participation and time investment between 1975 and 2005 in the Netherlands. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 40(4), 682-702.
- Van Ingen, E., & Dekker, P. (2011b). Dissolution of associational life? Testing the individualization and informalization hypotheses on leisure activities in the Netherlands between 1975 and 2005. *Social Indicators Research*, 100(2), 209-224.
- Van Teunenbroek, C., & Bekkers, R. (2019). Follow the crowd: social information and crowdfunding donations in a large field experiment. *Journal of Behavioral Public Administration*, 3(1), 1-17.
- Van Teunenbroek, C., Bekkers, R., & Beersma, B. (2020). Look to others before you leap: a systematic literature review of social information effects on donation amounts. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 49(1), 53-73.
- Vecina, M.L., Sueiro, M.J., & Chacón, F.F. (2009). Volunteer satisfaction: internal structure and relationship with permanence in organizations. *Psicothema*, 21(1), 112-117.
- Verkasalo, M., Lönnqvist, J. E., Lipsanen, J., & Helkama, K. (2009). European norms and equations for a two dimensional presentation of values as measured with Schwartz's 21-item portrait values questionnaire. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 39(5), 780-792.
- Vermeer, P., Scheepers, P., & te Grotenhuis, M. (2016). Churches: lasting sources of civic engagement? Effects of secularization and educational expansion on non-religious volunteering in the Netherlands, 1988 and 2006. *Voluntas*, 27, 1361-1384.
- VluchtelingenWerk. (2022). Ruim 11.000 aanmeldingen vrijwilligers bij VluchtelingenWerk. Retrieved from: <https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/nl/artikelen/persbericht/ruim-11000-aanmeldingen-vrijwilligers-bij-vluchtelingenwerk>.
- VluchtelingenWerk. (2023). Jaarverslag 2022. Retrieved from: https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/sites/default/files/202303/Jaarverslag%20VluchtelingenWerk%20Nederland%202022_highres.pdf.

- Wallrodt, S., & Thieme, L. (2023). The opportunity costs of volunteering: evidence from Germany. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 52(5), 1169–1190.
- Warburton, J., Moore, M., & Oppenheimer, M. (2018). Challenges to the recruitment and retention of volunteers in traditional nonprofit organizations: a case study of Australian Meals on Wheels. *International Journal of Public Administration*, 41(16), 1361–1373.
- Weiss, B. R. (2022). “I’m sick of doing nothing:” how boredom shapes rape crisis center volunteers’ social movement participation. *Social Movement Studies*, 21(4), 549–564.
- Wiertz, D., & Lim, C. (2019). The civic footprints of labor market participation: longitudinal evidence from the United States, 2002–2015. *Social Forces*, 97(4), 1757–1784.
- Willems, J., Huybrechts, G., Jegers, M., Vantilborgh, T., Bidee, J., & Pepermans, R. (2012). Volunteer decisions (not) to leave: reasons to quit versus functional motives to stay. *Human Relations*, 65(7), 883–900.
- Wilson, J. (2000). Volunteering. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26(1), 215–240.
- Wilson, J. (2012). Volunteerism research: a review essay. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 41(2), 176–212.
- Wilson, J., & Musick, M. (1997). Who cares? Toward an integrated theory of volunteer work. *American Sociological Review*, 62(5), 694–713.
- Wilson, J., & Musick, M. (1998). The contribution of social resources to volunteering. *Social Science Quarterly*, 79(4), 799–814.
- Wu, Y. L., Lin, T. W., & Wang, S. S. C. (2019). How do volunteer’s experiences of organizational facilitators influence their satisfaction and loyalty: an example of hospital volunteers. *Voluntas*, 30, 1104–1117.
- Wuthnow, R. (1991). *Acts of compassion*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Wyszynski, M. C., Guerra, R., & Bierwiazzonek, K. (2020). Good refugees, bad migrants? Intergroup helping orientations toward refugees, migrants and economic migrants in Germany. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 50, 607–618.
- Yanay, G. V., & Yanay, N. (2008). The decline of motivation? From commitment to dropping out of volunteering. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 19(1), 65–78.
- Zamponi, L., & Bosi, L. (2018). Politicizing solidarity in times of crisis: the politics of alternative action organizations in Greece. Italy and Spain. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 63(2), 796–815.
- Zhou, S., & Kodama Muscente, K. (2023). Meta-analysis of volunteer motives using the volunteer functions inventory to predict volunteer satisfaction, commitment, and behavior. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, 52(5), 1331–1356.



Appendices

Appendices Chapter 2

Appendix 2.1: Regression Parameters of Years on Different Engagement Forms in Different Clusters of Organizations.

	Membership		Donating		Participation		Volunteering	
	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.	<i>b</i>	S.E.
Activist Organizations	-0.314***	0.048	-0.678*	0.227	0.069*	0.028	0.009	0.023
Leisure Organizations	-0.368***	0.054	-0.081	0.039	-0.465***	0.103	-0.190**	0.052
Interest Organizations	-0.771***	0.082	-0.053*	0.019	-0.205**	0.049	-0.066**	0.015

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

Source: LISS (2008-2020).

Appendix 2.2: Percentages of members of cluster of organizations that also volunteer.

	Activist organizations	Leisure organizations	Interest organizations
2008	8.0%	18.8%	3.5%
2009	7.5%	16.4%	2.9%
2010	6.5%	15.2%	2.2%
2011	9.6%	16.7%	2.7%
2012	8.9%	15.1%	2.7%
2013	8.8%	16.8%	2.4%
2014	10.0%	15.8%	2.5%
2015	11.0%	15.4%	3.0%
2016	10.1%	17.3%	2.8%
2017	11.9%	15.4%	2.6%
2018	8.8%	15.1%	2.7%
2019	10.4%	16.3%	2.4%
2020	10.0%	17.8%	2.7%

Source: LISS (2008-2020).

Appendices Chapter 4

Appendix 4.1: Parameters from a mixed effects model on starting with humanitarian volunteering

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Educational attainment		
not yet started / completed an education	0.016*	0.008
primary school	ref.	
intermediate secondary education	0.005	0.006
higher secondary education	0.019**	0.006
intermediate vocational education	0.008	0.006
higher vocational education	0.024***	0.006
university	0.034***	0.006
Frequency of religious attendance		
never / I do not know	ref.	
once or a few times a year	0.004*	0.002
at least once a month	0.011**	0.003
once a week or more	0.015***	0.003
Average income per household member	-0.001	0.001
Number of children		
none	ref.	
one	0.004	0.003
two	0.006*	0.003
three	0.004	0.004
four	0.016*	0.008
five or more	0.011	0.011
Primary occupation		
performs paid work	ref.	
retired	0.010***	0.003
other activities	0.009***	0.002
Subjective health	-0.000	0.001
Number of social contacts	0.002***	0.001

Appendix 4.1: Continued

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Year of survey		
2008		
2009	-0.023*	0.010
2010	-0.027*	0.011
2011	-0.007	0.011
2012	-0.032*	0.013
2013	-0.014	0.014
2014	-0.021	0.013
2015	ref.	
2016	-0.025*	0.012
2017	-0.022	0.013
2018	-0.009	0.011
2019	-0.021	0.013
2020	0.003	0.013
2021	-0.006	0.011
2022	-0.027*	0.011
Gender		
male	-0.006**	0.002
female	ref.	
Cohort		
2000 up to youngest year of birth	-0.017*	0.009
1990 – 1999	-0.018***	0.005
1980 – 1989	-0.019***	0.004
1970 – 1979	-0.007	0.004
1960 – 1969	-0.007	0.004
1950 – 1959	ref.	
1940 – 1949	-0.004	0.004
oldest year of birth up to 1939	-0.010	0.005
Religious socialization	0.001	0.001
Constant	0.005	0.008
R2 (between component of variance explained)	0.020	

Source: LISS (2008-2022). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (tested two-tailed).

Notes: 1) the analyses concern 50,009 observations of 9,474 respondents; 2) year 2008 not estimated due to lagged predictors; 3) deviating from the within part of the mixed model, we now look at the number of children in the household; 4) estimations are from one mixed effects model including the predictors of Table 4.3.

Appendix 4.1 demonstrates that higher educated respondents more often start humanitarian volunteering compared to lower educated respondents, which is consistent with previous static research (Wilson, 2012). Next, results show that more frequent churchgoers are more likely to start humanitarian volunteering. This is in line with other static studies (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008; Piatak, 2023). Moreover, retirees more often start with this type of volunteering compared to those in paid work, which is consistent with previous findings (Meijeren et al., 2023a). The finding that those with larger networks are more likely to start humanitarian volunteering is echoed in prior static work comparing volunteers and non-volunteers (Niebuur et al., 2018; Wilson, 2000, 2012), next to that women more often perform this type of voluntary work (Meijeren et al., 2023a). In sum, the results mainly report unexpected outcomes for within-respondent changes, whereas the comparisons between respondents indicate the more familiar profile of volunteers.

Appendix 4.2 Parameters from a mixed effects model on quitting with humanitarian volunteering

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Change in educational attainment	0.034	0.054
Change in frequency of religious attendance	0.019	0.033
Change in average income per household member	-0.006	0.021
Change in number of children		
First child in household	-0.142	0.262
Additional child in household	-0.101	0.158
Child leaving the household	-0.147	0.079
Last child leaving the household	ref.	
Change in primary occupation		
Change to paid work	ref.	
Change to retirement	0.151	0.132
Change to other activities	0.047	0.106
Change in subjective health	0.020	0.031
Change in number of social contacts	-0.003	0.019
Year of survey		
2008		
2009	-0.156*	0.072
2010	-0.041	0.074
2011	-0.040	0.075
2012	-0.060	0.075
2013	-0.112	0.078
2014	0.011	0.076
2015	ref.	
2016	-0.009	0.071
2017	0.048	0.076
2018	0.022	0.074
2019	0.001	0.076
2020	-0.025	0.074
2021	-0.024	0.072
2022	-0.169*	0.078
Constant	0.954***	0.174
R2 (within component of variance explained)	0.012	

Source: LISS (2008-2022). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (tested two-tailed).

Notes: 1) the analyses concern 1,254 observations of 752 respondents; 2) year 2008 not estimated due to lagged predictors; 3) estimations are from one mixed effects model including the predictors of Appendix 4.3.

Appendix 4.3 Parameters from a mixed effects model on quitting with humanitarian volunteering

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Educational attainment		
not yet started / completed an education	-0.517**	0.160
primary school	ref.	
intermediate secondary education	-0.252	0.144
higher secondary education	-0.359*	0.146
intermediate vocational education	-0.269	0.144
higher vocational education	-0.393**	0.142
university	-0.453**	0.145
Frequency of religious attendance		
never / I do not know	ref.	
once or a few times a year	0.007	0.033
at least once a month	0.059	0.054
once a week or more	0.084*	0.041
Average income per household member	0.027**	0.010
Number of children		
none	ref.	
one	0.077	0.045
two	0.043	0.043
three	0.134	0.071
four	0.045	0.128
five or more	-0.276	0.194
Primary occupation		
performs paid work	ref.	
retired	-0.097	0.052
other activities	0.006	0.038
Subjective health	-0.025	0.017
Number of social contacts	0.009	0.013

Appendix 4.3 Continued

	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>
Year of survey		
2008		
2009	-0.014	0.058
2010	-0.109	0.065
2011	0.003	0.064
2012	-0.025	0.063
2013	-0.070	0.071
2014	0.001	0.068
2015	ref.	
2016	0.002	0.062
2017	0.000	0.065
2018	0.022	0.061
2019	-0.024	0.066
2020	0.017	0.065
2021	-0.015	0.061
2022	-0.261***	0.069
Gender		
male	0.155***	0.029
female	ref.	
Cohort		
2000 up to youngest year of birth	0.250	0.163
1990 – 1999	0.078	0.065
1980 – 1989	0.105	0.060
1970 – 1979	0.046	0.053
1960 – 1969	0.078	0.045
1950 – 1959	ref.	
1940 – 1949	0.107*	0.046
oldest year of birth up to 1939	0.233***	0.065
Religious socialization	-0.022*	0.010
Constant	0.954***	0.174
R2 (between component of variance explained)	0.102	

Source: LISS (2008-2022). * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$ (tested two-tailed).

Notes: 1) the analyses concern 1,254 observations of 752 respondents; 2) year 2008 not estimated due to lagged predictors; 3) deviating from the within part of the mixed model, we now look at the number of children in the household; 4) estimations are from one mixed effects model including the predictors of Appendix 4.2.

Appendices Chapter 5

Appendix 5.1: Topic list volunteers and coordinators

Question 1: What are your motivations to do voluntary work for refugees?

There exist also motivations found in earlier research. Can you indicate whether these apply to you?

Questionnaire motivations derived from theory.

Please indicate to what extent the motivations below play a role with regard to volunteering for refugees? Please circle your choice.

I do this voluntary work, because...

	Not important at all	Not important	Not important / not unimportant	Important	Very important	I don't know
1 it looks good on my resume.	1	2	3	4	5	6
2 it relieves me of some guilt over being more fortunate than others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
3 it let me learn things through direct, hands on experience.	1	2	3	4	5	6
4 it makes me feel needed.	1	2	3	4	5	6
5 people close to me do this type of voluntary work as well.	1	2	3	4	5	6
6 I feel compassion toward people in need.	1	2	3	4	5	6
7 I think it is important to respond to the needs of others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
8 I want everyone to be treated justly, even people I don't know.	1	2	3	4	5	6
9 I want to ensure a better world for future generations.	1	2	3	4	5	6
10 refugees suffer emotionally.	1	2	3	4	5	6
11 I think that refugees should be treated the same as others.	1	2	3	4	5	6
12 I hope that my kindness now will be answered by some unspecified person in the case of future need	1	2	3	4	5	6
13 I want to care for my community.	1	2	3	4	5	6

Question 2: When looking at the questionnaire, which motivations are important for you?

Question 3: Which motivations are not important?

Question 4: Are there also motivations playing a role that were not on the list?

Appendix 5.2: Overview of popular and unpopular motives

Motive	Underlying theory	Mentioned ... times as popular	Mentioned ... times as unpopular
1. It looks good on my resume	VFI <i>career</i>	3	34
2. It relieves me of some of the guilt over being more fortunate than others	VFI <i>protective</i>	7	2
3. It let me learn things through direct, hands on experience	VFI <i>understanding</i>	24	2
4. It makes me feel needed	VFI <i>enhancement</i>	6	8
5. People close to me do this type of voluntary work as well	VFI <i>social</i>	0	24
6. I feel compassion toward people in need	VFI <i>values</i>	18	0
7. I think it is important to respond to the needs of others	Schwartz' <i>benevolence</i>	1	0
8. I want everyone to be treated justly, even people I don't know	Schwartz <i>universalism</i>	19	0
9. I want to ensure a better world for future generations	LGS <i>generativity</i>	10	1
10. Refugees suffer emotionally	MFT <i>harm/care</i>	2	0
11. I think that refugees should be treated the same as others	MFT <i>fairness/reciprocity</i>	10	1
12. I hope that my kindness now will be answered by some unspecified person in the case of future need	Norm of <i>generalized reciprocity</i>	1	9
13. I want to care for my community	Norm of <i>social responsibility</i>	2	7

Appendix 5.3: Overview of missing motives

Missing motive	Mentioned ... times
Emotional dimension	5
Pragmatism	7
Being driven by media exposure	5
Use potential and talents of refugees	2
Human dignity	3
Afghans worked for us	1
Jump in for absent government	2
Seeking for a meaningful role	11
Curiosity	1
Guilt because of inactivity 'HO I'	3
Be a role model	3
Political	1

Appendix 5.4: Ethics Committee approval

Dear Maikel Meijeren,

Based on the answers you have given, it can be said that your research meets the frameworks of the Radboud Universities' Light Track (i.e. it involves minimal risk research). Your reference number for the Light Track is: ((ECSW-LT-2021-10-19-97037). Please keep this notice safe, you will need this number when you need to demonstrate again for verification that your research meets the frameworks of the Light Track as established by the Radboud University Social Sciences Ethics Committee.

You have demonstrated that your research meets the Light Track frameworks below:

- 1) involves healthy, able-bodied, adult (16+) participants who participate voluntarily; and
- 2) active informed consent is sought, and
- 3) the privacy of the participant is guaranteed; and
- 4) the study is non-invasive and has minimal risk, and
- 5) does not involve deception, and
- 6) there is a protocol for any chance findings, and
- 7) the study takes place physically within the Netherlands, or is conducted online (national/international).

If any components in the study change, you should revisit whether the study still meets the Light Track framework or whether a full-track application is required.

Yours sincerely,

On behalf of the Social Sciences Ethics Committee,

Aniek Wols

Secretary

Appendices Chapter 6

Appendix 6.1: Profile of volunteers in the sample, compared to the general Dutch population and volunteers from humanitarian organizations in the Netherlands

	Volunteers in sample	Dutch population	Humanitarian organizations (NL)
Gender			
Male	46	49	33
Female	54	51	67
Age			
19-33 years	5	21	12
34-43 years	4	14	12
44-53 years	7	15	12
54-63 years	16	18	14
64-73 years	51	18	26
74+ years	17	14	24
Educational level			
Intermediate secondary education	6	20	9
Higher secondary education	8	11	11
Intermediate vocational education	12	26	14
Higher vocational education	38	28	44
University	36	15	22
Net household income			
Low income	27	24	37
Average income	55	49	42
High income	18	27	21
Church attendance			
Churchgoer	37	33	51
No churchgoer	63	67	49
Subjective health			
Poor / moderate	17	19	26
(very) good / excellent	83	81	74
Cultural attendance ^a			
Dance / ballet	32	8	16
Opera	15	3	7
A play	50	14	17
Classic concert	42	11	28
Museum	84	50	73
Art gallery	51	19	37
Primary occupation ^b			
Paid work / salaried employment	16	47	37
Retired	57	19	37
Ethnicity			
Dutch	89	82	79
Non-Dutch	11	18	21

Source: LISS (2023); Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

Numbers are percentages. Numbers in bold differ significantly from other numbers in the same column.

^a Percentages indicate respondents who attended a particular cultural practice at least one time in the last twelve months. Percentages therefore need not add up a hundred percent.

^b Not all categories are showed, so column percentages do not add up to a hundred percent.

Appendix 6.2: Duration of volunteering at VluchtelingenWerk

	Valid percent	Cumulative percent
0-1 years	24	24
2-3 years	19	43
4-6 years	21	64
7-9 years	20	84
10+ years	16	100

Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

Appendix 6.3: OF-model: Effects of excluded variables

	Model 1		Model 2	
	β	S.E.	β	S.E.
Job satisfaction (development)	0.190 ^{a***}	-		
Job satisfaction (conditions)	0.092 ^{a*}	-	0.042 ^b	-

Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).
Standardized coefficients are presented.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

^a Predictors in the model: Feeling valued by organization.

^b Predictors in the model: Feeling valued by organization, Job satisfaction (development).

Appendix 6.4: MF-model: effects of excluded variables

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	β	S.E.	β	S.E.	β	S.E.
VFI Protective	0.147 ^{a***}	-				
Feeling valued by refugee	0.116 ^{a***}	-	0.122 ^{b***}	-		
VFI Values	0.094 ^{a*}	-	0.083 ^{b*}	-	0.056 ^c	-
VFI Career	0.072 ^{a*}	-	0.007 ^b	-	0.017 ^c	-
VFI Social	0.016 ^a	-	0.007 ^b	-	0.001 ^c	-
VFI Understanding	0.103 ^{a**}	-	0.059 ^b	-	0.058 ^c	-
VFI Enhancement	0.087 ^{a*}	-	0.036 ^b	-	0.028 ^c	-

Source: Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands (2023).

Standardized coefficients are presented.

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

^a Predictors in the model: Constant, Bridging motivation scale.

^b Predictors in the model: Constant, Bridging motivation scale, VFI Protective.

^c Predictors in the model: Constant, Bridging motivation scale, VFI Protective, Feeling valued by refugee.

Appendix 6.5: Factor analysis and rotations for job satisfaction

Table A6.5.1 Outcomes of principal component analysis (PCA) with Varimax rotation

Item	Component 1	Component 2
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of supervision?	.451	.502
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of training opportunities?	.899	.132
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of quality of training courses?	.896	.076
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of expenses?	.054	.767
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of work pressure?	.104	.822

Note: extraction method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Table A6.5.1 displays the outcomes of a PCA with Varimax rotation, and distinguishes two scales (components). Component 1 = job satisfaction (development), existing out of items (1) training opportunities and (2) quality of training courses. Component 2 = job satisfaction (conditions), existing out of items (1) reimbursements, (2) work pressure and (3) supervision. Note that satisfaction with supervision did not load very strongly on both scales, but loaded best on component 2 and, moreover, contributed most to scale reliability of this scale.

Table A6.5.2 Outcomes of principal axis factoring (PAF) with Varimax rotation

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of supervision?	.325	.390
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of training opportunities?	.916	.166
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of quality of training courses?	.719	.171
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of expenses?	.136	.427
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of work pressure?	.068	.829

Note: extraction method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation method: Varimax with Kaiser normalization. Rotation converged in 3 iterations.

Table A6.5.2 displays the outcomes of a PAF with Varimax rotation, and distinguishes two scales (factors). Component 1 = job satisfaction (development), existing out of items (1) training opportunities and (2) quality of training courses. Component 2 = job satisfaction (conditions), existing out of items (1) reimbursements, (2) work pressure and (3) supervision. Note that satisfaction with supervision did not load very strongly on both scales, but loaded best on component 2 and, moreover, contributed most to scale reliability of this scale.

Table A6.5.3A Outcomes of principal component analysis (PCA) with Oblimin rotation, pattern matrix

Item	Component 1	Component 2
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of supervision?	.387	.449
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of training opportunities?	.910	-.005
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of quality of training courses?	.915	-.062
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of expenses?	-.067	.786
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of work pressure?	-.023	.835

Note: extraction method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation method: Oblimin with Kaiser normalization. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Table A6.5.3B Outcomes of principal component analysis (PCA) with Oblimin rotation, structure matrix

Item	Component 1	Component 2
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of supervision?	.521	.564
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of training opportunities?	.908	.267
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of quality of training courses?	.897	.211
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of expenses?	.168	.767
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of work pressure?	.226	.828

Note: extraction method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation method: Oblimin with Kaiser normalization.

Tables A6.5.3A and A6.5.3B display the outcomes of a PCA with Oblimin rotation, and distinguish two scales (components). Component 1 = job satisfaction (development), existing out of items (1) training opportunities and (2) quality of training courses. Component 2 = job satisfaction (conditions), existing out of items (1) reimbursements, (2) work pressure and (3) supervision. Note that satisfaction with supervision did not load very strongly on both scales, but loaded best on component 2 and, moreover, contributed most to scale reliability of this scale.

Table A6.5.4A Outcomes of principal axis factoring (PAF) with Oblimin rotation, pattern matrix

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of supervision?	.256	.344
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of training opportunities?	.946	-.036
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of quality of training courses?	.733	.015
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of expenses?	.044	.427
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of work pressure?	-.126	.877

Note: extraction method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation method: Oblimin with Kaiser normalization. Rotation converged in 5 iterations.

Table A6.5.4B Outcomes of principal axis factoring (PAF) with Oblimin rotation, structure matrix

Item	Factor 1	Factor 2
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of supervision?	.401	.452
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of training opportunities?	.931	.362
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of quality of training courses?	.739	.324
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of expenses?	.224	.446
To what extent are you satisfied about VluchtelingenWerk, in terms of work pressure?	.243	.824

Note: extraction method: Principal Axis Factoring. Rotation method: Oblimin with Kaiser normalization.

Tables A6.5.4A and A6.5.4B display the outcomes of a PAF with Oblimin rotation, and distinguish two scales (components). Component 1 = job satisfaction (development), existing out of items (1) training opportunities and (2) quality of training courses. Component 2 = job satisfaction (conditions), existing out of items (1) reimbursements, (2) work pressure and (3) supervision. Note that satisfaction with supervision did not load very strongly on both scales, but loaded best on component 2 and, moreover, contributed most to scale reliability of this scale.

Appendix 6.6: Factor analysis and rotations for bridging motivations scale

Outcomes of principal component analysis (PCA) with Varimax rotation.

PCA with Varimax rotation extracted only one single component, indicating that all five items loaded on the same component.

Outcomes of principal axis factoring (PAF) with Varimax rotation.

PAF with Varimax rotation extracted only one single factor, indicating that all five items loaded on the same factor.

Outcomes of principal component analysis (PCA) with Oblimin rotation.

PCA with Oblimin rotation extracted only one single component, indicating that all five items loaded on the same component.

Outcomes of principal axis factoring (PAF) with Oblimin rotation.

PAF with Oblimin rotation extracted only one single factor, indicating that all five items loaded on the same factor.

Appendix 6.7: Dimension reduction outcomes VFI items

Factor analyses revealed the six distinguished VFI functions, regardless of type of factor analysis (principal component analysis, principal axis factoring) and type of rotation (Varimax, Oblimin).

Table A6.7.1 Outcomes of factor analysis with principal component analysis (PCA) and Varimax rotation

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.994	29.971	29.971	5.994	29.971	29.971	2.695	13.473	13.473
2	2.643	13.214	43.184	2.643	13.214	43.184	2.679	13.395	26.868
3	1.767	8.834	52.018	1.767	8.834	52.018	2.564	12.818	39.686
4	1.455	7.273	59.291	1.455	7.273	59.291	2.210	11.051	50.737
5	1.203	6.013	65.304	1.203	6.013	65.304	1.991	9.953	60.690
6	1.060	5.301	70.605	1.060	5.301	70.605	1.983	9.916	70.605
7	.804	4.019	74.624						
8	.611	3.053	77.677						
9	.584	2.920	80.596						
10	.545	2.725	83.321						
11	.520	2.600	85.921						
12	.468	2.339	88.260						
13	.438	2.192	90.452						
14	.404	2.022	92.474						
15	.347	1.736	94.210						
16	.312	1.560	95.770						
17	.306	1.531	97.301						
18	.217	1.085	98.386						
19	.168	.838	99.224						
20	.155	.776	100.000						

Note: extraction method: Principal Component Analysis.

The rotated component matrix⁷² revealed the following order, component ...

1. VFI Values
2. VFI Enhancement
3. VFI Career
4. VFI Protective
5. VFI Understanding
6. VFI Social

⁷² To keep the appendices organized and not too large, the tables of the rotated component matrix are not included. If necessary, these are available upon request.

Table A6.7.2 Outcomes of factor analysis with principal axis factoring (PAF) and Varimax rotation

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.677	31.538	31.538	5.351	29.726	29.726	2.272	12.625	12.625
2	2.382	13.235	44.773	2.033	11.293	41.018	2.221	12.338	24.962
3	1.723	9.574	54.348	1.376	7.643	48.661	1.909	10.604	35.566
4	1.439	7.997	62.345	1.110	6.168	54.829	1.892	10.513	46.079
5	1.197	6.649	68.993	.824	4.577	59.405	1.546	8.587	54.667
6	1.052	5.843	74.836	.677	3.762	63.168	1.530	8.501	63.168
7	.585	3.249	78.086						
8	.575	3.193	81.279						
9	.539	2.993	84.272						
10	.470	2.611	86.883						
11	.443	2.459	89.342						
12	.410	2.279	91.621						
13	.347	1.927	93.548						
14	.313	1.738	95.286						
15	.308	1.711	96.998						
16	.217	1.208	98.206						
17	.168	.931	99.137						
18	.155	.863	100.000						

Note: Extraction method: Principal Axis Factoring.

The rotated factor matrix⁷³ revealed the following order, factor ...

1. VFI Career
2. VFI Enhancement
3. VFI Protective
4. VFI Values
5. VFI Understanding
6. VFI Social

⁷³ To keep the appendices organized and not too large, the tables of the rotated factor matrix are not included. If necessary, these are available upon request.

Table A6.7.3 Outcomes of factor analysis with principal component analysis (PCA) and Oblimin rotation

Component	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings ^a	
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	Total
1	5.677	31.538	31.538	5.677	31.538	31.538	3.811	3.811
2	2.382	13.235	44.773	2.382	13.235	44.773	2.257	2.257
3	1.723	9.574	54.348	1.723	9.574	54.348	2.652	2.652
4	1.439	7.997	62.345	1.439	7.997	62.345	3.433	3.433
5	1.197	6.649	68.993	1.197	6.649	68.993	3.352	3.352
6	1.052	5.843	74.836	1.052	5.843	74.836	3.352	3.352
7	.585	3.249	78.086					
8	.575	3.193	81.279					
9	.539	2.993	84.272					
10	.470	2.611	86.883					
11	.443	2.459	89.342					
12	.410	2.279	91.621					
13	.347	1.927	93.548					
14	.313	1.738	95.286					
15	.308	1.711	96.998					
16	.217	1.208	98.206					
17	.168	.931	99.137					
18	.155	.863	100.000					

Note: Extraction method: Principal Component Analysis.
a. When components are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

The pattern matrix and structure matrix⁷⁴ revealed the following order, component ...

1. VFI Enhancement
2. VFI Social
3. VFI Values
4. VFI Career
5. VFI Protective
6. VFI Understanding

74 To keep the appendices organized and not too large, the tables of the rotated pattern and structure matrix are not included. If necessary, these are available upon request.

Table A6.7.4 Outcomes of factor analysis with principal axis factoring (PAF) and Oblimin rotation

Factor	Initial Eigenvalues			Extraction Sums of Squared Loadings			Rotation Sums of Squared Loadings ^a	
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	Total
1	5.677	31.538	31.538	5.351	29.726	29.726	3.742	3.742
2	2.382	13.235	44.773	2.033	11.293	41.018	3.346	3.346
3	1.723	9.574	54.348	1.376	7.643	48.661	2.416	2.416
4	1.439	7.997	62.345	1.110	6.168	54.829	1.900	1.900
5	1.197	6.649	68.993	0.824	4.577	59.405	3.382	3.382
6	1.052	5.843	74.836	0.677	3.762	63.168	3.330	3.330
7	0.585	3.249	78.086					
8	0.575	3.193	81.279					
9	0.539	2.993	84.272					
10	0.470	2.611	86.883					
11	0.443	2.459	89.342					
12	0.410	2.279	91.621					
13	0.347	1.927	93.548					
14	0.313	1.738	95.286					
15	0.308	1.711	96.998					
16	0.217	1.208	98.206					
17	0.168	0.931	99.137					
18	0.155	0.863	100.000					

Note: Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring.

a. When factors are correlated, sums of squared loadings cannot be added to obtain a total variance.

The pattern matrix and structure matrix⁷⁵ revealed the following order, factor ...

1. VFI Enhancement
2. VFI Career
3. VFI Values
4. VFI Social
5. VFI Protective
6. VFI Understanding

⁷⁵ To keep the appendices organized and not too large, the tables of the rotated pattern and structure matrix are not included. If necessary, these are available upon request.

Appendices Chapter 7

Appendix 7.1: Ethical agreement (in Dutch) between VWN and authors

Radboud University

Nijmegen, the Netherlands



Data Overdracht Overeenkomst

tussen

Radboud Universiteit

en

VluchtelingenWerk Nederland

De Ondergetekenden:

Stichting Radboud Universiteit, gevestigd aan het adres Houtlaan 4, 6525 XZ Nijmegen, KvK-nummer: 41055629, waarvan deel uitmaakt de **Faculteit Sociale Wetenschappen**, gevestigd aan het adres Heyendaalseweg 141, 6525 AJ te Nijmegen (postadres: Postbus 9108, 6500 HK Nijmegen) Nederland, rechtsgeldig vertegenwoordigd door **Els Rommes** hierna genoemd “**Radboud Universiteit**”

en

VluchtelingenWerk Nederland, rechtsgeldig vertegenwoordigd door **Yvonne Tersteeg**,

hierna te noemen VluchtelingenWerk Nederland,

Radboud Universiteit en VluchtelingenWerk Nederland worden hierna individueel aangeduid als “**Partij**” en gezamenlijk als “**Partijen**”.

OVERWEGENDE DAT:

- A. Radboud Universiteit, specifiek afdeling Sociologie, zich bezighoudt met onderzoek op gebied van vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen;
- B. VluchtelingenWerk Nederland een organisatie is die actief is in dit onderzoeksveld
- C. VluchtelingenWerk Nederland beschikt over een bepaalde dataset met data op gebied van/verzameld in het kader van vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen, zoals verder beschreven in Annex 1 (hierna te noemen: de ‘Data’)
- D. Partijen een overeenkomst wensen aan te gaan waarin de afspraken met betrekking tot de overdracht van de data worden vastgelegd;

ZIJN PARTIJEN ALS VOLGT OVEREENGEKOMEN:

1. Data uitwisseling

- 1.1 Dataverstrekker verschaft de Radboud Universiteit data zoals geïdentificeerd in Bijlage A , hierna te noemen ‘Data’, met als enig doel de uitvoering van het onderzoeksproject van Maikel Meijeren, hierna te noemen ‘Onderzoek’.
- 1.2 Rechten op de Data blijven bij Dataverstrekker.

- 1.3 Dataverstrekker zal de Data volledig anonimiseren alvorens deze over te dragen aan de Radboud Universiteit, een en ander in overeenstemming met alle toepasselijke lokale en internationale wet- en regelgeving, in het bijzonder de Verordening (EU) 2016/679 van het Europees Parlement en de Raad van 27 april 2016 betreffende de bescherming van natuurlijke personen in verband met de verwerking van persoonsgegevens en betreffende het vrije verkeer van die gegevens (hierna: “GDPR”).
- 1.4 De Radboud Universiteit mag de Data opslaan, verwerken en analyseren, alsmede resultaten van het Onderzoek publiceren.

2. Resultaten en licentie Vragenlijsten

- 2.1 Alle resultaten, met inbegrip van maar niet beperkt tot ontdekkingen, ontwikkelingen, databestanden, uitvindingen (al dan niet octrooieerbaar), methoden, rapporten, knowhow, of handelsgeheimen, en alle intellectuele eigendomsrechten die daarop betrekking hebben, die door de Radboud Universiteit worden gemaakt als gevolg van de uitvoering van het Onderzoek (“Resultaten”) met betrekking tot de Data, zijn het exclusieve eigendom van de Radboud Universiteit.
- 2.2 Radboud Universiteit verleent voor de duur van het Onderzoek een niet-exclusief en niet-overdraagbaar gebruiksrecht aan Dataverstrekker op de Vragenlijsten voor intern, niet commercieel, gebruik.

3. Publicatie

- 3.1 De Radboud Universiteit mag de Resultaten publiceren.
- 3.2 De Radboud Universiteit stemt ermee in de bijdrage van Dataverstrekker als bron van de Data te erkennen in publicaties.

4. Garanties

- 4.1 Dataverstrekker verklaart en garandeert dat:
 - a. de Data is verzameld in overeenstemming met alle toepasselijke lokale en internationale wet- en regelgeving;
 - b. zij over alle noodzakelijke rechten en toestemmingen beschikt en dat zij reglementaire of ethische goedkeuringen heeft verkregen of zal verkrijgen die noodzakelijk zijn om de Data te verzamelen en over te dragen aan de Radboud Universiteit;
 - c. er geen persoonsgegevens worden overgedragen aan de Radboud Universiteit aangezien alle Data door Dataverstrekker wordt geanonimiseerd.

- 4.2 Behoudens de garanties genoemd in artikel 4.1 wordt de Data door Dataverstrekker aan de Radboud Universiteit verstrekt zonder enige uitdrukkelijke of stilzwijgende garanties, waaronder garanties voor verhandelbaarheid of geschiktheid voor een bepaald doel.
- 4.3 De Radboud Universiteit staat ervoor in dat:
- de Data wordt gebruikt en het Onderzoek wordt uitgevoerd in overeenstemming met alle toepasselijke lokale en internationale wet- en regelgeving en gangbare wetenschappelijke standaarden;
 - dat de Data uitsluitend zal worden gebruikt door haar wetenschappers, faculteiten, medewerkers, fellows en/of studenten ten behoeve van het Onderzoek en onderwijs en voor geen enkel ander doel;
 - zij de Data niet zal herdistribueren of te delen met anderen zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke (waaronder begrepen toestemming per e-mail) toestemming van Dataverstrekker.

5. Vrijwaring en aansprakelijkheid

- 5.1 Elke Partij zal de andere Partij, inclusief haar bestuurders en/of werknemers, vrijwaren en schadeloos stellen voor alle claims van welke aard dan ook die het gevolg zijn van enige toerekenbare schending van deze Overeenkomst of opzet of bewuste roekeloosheid van de vrijwarende Partij.
- 5.2 Partijen zijn in geen geval aansprakelijk voor indirecte, incidentele of gevolgschade, waaronder onder meer wordt verstaan: gederfde omzet of winst, verlies van gegevens of verlies van gebruik van apparatuur.

6. Duur en opzegging

- 6.1 Deze Overeenkomst treedt in werking op de datum van ondertekening door de wettelijke vertegenwoordiger van de laatste Partij die deze Overeenkomst ondertekent (hierna te noemen de “Ingangsdatum”) en blijft van kracht totdat het Onderzoek is afgerond.
- 6.2 Na afloop van deze Overeenkomst volgt de Radboud Universiteit de door de Dataverstrekker schriftelijk verstrekte instructies met betrekking tot de teruggave of vernietiging van de Data op. De Radboud Universiteit mag echter één (1) kopie van de Data bewaren voor zover dat nodig is om te voldoen aan de wettelijke bewaarplicht en ten behoeve van de integriteit en verificatie van het onderzoek en/of voor hergebruik van de Data.

7. Geheimhouding

- 7.1 Onder “Vertrouwelijke Informatie” wordt verstaan informatie, knowhow, gegevens of procedures die verband houden met de Data of het Onderzoek en die door de ene partij (de “Bekendmakende Partij”) worden bekendgemaakt aan de andere Partij (de “Ontvangende Partij”) op grond van haar rechten of verplichtingen uit hoofde van deze Overeenkomst en a) zijn gekenmerkt als “vertrouwelijk” (of woorden van vergelijkbare strekking) of b) door de Ontvangende Partij redelijkerwijs (gezien de aard van de informatie) als vertrouwelijk dienen te worden beschouwd.
- 7.2 De Ontvangende Partij maakt geen Vertrouwelijke Informatie van de Bekendmakende Partij openbaar, behalve voor zover noodzakelijk voor het in deze Overeenkomst beschreven doel. De Ontvangende Partij beschermt Vertrouwelijke Informatie met dezelfde zorgvuldigheid die zij betracht ten aanzien van haar eigen vertrouwelijke informatie, maar in geen geval met minder dan redelijke zorg.
- 7.3 De verplichtingen uit hoofde van dit artikel 7 strekken zich niet uit tot Vertrouwelijke Informatie die:
 - a. tot het publieke domein behoorde voorafgaand aan de openbaarmaking op grond van deze Overeenkomst;
 - b. al bekend was bij de Ontvangende Partij of in het bezit was van de Ontvangende Partij voorafgaand aan de openbaarmaking op grond van deze Overeenkomst, op voorwaarde dat deze niet op grond van een geheimhoudingsplicht direct of indirect is verkregen van de Bekendmakende Partij;
 - c. onafhankelijk werd ontwikkeld door de Ontvangende Partij zonder gebruikmaking van de Vertrouwelijke Informatie van de Bekendmakende Partij;
 - d. deel is gaan uitmaken van het publieke domein door geen enkele handeling of nalatigheid van de Ontvangende Partij na bekendmaking krachtens deze Overeenkomst
 - e. door de Ontvangende Partij werd ontvangen van een derde die wettelijk gerechtigd was die informatie bekend te maken;
 - f. op grond van een wettelijke plicht en/of een rechterlijk bevel openbaar moet worden gemaakt, mits de Bekendmakende partij daarvan onmiddellijk vooraf in kennis wordt gesteld en de openbaarmaking zo beperkt mogelijk blijft.

8. Overige bepalingen

- 8.1 Geen van beide Partijen zal het logo of de naam van de andere Partij of de naam van een werknemer van de andere Partij gebruiken voor promotionele doeleinden in enige publiciteit, reclame of nieuwsbericht, zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming, welke toestemming niet op onredelijke gronden zal worden onthouden.
- 8.2 Wijzigingen, veranderingen en uitbreidingen van deze Overeenkomst zijn alleen bindend nadat deze schriftelijk zijn overeengekomen en ondertekend door de wettelijke vertegenwoordigers van beide Partijen.
- 8.3 De rechten en verplichtingen van een Partij zoals bepaald in deze Overeenkomst mogen niet worden overgedragen aan een derde partij zonder voorafgaande schriftelijke toestemming van de andere Partij, welke toestemming niet op onredelijke gronden zal worden onthouden of uitgesteld.
- 8.4 In geval van overmacht is de betreffende Partij gerechtigd de verplichtingen op te schorten voor de duur en de omvang van de overmacht, mits de andere Partij schriftelijk van de overmacht in kennis is gesteld. Overmacht betreft die situaties die een Partij verhinderen haar verplichtingen uit de Overeenkomst na te komen en die niet te wijten zijn aan de schuld van de betreffende Partij, noch krachtens de wet, deze Overeenkomst of in het verkeer geldende opvattingen voor haar rekening komt.
- 8.5 De ongeldigheid of niet-afdwingbaarheid van een bepaalde bepaling van deze Overeenkomst heeft geen invloed op de overige bepalingen van deze Overeenkomst. De Overeenkomst wordt in alle opzichten geïnterpreteerd alsof de ongeldige of niet-afdwingbare bepaling was weggelaten.
- 8.6 Op deze Overeenkomst zijn geen algemene voorwaarden van partijen van toepassing.
- 8.7 Tenzij anders aangegeven, belichamen deze Overeenkomst en de hieronder genoemde Bijlagen de gehele overeenkomst tussen [XXXX] en de Radboud Universiteit met betrekking tot de overdracht van de Data.

9. Toepasselijk recht

- 9.1 Op deze Overeenkomst is Nederlands recht van toepassing.
- 9.2 Alle geschillen die voortvloeien uit of verband houden met deze Overeenkomst, geschillen over het bestaan en de geldigheid daarvan daaronder begrepen, die niet in der minne kunnen worden opgelost, zullen bij uitsluiting worden beslecht door de bevoegde rechter te Arnhem, Nederland.

ALDUS OVEREENGEKOMEN EN GETEKEND IN TWEEVOUD:

Radboud Universiteit

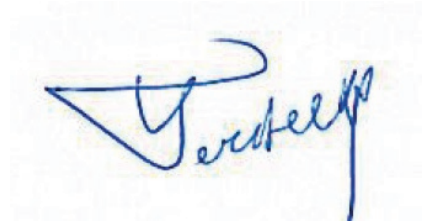
A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Els Rommes', with a stylized, flowing script.

Naam: Els Rommes

Functie: Directeur Onderzoek RSCR, RU

Datum: 29-10-2024

**VluchtelingenWerk
Nederland**

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Yvonne Tersteeg', with a stylized, flowing script.

Naam: Yvonne Tersteeg

Functie: Manager M&O

Datum: 27-01-2025

Verklaring datamanagement PhD thesis

Radboud Social Cultural Research, Radboud University

Section A. Primary data / information

For my thesis I have collected **primary** data / information.

Yes ☒ → Complete section A.

No ☐ → Go to section B.

I declare that

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| A1. | The data for my thesis are obtained with the consent of informants / respondents. | Yes |
| A2. | Privacy sensitive data / information is encrypted and is stored on a protected computer or server environment. | Yes |
| A3. | The data / information is securely stored for reasons of scientific integrity at least for 10 years after finishing PhD research. | Yes |
| A4. | Anonymized data / information is registered in a well-known data repository system (Research Data Repository, DANS-KNAW). | Yes |
| A5. | Access to anonymized data / information is arranged referring to the FAIR principles of data management. | Yes |

Section B. Secondary data / information

For my thesis I have used data / information **collected by other researchers**.

Yes ☒ → Complete section B.

No ☐ → Go to section C.

I declare that

- | | | |
|-----|---|-----|
| B1. | The data / information is obtained legitimately. | Yes |
| B2. | Non-public or secured data / information is stored on a protected computer or server during research. | Yes |

- B3. The data / information is not shared with third parties, and has been treated in accordance with the agreements made with the information provider Yes

Section C. General

I declare that

- C1. A short methodological justification, and/or the syntax and method of data / information processing is deposited in a so-called 'publication package'. Yes
- C2. It is not possible to link data / information in publications to individuals (except with explicit consent). Yes
- C3. The data / information is analyzed in a trustworthy manner and is not been deliberately manipulated toward certain outcomes. Yes

Signature

Name PhD Candidate Maikel Meijeren

Title Thesis Helping those in need: volunteering for humanitarian organizations and for refugees

Date 6-10-2025

Signature:



If one or more statements cannot be confirmed the PhD should explain in an Annex why certain conditions are not met following the 'comply or explain' principle.



Nederlandse samenvatting

(summary in Dutch)

De verschillende humanitaire crises die zich in het afgelopen decennium hebben voorgedaan, hebben veel mensen gedwongen om een veilig heenkomen te zoeken buiten hun oorspronkelijke woongebied. Dit heeft geleid tot een groeiende vraag naar vrijwilligers voor vluchtelingen in de landen waar zij aankomen. In 2015-2016 werd Europa geconfronteerd met het grootste aantal vluchtelingen sinds de Tweede Wereldoorlog, voornamelijk als gevolg van de burgeroorlog in Syrië. Dit bracht grote uitdagingen met zich mee voor overheden, autoriteiten, NGO's en lokale burgers om opvang en hulp voor vluchtelingen te organiseren. Recente ontwikkelingen, zoals de oorlog in Oekraïne, hebben opnieuw geleid tot een vlucht van velen uit het oorlogsgebied op zoek naar veiligheid in Europa, waarbij wederom veel mensen bereid waren om zich als vrijwilliger voor vluchtelingen in te zetten.

In Nederland hebben sommige van deze vrijwilligersinitiatieven voor vluchtelingen zich lokaal gemanifesteerd: de opvang van vluchtelingen wordt namelijk landelijk geregeld maar lokaal uitgevoerd. Zo werd het vluchtelingenkamp Heumensoord (gemeente Nijmegen) in twee periodes geopend, eerst om Syrische vluchtelingen (2015-2016) en later Afghaanse vluchtelingen (2021-2022) te huisvesten. Dit leidde tot een zogenaemde 'vrijwillige energie' in de regio Nijmegen, waarbij veel mensen zich in deze periodes als vrijwilliger voor vluchtelingen hebben ingezet. Ook op nationaal niveau kwamen veel van dit soort initiatieven tot stand. Na de komst van Oekraïense vluchtelingen ontving VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (VWN) in de weken na het uitbreken van de oorlog tussen Rusland en Oekraïne een recordaantal van meer dan 11.000 nieuwe vrijwilligers.

Hoewel deze initiatieven een duidelijke bereidheid tonen om vluchtelingen te helpen, is de Nederlandse samenleving verdeeld over het vluchtelingenvraagstuk en worden (politieke) discussies hierover vaak (gepresenteerd als) sterk gepolariseerd. Dit draagt er mede aan bij dat de maatschappelijke ruimte voor initiatieven vanuit de autochtone bevolking ten behoeve van vluchtelingen onder druk staat. Daarom biedt het in kaart brengen van deze vrijwilligers voor vluchtelingen - door beter inzicht te geven in wie zij zijn, waarom zij dit werk doen en waarom sommigen ermee stoppen - waardevolle informatie over de manier waarop solidariteit met vluchtelingen tot uiting komt in een maatschappelijke context die soms kritisch staat tegenover opvang van vluchtelingen.

Ik formuleer drie kernredenen waarom het relevant is om vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen nader te bestuderen. Ten eerste leren we meer over een bijzondere groep vrijwilligers, namelijk mensen die zich doorgaans niet inzetten voor leden van hun eigen groep (bijvoorbeeld mensen die tot dezelfde etnische achtergrond worden gerekend), zoals vaak in andere sectoren wel het geval is, maar juist voor mensen die door velen als ‘buitenstaanders’ of nieuwkomers worden gezien. Ten tweede wordt dit type vrijwilligerswerk in sterkere mate beïnvloed door maatschappelijke gebeurtenissen dan andere vormen van vrijwilligerswerk. Humanitaire crises kunnen de behoefte aan vrijwilligers namelijk veel grilliger en minder voorspelbaar maken. Ten derde kunnen deze vrijwilligers een brugfunctie vervullen in de samenleving, als verbindende schakel tussen ontvangende samenleving en nieuwkomers. Daarmee laten vrijwilligers voor vluchtelingen zien dat er bruggen geslagen kunnen worden tussen nieuwkomers en de ontvangende samenleving, ook wanneer die samenleving verdeeld is over het thema vluchtelingenopvang.

Deze dissertatie richt zich daarom op de volgende overkoepelende vraag: wie zet zich in voor humanitaire organisaties in Nederland (zoals UNICEF) in het algemeen, en wie zet zich specifiek in voor de grootste Nederlandse vluchtelingenorganisatie (zoals VluchtelingenWerk Nederland) en waarom doen zij dat? De dissertatie bestaat uit twee delen. In het eerste deel wordt een breder perspectief geschetst door te onderzoeken wie in Nederland vrijwilligerswerk doet voor humanitaire organisaties en wordt de vraag beantwoord: wie zet zich in voor humanitaire organisaties in Nederland? In het tweede deel wordt ingezoomd op de dynamiek van vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen binnen één organisatie, waarbij de vraag centraal staat: wat zijn de motivaties om te beginnen met vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen bij VluchtelingenWerk Nederland en om dit al dan niet voort te zetten?

Deel 1: Het bredere perspectief

In *hoofdstuk 2* onderzoek ik de lange termijn trends in maatschappelijke betrokkenheid binnen de Nederlandse samenleving, om zo het bredere kader te schetsen waarbinnen vrijwilligerswerk voor humanitaire organisaties plaatsvindt. De centrale vraag is in hoeverre vormen van maatschappelijke betrokkenheid bij vrijwilligersorganisaties tussen 2008 en 2020 zijn veranderd

en of maatschappelijke gebeurtenissen hierbij een rol hebben gespeeld? Ik toets daarbij drie theoretische perspectieven, waarvan wordt aangenomen dat ze verschillende implicaties hebben voor het Nederlandse maatschappelijke middenveld (*civil society*): 1) individualisering, 2) traditionalisering en 3) periode-effecten. Op basis van dertien meetrondes uit het LISS-panel (2008–2020) blijkt dat het niveau van betrokkenheid overwegend stabiel is gebleven, maar desondanks langzaam en significant is gedaald.⁷⁶ Grote gebeurtenissen, zoals de economische crisis van 2008, de vluchtelingencrisis van 2015-2016 en de COVID-19-crisis in 2020, blijken nauwelijks invloed te hebben gehad. Alleen in 2020 is er een duidelijke toename in donaties aan humanitaire organisaties zichtbaar. De geleidelijke daling past bij het beeld dat de voortgaande trend naar individualisering leidt tot een afname van maatschappelijke betrokkenheid bij vrijwilligersorganisaties. Tegelijkertijd lijkt het aannemelijk dat cohorteffecten hierbij ook een rol spelen: oudere, meer betrokken generaties maken plaats voor jongere generaties die zich minder actief inzetten.

In hoofdstuk 2 geef ik een overzicht van het veld, maar daar ga ik niet in op de kenmerken van vrijwilligers bij humanitaire organisaties. Daarom vraag ik in *hoofdstuk 3*: “Wat zijn de sociaal-structurele achtergronden van mensen die zich in 2019 inzetten voor humanitaire organisaties, vergeleken met vrijwilligers bij andere maatschappelijke organisaties en met niet-vrijwilligers?”. Het theoretische uitgangspunt is dat de kans om vrijwilligerswerk te doen afhangt van de hulpbronnen die individuen tot hun beschikking hebben. Ik werk hierbij vanuit drie uitgangspunten: (1) vrijwilligerswerk is productief werk dat menselijk kapitaal vereist, (2) vrijwilligerswerk is collectief gedrag waarbij sociaal kapitaal nodig is en (3) vrijwilligerswerk is normatief gestuurd werk dat om cultureel kapitaal vraagt. Om de opgestelde verwachtingen te toetsen, zijn wederom gegevens uit de LISS-data gebruikt, ditmaal alleen gegevens uit de bij aanvang van de studie meest recente data, die van 2019. Van de indicatoren van het menselijk kapitaal blijkt opleidingsniveau de belangrijkste voorspeller van vrijwilligerswerk in het algemeen, ongeacht type organisatie. Daarmee wordt het belang van opleiding bevestigd. Bovendien geldt dat vrijwilligers bij

76 LISS staat voor Langlopende Internet Studies voor de Sociale Wetenschappen.

humanitaire organisaties vaker hoogopgeleid zijn dan de mensen die geen vrijwilligerswerk doen. Andere indicatoren van menselijk kapitaal, zoals inkomensniveau en subjectieve gezondheid, laten geen duidelijke relatie zien. Wel rapporteren vrijwilligers bij humanitaire organisaties een iets betere subjectieve gezondheid dan niet-vrijwilligers.

In hoofdstuk 3 geef ik inzicht in de sociaal-demografische achtergronden van vrijwilligers bij humanitaire organisaties, maar het biedt geen longitudinale blik op hun inzet. In *hoofdstuk 4* staan daarom de volgende onderzoeksvragen centraal: (1) hoeveel mensen beginnen, stoppen of blijven vrijwilligerswerk bij humanitaire organisaties doen over langere perioden?, en (2) welke levensloopveranderingen hangen samen met het starten en stoppen van dit type vrijwilligerswerk? Net als in de eerdere hoofdstukken, maak ik gebruik van het *resource perspective*, dat voorspelt dat de kans op vrijwilligerswerk doen afhankelijk is van de beschikbare hulpbronnen van individuen. Daarnaast worden verwachtingen uit de *role substitution theory* getoetst. Uit deze theorie is de verwachting afgeleid dat vrijwilligerswerk invulling en betekenis kan geven aan het leven van individuen wanneer een andere, of eerdere rol (zoals het werkzame leven) is beëindigd. Vijftien meetrondes uit het LISS-panel (2008–2022) vormen de data voor de analyses. De bevindingen laten zien dat de groep vrijwilligers bij humanitaire organisaties grote fluctuaties vertoont over de jaren. Per twee achtereenvolgende jaren stopt gemiddeld ruim 42 procent van de vrijwilligers, bijna 40 procent start en slechts 18 procent blijft tenminste twee jaar vrijwilligerswerk doen. De fluctuaties in instroom en uitstroom lijken deels samen te hangen met veranderingen in de instroom van asielzoekers, bijvoorbeeld tijdens humanitaire crises zoals de vluchtelingencrisis waarin meer vrijwilligers startten. Dit suggereert dat de behoefte aan vrijwilligers per jaar varieert en de dynamiek van starten, stoppen en doorgaan beïnvloedt. Over het geheel genomen blijkt dat de meeste veranderingen in de levensloop van individuen niet direct samenhangen met hun vrijwillige inzet. De resultaten vormen echter geen aanleiding om belangrijke theorieën over vrijwilligerswerk terzijde te schuiven. Het *resource perspective* en de *role substitution theory* blijken waardevol bij het verklaren van verschillen tussen vrijwilligers en niet-vrijwilligers, maar zijn minder geschikt voor het verklaren van individuele veranderingen in de levensloop van vrijwilligers bij humanitaire organisaties.

Deel 2: Een blik binnen één organisatie

De voorgaande hoofdstukken bieden een longitudinaal en levensloopperspectief, maar geven geen inzicht in de redenen waarom mensen zich inzetten voor vluchtelingen. In *hoofdstuk 5* stel ik daarom de vraag wat de motivaties zijn om vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen te doen en hoe deze zich verhouden tot de algemene motivaties voor vrijwilligerswerk zoals afgeleid uit eerdere theoretische inzichten. Het theoretisch kader wordt gevormd door de *Volunteer Function Inventory* (VFI), aangevuld met andere relevante perspectieven. De VFI onderscheidt zowel zelfgerichte als op anderen gerichte motivaties en gaat ervan uit dat motivaties het individuele gedrag aansturen. Data zijn verzameld via focusgroepen met startende vrijwilligers voor vluchtelingen, aangevuld met interviews met coördinatoren om triangulatie toe te passen. De analyses laten zien dat de meest genoemde motivaties de VFI-functies *Understanding* en *Values* zijn. Vrijwilligers waarderen het leren via directe ervaring (*Understanding*) en handelen vanuit medeleven met vluchtelingen (*Values*). Minder belangrijke motivaties zijn *Career* en *Social*; vrijwilligerswerk doen ter versterking van het cv speelt veelal een kleine rol, mede doordat veel vrijwilligers al wat ouder zijn, terwijl jongere vrijwilligers het belang hiervan wel benadrukken. Daarnaast wordt dit type vrijwilligerswerk nauwelijks verricht doordat bekenden van vrijwilligers dit ook doen. Bovendien blijken belangrijke motivaties voor vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen buiten het VFI-kader te liggen: het zoeken naar een betekenisvolle rol in het leven, beïnvloeding door media, de emotionele dimensie en de pragmatische aard van het werk, waarbij tastbare en meetbare resultaten centraal staan. Triangulatie laat bovendien zien dat de VFI-functie *Protective* relevant is: coördinatoren geven aan dat mensen vrijwilligerswerk doen om zich minder eenzaam te voelen of om na burn-out, ziekte of ontslag weer actief deel te nemen aan de samenleving.

Hoofdstuk 5 biedt inzicht in de redenen waarom mensen starten met vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen. Een vervolgvraag is echter of vrijwilligers dit werk ook blijven doen en welke factoren hun continuering beïnvloeden. Daarom onderzoek ik in *hoofdstuk 6* welke organisatorische aspecten de verbondenheid van vrijwilligers met de organisatie versterkt en welke persoonlijke motivaties de bereidheid bevorderen om door te gaan. Het theoretisch kader is gebaseerd op *stress* en *coping* theorieën, waarmee twee vormen van organisatorische steun worden onderscheiden:

taakgerichte steun, die vrijwilligers helpt praktische problemen op te lossen, alsook emotiegerichte steun, die vrijwilligers ondersteunt bij het omgaan met negatieve gevoelens die voortkomen uit hun werk. Data zijn verzameld via een enquête onder vrijwilligers van VWN. De bevindingen benadrukken dat goede werkomstandigheden noodzakelijk zijn om vrijwilligers effectief te laten werken en uitval te voorkomen. Voor het daadwerkelijk behouden van vrijwilligers is emotiegerichte steun echter cruciaal. Daarnaast blijkt dat vrijwilligers zich gewaardeerd willen voelen door de vluchtelingen die zij ondersteunen. Verder toont dit hoofdstuk het belang van zogenaamde 'brugmotieven': vrijwilligers worden gemotiveerd door zowel het bevorderen van participatie van vluchtelingen in de ontvangende samenleving als het vergroten van maatschappelijke tolerantie. Deze motivaties lijken tijdens het vrijwilligerswerk aan betekenis te winnen, hetgeen suggereert dat hun invloed over tijd toeneemt.

In hoofdstuk 6 belicht ik redenen waarom actieve vrijwilligers terughoudend of gedemotiveerd zijn om door te gaan met vrijwilligerswerk voor vluchtelingen. In hoofdstuk 7 doe ik onderzoek onder gestopte vrijwilligers, met de vraag waarom mensen hun vrijwilligerswerk bij een vluchtelingenorganisatie beëindigen. Hierbij wordt het werk van Hustinx (2010) herzien en genuanceerd. Hustinx (2010) toonde aan dat organisatorische redenen en persoonlijke omstandigheden belangrijke drijfveren zijn voor het stoppen met vrijwilligerswerk. Het theoretisch kader combineert de *self-determination theory*, die persoonlijke keuze en zelfcontrole benadrukt, en *self-actualization theory*, die stelt dat vrijwilligers door individualisering hun eigen voorkeuren en doelen nastreven en zich ontwikkelen tot meer autonome en zelfbewuste personen. De analyses zijn gebaseerd op exit-data van 605 voormalige vrijwilligers van VWN. Net als Hustinx (2010) bevestigen de resultaten het belang van organisatorische redenen en persoonlijke omstandigheden. Daarnaast wordt een nieuwe oorzaak geïdentificeerd: egocentrische redenen, waarbij vrijwilligers stoppen omdat hun persoonlijke doelen zijn bereikt of zij elders verder willen, waardoor het vrijwilligerswerk niet langer aansluit bij hun behoeften. Verder blijkt dat vrijwilligers, die vanwege organisatorische redenen stoppen, het meest ontevreden zijn over hun vrijwilligerservaring. Bij egocentrisch-gemotiveerde stoppers ligt de tevredenheid op een middenniveau, terwijl vrijwilligers die stoppen vanwege persoonlijke omstandigheden de meeste tevredenheid rapporteren. Tot slot wijzen de resultaten op het belang van *burnout* en *boreout*: enerzijds overbelasting door hoge werkdruk en verantwoordelijkheden, en anderzijds

onderbenutting door te weinig taken of frustratie in interacties met vluchtelingen. Dit laatste benadrukt uitdagingen in 'mentor-mentee-relaties', waarbij vrijwilligers stoppen uit teleurstelling of onvervulde verwachtingen.

Conclusies

Uit mijn proefschrift blijkt dat niet verondersteld kan worden dat humanitaire organisaties (altijd) goed zicht hebben op 'wie' hun vrijwilligers zijn. Er is sprake van een aanzienlijke mate van verloop, aangezien vrijwillige inzet binnen één organisatie doorgaans van kortere duur is. Ondanks dit hoge verloop en de relatief kleine groep 'blijvers', zoals beschreven in hoofdstuk 4, laat hoofdstuk 2 zien dat het aantal vrijwilligers binnen humanitaire organisaties door de jaren heen betrekkelijk stabiel blijft. Kennelijk is er voldoende instroom van nieuwe vrijwilligers om het grote verloop te compenseren, hetgeen een positieve boodschap is in tijden waarin organisaties grote moeite hebben om vrijwilligers te vinden. Verder laten de bevindingen in mijn proefschrift zien dat vrijwilligers bij humanitaire organisaties vaker hoger opgeleid zijn, alsmede religieus betrokken, cultureel actief en met pensioen. Deze inzichten bieden humanitaire organisaties concrete handvatten om potentiële vrijwilligers te werven en vormen daarmee duidelijke aanknopingspunten voor gerichte wervingsstrategieën.

De resultaten van mijn proefschrift laten verder zien dat vluchtelingenorganisaties, om vrijwilligers te behouden, hen als professionals dienen te behandelen. Ik laat zien dat organisaties hun vrijwilligers professionele arbeidsomstandigheden moeten bieden. Bovendien benadrukken mijn bevindingen dat vrijwilligers vooral gemotiveerd blijven wanneer zij emotiegerichte ondersteuning ontvangen. Wanneer het echter gaat om behoud en verloop van vrijwilligers, stel ik vast dat organisaties moeten accepteren dat bepaalde redenen om te stoppen – zoals persoonlijke omstandigheden en egocentrisch-georiënteerde motieven – nauwelijks te beïnvloeden zijn door middel van verbeterde of aangepaste retentiestrategieën. Verder toon ik aan dat organisatorische tekortkomingen

de vrijwilligerservaring belemmeren. Deze tekortkomingen leiden ertoe dat vrijwilligers terughoudend of gedemotiveerd raken om zich verder in te zetten, met name vanwege een gebrek aan professionele werkomstandigheden. In hoofdstuk 7 bevestig ik dat dergelijke organisatorische tekortkomingen, naast persoonlijke omstandigheden, inderdaad een belangrijke reden vormen voor vrijwilligers om hun inzet te beëindigen. Met de bespreking van factoren die vrijwilligers motiveren of juist terughoudend maken (hoofdstuk 6), evenals de daadwerkelijke redenen om te stoppen (hoofdstuk 7), bied ik vluchtelingenorganisaties aanknopingspunten om hun strategieën voor vrijwilligersbehoud te verbeteren.



Dankwoord

(acknowledgements)

Oss, oktober 2025

Ik kan me het moment dat ik op de PhD solliciteerde nog goed herinneren: ik was voor veldonderzoek op Curaçao toen ik op mijn laptop de vacature ‘Volunteering for refugees in the Netherlands’ langs zag komen. Dat leek me wel wat. Mooi dat ik via deze route een perspectief op vluchtelingen kon schetsen, dacht ik nog. Na mijn eerste jaar als PhD was dat perspectief echter volledig veranderd. Natuurlijk, vluchtelingen hadden en hebben nog steeds mijn interesse. Echter, ik vond die vrijwilligers die onbezoldigd tijd vrijmaakten om onbekende anderen te helpen fascinerend. Mijn perspectief werd, en is nog steeds: wat leuk dat ik via deze route een perspectief op vrijwilligerswerk kan schetsen. Het is dus mooi hoe het kan lopen.

Nu ruim vijf jaar later is het proefschrift af en de PhD afgerond. In deze dissertatie en tijdens mijn verdediging praat ik in de ik-vorm. Maar heel eerlijk: deze dissertatie is een product dat door velen mogelijk is gemaakt en zonder al die belangrijke personen helemaal niet van de grond was gekomen. Dit is daarom de perfecte gelegenheid om iedereen via deze woorden op papier te bedanken. Te beginnen bij het team van promotoren. Ik bedank jullie graag voor alle feedback, adviezen, geduld, het bewaken van de rode draad in het proefschrift en het meedenken met de verdere stappen in mijn wetenschappelijke loopbaan. Maar het gaat veel verder dan dat. Gedurende het traject van vijf jaar heb ik altijd het vertrouwen vanuit jullie gevoeld. Zag ik door de bomen het bos niet meer, dan tekenden jullie weer een pad waar ik op kon blijven lopen. Ik heb dat pad met jullie met veel plezier bewandeld.

Peer en Marcel, jullie zijn twee handen op één buik. Ik heb heel veel geluk gehad met jullie als promotoren. Jullie zijn zo ingespeeld op elkaar en hebben aan een half woord genoeg. Overleggen die we hadden gingen daardoor altijd heel soepel, waardoor we én heel prettig én heel doelgericht hebben kunnen samenwerken. Dat heb ik altijd enorm gewaardeerd. Ondanks het feit dat de afstanden misschien wat groter waren, met Marcel in Utrecht en Peer gedurende de samenwerking met pensioen, bleven de lijntjes kort en de afstand daardoor gevoelsmatig klein. Om het in Peer zijn bewoordingen te zeggen: “ik ben naar de finish geleid”, en ik dank jullie daar ontzettend voor. Naomi, jij bracht het sociaalpsychologische aspect in het project. Ik heb er echt heel veel bewondering voor hoe jij op zoveel verschillende schakborden (lees: onderzoeksprojecten) tegelijk aan het schaken bent en telkens de juiste zetten uitdenkt. Je scherpte en ervaring, bijvoorbeeld in het

tackelen van reviewcommentaren, zijn ontzettend leerzaam voor mij geweest. Ik ben jullie allen ook heel dankbaar voor de flexibiliteit in het project. Toen vluchtelingenkamp Heumensoord halsoverkop openging in de zomer van 2021 was dat voor ons project een grote kans om nieuwe vragen te stellen. We zijn daarin gedoken, niet wetende dat dat het fundament zou betekenen voor het tweede deel van deze dissertatie. Het feit dat we deze dissertatie stap voor stap zo hebben kunnen vormgeven is volledig te danken aan de flexibiliteit en het denken in kansen dat jullie gedaan hebben. Dat maakt me echt trots.

Vluchtelingenkamp Heumensoord vormt ook het perfecte bruggetje naar het bedanken van een aantal mede-PhD's op de werkvloer. Marlou, jij was degene die me erop wees dat dat kamp openging en dat het voor mijn project weleens interessant zou zijn. Met die gouden tip heb je zoveel aan mijn dissertatie toegevoegd dat ik je daar waarschijnlijk niet genoeg voor kan bedanken. Ik wil je ook bedanken voor de keren dat je me wat SPSS-les gaf, en het geduld dat je daarbij gehad moet hebben. Ook heb je mij aan het begin wegwijs gemaakt in de verschillende conferenties op het gebied van vrijwilligerswerk en civil society. Dat was een zachte landing in het onderzoeksveld en daarvoor wil ik je ook graag bedanken.

Klara, ik wil jou bedanken voor je introductielessen voor het gebruiken van STATA. Wat moet je daarbij een ongelooflijk geduld hebben gehad voordat het kwartje bij mij eindelijk een beetje viel. Het feit dat je daar enkele uren aan wilde besteden terwijl je zelf ook genoeg te doen had laat zien dat je een ontzettende teamspeler bent. Dankzij jouw kennis heb ik het voor mij zo'n beetje meest moeilijke onderdeel van de dissertatie toch tot een goed einde kunnen brengen. Mustafa, allereerst is het heel mooi dat ik deze tekst gewoon in het Nederlands kan opschrijven. Je pikt het Nederlands heel snel op en ik moet er nog steeds aan wennen dat ons (app)contact nu ook in het Nederlands kan, daar heb ik heel veel respect voor. Je kritische blik is heel waardevol gebleken voor wat betreft de dissertatie en ik ben vereerd dat we als paranimfen elkaar gaan ondersteunen. Rob, we zijn samen aan de PhD begonnen in 2020. We konden meteen goed kletsen over niks, maar ook serieuze gesprekken voeren. Ik heb altijd veel bewondering gehad voor je enthousiasme als je weer eens één of andere methode uitlegde waar ik toch niet veel van begreep. Maar jouw ogen gingen helemaal blinken, dat was altijd mooi om te zien. En niet te vergeten: ook jij hebt me weleens op weg geholpen met methodologische vragen, dankjewel daarvoor. Net als bij Mustafa vind ik het een eer dat je ook mijn paranimf wil zijn.

Ook wil ik Anuschka, Nina, Rachel en Jos bedanken voor alle gezellige gesprekken in de PhD kamer. Sara, Tessa en Katrin, dankjewel voor alle gesprekken en ik vond het altijd heel leuk om – samen met Rob – de jaargang 2020 te vormen. Inge, Renae en Thijmen, bedankt voor alle adviezen en informele gesprekken. Jullie hebben er zeker aan bijgedragen dat ik me altijd thuis heb gevoeld op de afdeling. Ayse en Anne Maaïke, ook jullie hartelijk bedankt voor alle gesprekken en voor het regelen van de PhD seminars. Ik wil ook graag de hele vakgroep sociologie bedanken voor de gezellige lunches en voor al het meedenken met de individuele papers. In het bijzonder wil ik er een paar personen uitlichten. Niels, veel dank voor je scherpe commentaren die altijd van waarde voor me zijn geweest. Ondanks je overvolle agenda kon ik altijd even binnenlopen en was je altijd bereid om mee te denken. Ook je carrièreadvies waren enorm waardevol. Mark, veel dank dat ik weleens onaangekondigd binnen kon lopen en je om wat statistisch advies kon vragen. Je behulpzaamheid heeft mij en de dissertatie vele stappen verder gebracht. Omdat we allebei in de fase van de jonge kinderen zitten hadden we op dat gebied veel raakvlakken. Die gesprekken waren altijd leuk, zoals dat alles een fase is en het thuis soms overleven kan zijn. Ik kijk met veel plezier op die gesprekken terug. Sara, misschien niet onderdeel van de vakgroep maar wel van het onderzoeksinstituut RSCR, veel dank voor je vertrouwen om mij aan te stellen op een aantal projecten. In het laatste jaar van mijn PhD heb ik daarom de kans gekregen om mijn onderzoeksfocus te verbreden en van je te leren. Ook daar kijk ik met veel plezier op terug. Ook speciale dank aan Jeannette en Marjolijn voor de secretariële ondersteuning, het meedenken met praktische zaken en de gezellige kletsmomenten.

Mijn dank gaat ook uit naar René Bekkers, bij wie ik de ICS-onderzoeksstage aan de VU mocht uitvoeren. Je kennis over vrijwilligerswerk, geefgedrag en statistiek is van uitzonderlijk niveau, en ik ben dankbaar dat ik van je heb mogen leren. Ik denk dat hoofdstuk vier van mijn proefschrift, waarin we samenwerkten met ook Peer erbij, mijn meest uitdagende onderdeel van het proefschrift was. Je bent altijd geduldig en begripvol geweest, ook wanneer ik de methodologische aspecten van dat hoofdstuk niet in één keer begreep. Ik kijk met veel plezier terug op de samenwerking en ben dankbaar voor die kans. Ik wil dit moment ook zeker aangrijpen om de hoofdpersonen van de dissertatie te bedanken: de vrijwilligers waar ik over geschreven heb. Dat

kan niet zonder eerst VluchtelingenWerk Nederland te bedanken en de Yalla Foundation, die beiden vele vrijwilligers 'geleverd' hebben voor de data die we zelf verzameld hebben. Veel dank aan deze organisaties, het tweede deel van de dissertatie was zonder jullie medewerking niet mogelijk geweest. Aan de vrijwilligers die ik gesproken heb, deze dissertatie is ook echt voor jullie. Ik heb gemerkt dat het echt niet altijd makkelijk is om vrijwilliger voor vluchtelingen te zijn, te midden van een verhit debat over migratie en wie je wel asiel verleent en wie niet. Jullie zijn je stoïcijns blijven inzetten, of er nu een pandemie door ons land raasde of mensen in de persoonlijke omgeving oordelen over jullie werk hadden. Zelfs een bij tijd en wijle onwelwillende partner als het COA op kamp Heumensoord hield jullie niet tegen. Jullie zijn de stille helden, en hoewel dit proefschrift maar een klein gebaar is, hoop ik toch dat het jullie een stukje meer erkenning geeft.

Ik dacht altijd dat een PhD doen, en daarmee een wetenschappelijke loopbaan nastreven, niet voor mij weggelegd was. Ik had immers geen research master gedaan, dus solliciteren op een PhD was in mijn ogen bij voorbaat al zinloos. Er is daarom één persoon die ik in het bijzonder moet bedanken, omdat hij dat (starre) gedachtegoed uit mijn hoofd heeft gekregen. Paul, ontzettend bedankt dat je het in je tijd als lector in mij zag zitten. Jouw enthousiasme en academische blik hebben mij doen inzien dat er wellicht toch wel academisch bestaansrecht in mij zat. Jij hebt dat aangewakkerd en ik had dat duwtje in de rug nodig. Het is daarom des te leuker dat we elkaar ook binnen RSCR zijn blijven tegenkomen, laten we elkaar blijven volgen in de toekomst.

Langzamerhand begeef ik me richting mijn meer persoonlijke kring. Zoals mijn vriendengroep uit Dongen. Jeffrey, Jelle, René, Coen, Marcel, Ruud, Marco, Remco en Rick, geen inspanning doordeweeks zonder goede ontspanning in het weekend. We gaan al vele jaren terug en jullie houden me met beide benen op de grond. Dat we er nog maar vele biertjes op mogen drinken en nog vele jaren in deze samenstelling verder mogen. Ik ben jullie erg dankbaar. Job, wij begonnen in 2013 samen aan de opleiding sociologie in Tilburg. Ik ben er trots op dat we dertien jaar later nog altijd 'on speaking terms' zijn. En uiteraard moet ik je bedanken voor de vele checks op spelling en zinsbouw, daar ben je echt een kampioen in.

Lieve moeder, naarmate ik ouder word merk ik dat we zoveel op elkaar lijken. Het nuchtere, het liever niet op de voorgrond staan, het ergens tegenop kijken zodat het eigenlijk altijd wel meevalt, maar ook het genieten van de kleine dingen. Voor al die dingen ben ik je ontzettend dankbaar, het is alleen maar mooi om op je te mogen lijken. Deze dissertatie is ook echt voor jou. Lieve pa, het leven is niet altijd eerlijk. Ik hoop dat je daarboven trots bent, meekijkt en ziet dat het goed is. Robin en Martijn, ook jullie houden me met beide benen op de grond door me vaak genoeg eraan te herinneren wie van ons nu echt het zware werk doet. Altijd met een lach, laten we vooral zo doorgaan. Geert, Hélène, Koen, Elise, Twan en Tessa: veel dank om het iedere keer maar weer op te brengen om naar mijn PhD-verhalen te luisteren, ik proef vaak zelfs oprechte interesse. Ik ben heel blij met jullie als schoonfamilie.

Mijn laatste woorden zijn voor mijn binnenste kring. Lieve Lotte, we hebben altijd het idee gehad om de PhD uit te smeren over vijf jaar in plaats van vier, omdat we de wens hadden om een gezin te stichten. Ik ben zo trots dat dat gelukt is. Je steun, begrip en geduld hebben deze dissertatie mede mogelijk gemaakt. Je bent de belangrijkste persoon in mijn leven en ik ben heel dankbaar dat je mijn betere wederhelft bent. Lieve Max en Luuk, het voelt gek om te zeggen dat papa al zolang jullie leven aan deze dissertatie heeft gewerkt. Ik zal er later nog eens over vertellen, maar kap me gerust af als jullie het verhaal beu zijn. Jonge kinderen hebben betekent soms op hele logische tijden niet werken en op hele onlogische tijden wel aan het werk zijn. Ik had het niet anders willen doen, jullie zijn het mooiste wat er rondloopt voor mij.



About the author

Maikel Meijeren was born on February 25th, 1990, in Tilburg. He obtained his Bachelor's Degree in Sociology (2016) and Extended Master's Degree in Sociology (2018) at Tilburg University. After working for two years as a junior researcher, he started as a PhD candidate at the Interuniversity Center for Social Sciences Theory and Methodology (ICS) and the Department of Sociology at Radboud University Nijmegen. Here, he wrote the present dissertation under the supervision of Peer Scheepers, Marcel Lubbers and Naomi Ellemers. His research was part of the SCOOP research program, which consists of researchers from various Dutch universities and social science disciplines (Social Psychology, Sociology, Philosophy and History) who tackle the issue of sustaining cooperation in society together. From August 2023 to February 2024, he was a visiting scholar at the Centre for Philanthropic Studies and the Department of Sociology at Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, hosted by René Bekkers. Maikel taught an English course in social capital and took part in the pilot program to obtain his University Teaching Qualification (UTQ / BKO). In addition, he supervised several research projects and bachelor theses in both Sociology and Anthropology. From September 2025, Maikel works as a postdoctoral researcher on topics in volunteering and civil society at the Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University Rotterdam.



ICS dissertation series

The ICS series presents dissertations of the Interuniversity Center for Social Science Theory and Methodology. Each of these studies aims at integrating explicit theory formation with state-of-the-art empirical research or at the development of advanced methods for empirical research. The ICS was founded in 1986 as a cooperative effort of the universities of Groningen and Utrecht. Since 1992, the ICS has expanded to the University of Nijmegen and, since 2017, to the University of Amsterdam. Most of the projects are financed by the participating universities or by the Dutch Research Council. The international composition of the ICS graduate students is mirrored in the increasing international orientation of the projects and thus of the ICS series itself.

1. Kees van Liere (1990), *"Lastige leerlingen: Een empirisch onderzoek naar sociale oorzaken van probleemgedrag op basisscholen."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
2. Marco van Leeuwen (1990), *"Bijstand in Amsterdam, ca. 1800-1850: Armenzorg als beheersings en overlevingsstrategie."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
3. Ineke Maas (1990), *"Deelname aan podiumkunsten via de podia, de media en actieve beoefening: Substitutie of leereffecten?"* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
4. Marjolein Broese van Groenou (1991), *"Gescheiden netwerken: De relaties met vrienden en verwanten na echtscheiding."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
5. Jan van den Bos (1991), *"Dutch EC policy making: A model guided approach to coordination and negotiation."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
6. Karin Sanders (1991), *"Vrouwelijke pioniers: Vrouwen en mannen met een 'mannelijke' hogere beroepsopleiding aan het begin van hun loopbaan."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
7. Sjerp de Vries (1991), *"Egoism, altruism, and social justice: Theory and experiments on cooperation in social dilemmas."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
8. Ronald Batenburg (1991), *"Automatisering in bedrijf."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
9. Rudi Wielers (1991), *"Selectie en allocatie op de arbeidsmarkt. Een uitwerking voor de informele en geïnstitutionaliseerde kinderopvang."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
10. Gert Westert (1991), *"Verschillen in ziekenhuisgebruik."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
11. Hanneke Hermesen (1992), *"Votes and policy preferences: Equilibria in party systems."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
12. Cora Maas (1992), *"Probleemleerlingen in het basisonderwijs."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
13. Ed Boxman (1992), *"Contacten en carrière : Een empirisch theoretisch onderzoek naar de relatie tussen sociale netwerken en arbeidsmarktposities"* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
14. Conny Taes (1992), *"Kijken naar banen: Een onderzoek naar de inschatting van arbeidsmarktkansen bij schoolverlaters uit het middelbaar beroepsonderwijs."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers

15. Peter van Roozendaal (1992), *"Cabinets in multi party democracies: The effect of dominant and central parties on cabinet composition and durability."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
16. Marcel van Dam (1992), *"Regio zonder regie: Verschillen in en effectiviteit van gemeentelijk arbeidsmarktbeleid."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
17. Tanja van der Lippe (1993), *"Arbeidsverdeling tussen mannen en vrouwen."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
18. Marc Jacobs (1993), *"Software: Kopen of kopiëren? Een sociaal wetenschappelijk onderzoek onder PC gebruikers."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
19. Peter van der Meer (1993), *"Verdringing op de Nederlandse arbeidsmarkt: Sector- en sekseverschillen."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
20. Gerbert Kraaykamp (1993), *"Over lezen gesproken: Een studie naar sociale differentiatie in leesgedrag."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
21. Evelien Zeggelink (1993), *"Strangers into friends: The evolution of friendship networks using an individual oriented modeling approach."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
22. Jaco Berveling (1994), *"Het stempel op de besluitvorming: Macht, invloed en besluitvorming op twee Amsterdamse beleidsterreinen."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
23. Wim Bernasco (1994), *"Coupled careers: The effects of spouse's resources on success at work."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
24. Liset van Dijk (1994), *"Choices in child care: The distribution of child care among mothers, fathers and non parental care providers."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
25. Jos de Haan (1994), *"Research groups in Dutch sociology."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
26. Kwasi Boahene (1995), *"Innovation adoption as a socioeconomic process: The case of the Ghanaian cocoa industry."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
27. Paul Ligthart (1995), *"Solidarity in economic transactions: An experimental study of framing effects in bargaining and contracting."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
28. Roger Leenders (1995), *"Structure and influence: Statistical models for the dynamics of actor attributes, network structure, and their interdependence."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
29. Beate Volker (1995), *"Should auld acquaintance be forgot...? Institutions of communism, the transition to capitalism and personal networks: The case of East Germany."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
30. Anneke Cancrinus-Matthijssse (1995), *"Tussen hulpverlening en ondernemerschap: Beroepsuitoefening en taakopvattingen van openbare apothekers in een aantal West-Europese landen."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
31. Nardi Steverink (1996), *"Zo lang mogelijk zelfstandig: Naar een verklaring van verschillen in oriëntatie ten aanzien van opname in een verzorgingstehuis onder fysiek kwetsbare ouderen."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
32. Ellen Lindeman (1996), *"Participatie in vrijwilligerswerk."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
33. Chris Snijders (1996), *"Trust and commitments."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
34. Koos Postma (1996), *"Changing prejudice in Hungary. A study on the collapse of state socialism and its impact on prejudice against Gypsies and Jews."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers

35. Jooske van Busschbach (1996), *"Uit het oog, uit het hart? Stabiliteit en verandering in persoonlijke relaties."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
36. René Torenvlied (1996), *"Besluiten in uitvoering: Theorieën over beleidsuitvoering modelmatig getoetst op sociale vernieuwing in drie gemeenten."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
37. Andreas Flache (1996), *"The double edge of networks: An analysis of the effect of informal networks on cooperation in social dilemmas."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
38. Kees van Veen (1997), *"Inside an internal labor market: Formal rules, flexibility and career lines in a Dutch manufacturing company."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
39. Lucienne van Eijk (1997), *"Activity and wellbeing in the elderly."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
40. Róbert Gál (1997), *"Unreliability: Contract discipline and contract governance under economic transition."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
41. Anne-Geerte van de Goor (1997), *"Effects of regulation on disability duration."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
42. Boris Blumberg (1997), *"Das Management von Technologiekooperationen: Partnersuche und Verhandlungen mit dem Partner aus Empirisch Theoretischer Perspektive."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
43. Marijke von Bergh (1997), *"Loopbanen van oudere werknemers."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
44. Anna Petra Nieboer (1997), *"Life events and well-being: A prospective study on changes in well-being of elderly people due to a serious illness event or death of the spouse."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
45. Jacques Niehof (1997), *"Resources and social reproduction: The effects of cultural and material resources on educational and occupational careers in industrial nations at the end of the twentieth century."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
46. Ariana Need (1997), *"The kindred vote: Individual and family effects of social class and religion on electoral change in the Netherlands, 1956 1994."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
47. Jim Allen (1997), *"Sector composition and the effect of education on Wages: An international comparison."* Amsterdam: Thesis Publishers
48. Jack Hutten (1998), *"Workload and provision of care in general practice: An empirical study of the relation between workload of Dutch general practitioners and the content and quality of their care."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
49. Per Kropp (1998), *"Berufserfolg im Transformationsprozeß: Eine theoretisch empirische Studie über die Gewinner und Verlierer der Wende in Ostdeutschland."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
50. Maarten Wolbers (1998), *"Diploma-inflatie en verdringing op de arbeidsmarkt: Een studie naar ontwikkelingen in de opbrengsten van diploma's in Nederland."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
51. Wilma Smeenk (1998), *"Opportunity and marriage: The impact of individual resources and marriage market structure on first marriage timing and partner choice in the Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
52. Marinus Spreen (1999), *"Sampling personal network structures: Statistical inference in ego graphs."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
53. Vincent Buskens (1999), *"Social networks and trust."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht

54. Susanne Rijken (1999), *"Educational expansion and status attainment: A cross-national and over-time comparison."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
55. Mérove Gijssberts (1999), *"The legitimization of inequality in state-socialist and market societies, 1987-1996."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
56. Gerhard van de Bunt (1999), *"Friends by choice: An actor-oriented statistical network model for friendship networks through time."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
57. Robert Thomson (1999), *"The party mandate: Election pledges and government actions in the Netherlands, 1986 1998."* Amsterdam: Thela Thesis
58. Corine Baarda (1999), *"Politieke besluiten en boeren beslissingen: Het draagvlak van het mestbeleid tot 2000."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
59. Rafael Wittek (1999), *"Interdependence and informal control in organizations."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
60. Diane Payne (1999), *"Policy Making in the European Union: An analysis of the impact of the reform of the structural funds in Ireland."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
61. René Veenstra (1999), *"Leerlingen, Klassen, Scholen: Prestaties en vorderingen van leerlingen in het voortgezet onderwijs."* Amsterdam, Thela Thesis
62. Marjolein Achterkamp (1999), *"Influence strategies in collective decision making: A comparison of two models."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
63. Peter Mühlau (2000), *"The governance of the employment relation: Arelational signaling perspective."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
64. Agnes Akkerman (2000), *"Verdeelde vakbeweging en stakingen: Concurrentie om leden."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
65. Sandra van Thiel (2000), *"Quangocratization: Trends, causes and consequences."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
66. Sylvia Peacock-Korupp (2000), *"Mothers and the process of social stratification."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
67. Rudi Turksema (2000), *"Supply of day care."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
68. Bernard Nijstad (2000), *"How the group affects the mind: Effects of communication in idea generating groups."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
69. Inge de Wolf (2000), *"Opleidingsspecialisatie en arbeidsmarktsucces van sociale wetenschappers."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
70. Jan Kratzer (2001), *"Communication and performance: An empirical study in innovation teams."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
71. Madelon Kroneman (2001), *"Healthcare systems and hospital bed use."* ICS/NIVEL-dissertation, Utrecht
72. Herman van de Werfhorst (2001), *"Field of study and social inequality: Four types of educational resources in the process of stratification in the Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
73. Tamás Bartus (2001), *"Social capital and earnings inequalities: The role of informal job search in Hungary."* ICS dissertation Groningen
74. Hester Moerbeek (2001), *"Friends and foes in the occupational career: The influence of sweet and sour social capital on the labour market."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
75. Marcel van Assen (2001), *"Essays on actor perspectives in exchange networks and social dilemmas."* ICS dissertation, Groningen

76. Inge Sieben (2001), *"Sibling similarities and social stratification: The impact of family background across countries and cohorts."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
77. Alinda van Bruggen (2001), *"Individual production of social well-being: An exploratory study."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
78. Marcel Coenders (2001), *"Nationalistic attitudes and ethnic exclusionism in a comparative perspective: An empirical study of attitudes toward the country and ethnic immigrants in 22 countries."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
79. Marcel Lubbers (2001), *"Exclusionistic electorates: Extreme right-wing voting in Western Europe."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
80. Uwe Matzat (2001), *"Social networks and cooperation in electronic communities: A theoretical-empirical analysis of academic communication and internet discussion groups."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
81. Jacques Janssen (2002), *"Do opposites attract divorce? Dimensions of mixed marriage and the risk of divorce in the Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
82. Miranda Jansen (2002), *"Waardenoriëntaties en partnerrelaties: Een panelstudie naar wederzijdse invloeden."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
83. Anne-Rigt Poortman (2002), *"Socioeconomic causes and consequences of divorce."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
84. Alexander Gattig (2002), *"Intertemporal decision making."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
85. Gerrit Rooks (2000), *"Contract en conflict: Strategisch management van inkooptransacties."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
86. Károly Takács (2002), *"Social networks and intergroup conflict."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
87. Thomas Gautschi (2002), *"Trust and exchange, effects of temporal embeddedness and network embeddedness on providing and dividing a surplus."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
88. Hilde Bras (2002), *"Zeeuwse meiden: Dienen in de levensloop van vrouwen, ca. 1850 – 1950."* Aksant Academic Publishers, Amsterdam
89. Merijn Rengers (2002), *"Economic lives of artists: Studies into careers and the labour market in the cultural sector."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
90. Annelies Kassenberg (2002), *"Wat scholieren bindt: Sociale gemeenschap in scholen."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
91. Marc Verboord (2003), *"Moet de meester dalen of de leerling klimmen? De invloed van literatuuronderwijs en ouders op het lezen van boeken tussen 1975 en 2000."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
92. Marcel van Egmond (2003), *"Rain falls on all of us (but some manage to get more wet than others): Political context and electoral participation."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
93. Justine Horgan (2003), *"High-performance human resource management in Ireland and the Netherlands: Adoption and effectiveness."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
94. Corine Hoebe (2003), *"LET'S be a community: Community in local exchange trading systems."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
95. Christian Steglich (2003), *"The framing of decision situations: Automatic goal selection and rational goal pursuit."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
96. Johan van Wilsem (2003), *"Crime and context: The impact of individual, neighborhood, city and country characteristics on victimization."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen

97. Christiaan Monden (2003), *"Education, inequality and health: The impact of partners and life course."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
98. Evelyn Hello (2003), *"Educational attainment and ethnic attitudes: How to explain their relationship."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
99. Marnix Croes en Peter Tammes (2004). *"Gif laten wij niet voortbestaan: Een onderzoek naar de overlevingskansen van Joden in de Nederlandse gemeenten, 1940-1945."* Aksant Academic Publishers, Amsterdam.
100. Ineke Nagel (2004), *"Cultuurdeelname in de levensloop."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
101. Marieke van der Wal (2004), *"Competencies to participate in life: Measurement and the impact of school."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
102. Vivian Meertens (2004), *"Depressive symptoms in the general population: A multifactorial social approach."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
103. Hanneke Schuurmans (2004), *"Promoting well-being in frail elderly people: Theory and intervention."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
104. Javier Arregui Moreno (2004), *"Negotiation in legislative decision-making in the European Union."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
105. Tamar Fischer (2004), *"Parental divorce, conflict and resources: The effects on children's behaviour problems, socioeconomic attainment, and transitions in the demographic career."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
106. René Bekkers (2004), *"Giving and volunteering in the Netherlands: Sociological and psychological perspectives."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
107. Renée van der Hulst (2004), *"Gender differences in workplace authority: An empirical study on social networks."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
108. Rita Smaniotto (2004), *"'You scratch my back and I scratch yours' versus 'love thy neighbour': Two proximate mechanisms of reciprocal altruism."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
109. Maurice Gesthuizen (2004), *"The life course of the low-educated in the Netherlands: Social and economic risks."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
110. Carlijne Philips (2005), *"Vakantiegemeenschappen: Kwalitatief en kwantitatief onderzoek naar gelegenheid en refreshergemeenschap tijdens de vakantie."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
111. Esther de Ruijter (2005), *"Household outsourcing."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
112. Frank van Tubergen (2005), *"The integration of immigrants in cross-national perspective: Origin, destination, and community effects."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
113. Ferry Koster (2005), *"For the time being: Accounting for inconclusive findings concerning the effects of temporary employment relationships on solidary behavior of employees."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
114. Carolien Klein Haarhuis (2005), *"Promoting anti-corruption reforms: Evaluating the implementation of a World Bank anti-corruption program in seven African countries (1999-2001)." ICS dissertation, Utrecht*
115. Martin van der Gaag (2005), *"Measurement of individual social capital."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
116. Johan Hansen (2005), *"Shaping careers of men and women in organizational contexts."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
117. Davide Barrera (2005), *"Trust in embedded settings."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht

118. Mattijs Lambooi (2005), *"Promoting cooperation: Studies into the effects of long-term and short-term rewards on cooperation of employees."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
119. Lotte Vermeij (2006), *"What's cooking? Cultural boundaries among Dutch teenagers of different ethnic origins in the context of school."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
120. Mathilde Strating (2006), *"Facing the challenge of rheumatoid arthritis: A 13-year prospective study among patients and cross-sectional study among their partners."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
121. Jannes de Vries (2006), *"Measurement error in family background variables: The bias in the intergenerational transmission of status, cultural consumption, party preference, and religiosity."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
122. Stefan Thau (2006), *"Workplace deviance: Four studies on employee motives and self-regulation."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
123. Mirjam Plantinga (2006), *"Employee motivation and employee performance in child care: The effects of the introduction of market forces on employees in the Dutch child-care sector."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
124. Helga de Valk (2006), *"Pathways into adulthood: A comparative study on family life transitions among migrant and Dutch youth."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
125. Henrike Elzen (2006), *"Self-Management for chronically ill older people."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
126. Ayse Güveli (2007), *"New social classes within the service class in the Netherlands and Britain: Adjusting the EGP class schema for the technocrats and the social and cultural specialists."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
127. Willem-Jan Verhoeven (2007), *"Income attainment in post-communist societies."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
128. Marieke Voorpostel (2007), *"Sibling support: The exchange of help among brothers and sisters in the Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
129. Jacob Dijkstra (2007), *"The effects of externalities on partner choice and payoffs in exchange networks."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
130. Patricia van Echtelt (2007), *"Time-greedy employment relationships: Four studies on the time claims of post-Fordist work."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
131. Sonja Vogt (2007), *"Heterogeneity in social dilemmas: The case of social support."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
132. Michael Schweinberger (2007), *"Statistical methods for studying the evolution of networks and behavior."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
133. István Henrik Back (2007), *"Commitment and evolution: Connecting emotion and reason in long-term relationships."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
134. Ruben van Gaalen (2007), *"Solidarity and ambivalence in parent-child relationships."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
135. Jan Reitsma (2007), *"Religiosity and solidarity: Dimensions and relationships disentangled and tested."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
136. Jan Kornelis Dijkstra (2007), *"Status and affection among (pre)adolescents and their relation with antisocial and prosocial behavior."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
137. Wouter van Gils (2007), *"Full-time working couples in the Netherlands: Causes and consequences."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen

138. Djamila Schans (2007), *"Ethnic diversity in intergenerational solidarity."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
139. Ruud van der Meulen (2007), *"Brug over woelig water: Lidmaatschap van sportverenigingen, vriendschappen, kennissenkringen en veralgemeend vertrouwen."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
140. Andrea Knecht (2008), *"Friendship selection and friends' influence: Dynamics of networks and actor attributes in early adolescence."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
141. Ingrid Doorten (2008), *"The division of unpaid work in the household: A stubborn pattern?"* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
142. Stijn Ruiter (2008), *"Association in context and association as context: Causes and consequences of voluntary association involvement."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
143. Janneke Joly (2008), *"People on our minds: When humanized contexts activate social norms."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
144. Margreet Frieling (2008), *"'Joint production' als motor voor actief burgerschap in de buurt."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
145. Ellen Verbakel (2008), *"The partner as resource or restriction? Labour market careers of husbands and wives and the consequences for inequality between couples."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
146. Gijs van Houten (2008), *"Beleidsuitvoering in gelaagde stelsels: De doorwerking van aanbevelingen van de Stichting van de Arbeid in het CAO-overleg."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
147. Eva Jaspers (2008), *"Intolerance over time: Macro- and micro-level questions on attitudes towards euthanasia, homosexuality and ethnic minorities."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
148. Gijs Weijters (2008), *"Youth delinquency in Dutch cities and schools: A multilevel approach."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
149. Jessica Nooij (2009), *"The self in social rejection."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
150. Gerald Mollenhorst (2009), *"Networks in contexts: How meeting opportunities affect personal relationships."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
151. Tom van der Meer (2009), *"States of freely associating citizens: Comparative studies into the impact of state institutions on social, civic and political participation."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
152. Manuela Vieth (2009), *"Commitments and reciprocity in trust situations: Experimental studies on obligation, indignation, and self-consistency."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
153. Rense Corten (2009), *"Co-evolution of social networks and behavior in social dilemmas: Theoretical and empirical perspectives."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
154. Arieke Rijken (2009), *"Happy families, high fertility? Childbearing choices in the context of family and partner relationships."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
155. Jochem Tolsma (2009), *"Ethnic hostility among ethnic majority and minority groups in the Netherlands: An investigation into the impact of social mobility experiences, the local living environment and educational attainment on ethnic hostility."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
156. Freek Bucx (2009), *"Linked lives: Young adults' life course and relations with parents."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht

157. Philip Wotschack (2009), *"Household governance and time allocation: Four studies on the combination of work and care."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
158. Nienke Moor (2009), *"Explaining worldwide religious diversity: The relationship between subsistence technologies and ideas about the unknown in pre-industrial and (post-)industrial societies."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
159. Lieke ten Brummelhuis (2009), *"Family matters at work: Depleting and enriching effects of employees' family lives on work outcomes."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
160. Renske Keizer (2010), *"Remaining childless: Causes and consequences from a life-course perspective."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
161. Miranda Sentse (2010), *"Bridging contexts: The interplay between family, child, and peers in explaining problem behavior in early adolescence."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
162. Nicole Tieben (2010), *"Transitions, tracks and transformations: Social inequality in transitions into, through and out of secondary education in the Netherlands for cohorts born between 1914 and 1985."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
163. Birgit Paukstat (2010), *"Speaking up in organizations: Four studies on employee voice."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
164. Richard Zijdemans (2010), *"Status attainment in the Netherlands, 1811-1941: Spatial and temporal variation before and during industrialization."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
165. Rianne Kloosterman (2010), *"Social background and children's educational careers: The primary and secondary effects of social background over transitions and over time in the Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
166. Olav Aarts (2010), *"Religious diversity and religious involvement: A study of religious markets in Western societies at the end of the twentieth century."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
167. Stephanie Wiesmann (2010), *"24/7 Negotiation in couples' transition to parenthood."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
168. Borja Martinovic (2010), *"Interethnic contacts: A dynamic analysis of interaction between immigrants and natives in Western countries."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
169. Anne Roeters (2010), *"Family life under pressure? Parents' paid work and the quantity and quality of parent-child and family time."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
170. Jelle Sijtsema (2010), *"Adolescent aggressive behavior: Status and stimulation goals in relation to the peer context."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
171. Kees Keizer (2010), *"The spreading of disorder."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
172. Michael Mäs (2010), *"The diversity puzzle. explaining clustering and polarization of opinions."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
173. Marie-Louise Damen (2010), *"Cultuurdeelname en CKV: Studies naar effecten van kunsteducatie op de cultuurdeelname van leerlingen tijdens en na het voortgezet onderwijs."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
174. Marieke van de Rakt (2011), *"Two generations of crime: The intergenerational transmission of convictions over the life course."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
175. Willem Huijnk (2011), *"Family life and ethnic attitudes: The role of the family for attitudes towards intermarriage and acculturation among minority and majority groups."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
176. Tim Huijts (2011), *"Social ties and health in Europe: Individual associations, cross-national variations, and contextual explanations."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen

177. Wouter Steenbeek (2011), *"Social and physical disorder: How community, business presence and entrepreneurs influence disorder in Dutch neighborhoods."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
178. Miranda Vervoort (2011), *"Living together apart? Ethnic concentration in the neighborhood and ethnic minorities' social contacts and language practices."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
179. Agnieszka Kanas (2011), *"The economic performance of immigrants: The role of human and social capital."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
180. Lea Ellwardt (2011), *"Gossip in organizations: A social network study."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
181. Annemarije Oosterwaal (2011), *"The gap between decision and implementation: Decision making, delegation and compliance in governmental and organizational settings."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
182. Natascha Notten (2011), *"Parents and the media: Causes and consequences of parental media socialization."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
183. Tobias Stark (2011), *"Integration in schools: A process perspective on students' interethnic attitudes and interpersonal relationships."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
184. Giedo Jansen (2011), *"Social cleavages and political choices: Large-scale comparisons of social class, religion and voting behavior in Western democracies."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
185. Ruud van der Horst (2011), *"Network effects on treatment results in a closed forensic psychiatric setting."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
186. Mark Levels (2011), *"Abortion laws in European Countries between 1960 and 2010: Legislative developments and their consequences for women's reproductive decision making."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
187. Marieke van Londen (2012), *"Exclusion of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: The effects of individual and situational characteristics on opposition to ethnic policy and ethnically mixed neighbourhoods."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
188. Sigrid Mohnen (2012), *"Neighborhood context and health: How neighborhood social capital affects individual health."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
189. Asya Zhelyazkova (2012), *"Compliance under controversy: Analysis of the transposition of European directives and their provisions."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
190. Valeska Korff (2012), *"Between cause and control: Management in a humanitarian organization."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
191. Maike Gieling (2012), *"Dealing with diversity: Adolescents' support for civil liberties and immigrant rights."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
192. Katya Ivanova (2012), *"From parents to partners: The impact of family on romantic relationships in adolescence and emerging adulthood."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
193. Jelmer Schalk (2012), *"The performance of public corporate actors: Essays on effects of institutional and network embeddedness in supranational, national, and local collaborative contexts."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
194. Alona Labun (2012), *"Social networks and informal power in organizations."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
195. Michal Bojanowski (2012), *"Essays on social network formation in heterogeneous populations: Models, methods, and empirical analyses."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht

196. Anca Minescu (2012), *"Relative group position and intergroup attitudes in Russia."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
197. Marieke van Schellen (2012), *"Marriage and crime over the life course: The criminal careers of convicts and their spouses."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
198. Mieke Maliepaard (2012), *"Religious trends and social integration: Muslim minorities in the Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
199. Fransje Smits (2012), *"Turks and Moroccans in the Low Countries around the year 2000: Determinants of religiosity, trend in religiosity and determinants of the trend."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
200. Roderick Sluiter (2012), *"The diffusion of morality policies among Western European countries between 1960 and 2010: A comparison of temporal and spatial diffusion patterns of six morality and eleven non-morality policies."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
201. Nicoletta Balbo (2012), *"Family, friends and fertility."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
202. Anke Munniksma (2013), *"Crossing ethnic boundaries: Parental resistance to and consequences of adolescents' cross-ethnic peer relations"* ICS dissertation, Groningen
203. Anja-Kristin Abendroth (2013), *"Working women in Europe: How the country, workplace, and family context matter."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
204. Katia Begall (2013), *"Occupational hazard? The relationship between working conditions and fertility."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
205. Hidde Bekhuis (2013), *"The popularity of domestic cultural products: Cross-national differences and the relation to globalization."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
206. Lieselotte Blommaert (2013), *"Are Joris and Renske more employable than Rashid and Samira? A study on the prevalence and sources of ethnic discrimination in recruitment in the Netherlands using experimental and survey data."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
207. Wiebke Schulz (2013), *"Careers of men and women in the 19th and 20th centuries."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
208. Ozan Aksoy (2013), *"Essays on social preferences and beliefs in non-embedded social dilemmas."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
209. Dominik Morbitzer (2013), *"Limited farsightedness in network formation."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
210. Thomas de Vroome (2013), *"Earning your place: The relation between immigrants' economic and psychological integration in the Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
211. Marloes de Lange (2013), *"Causes and consequences of employment flexibility among young people: Recent developments in the Netherlands and Europe."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
212. Roza Meuleman (2014), *"Consuming the Nation: Domestic cultural consumption: Its stratification and relation with nationalist attitudes."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
213. Esther Havekes (2014), *"Putting interethnic attitudes in context: The relationship between neighbourhood characteristics, interethnic attitudes and residential behaviour."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
214. Zoltán Lippényi (2014), *"Transitions toward an open society? Intergenerational occupational mobility in Hungary in the 19th and 20th centuries."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
215. Anouk Smeeke (2014), *"The presence of the past: Historical rooting of national identity and current group dynamics."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht

216. Michael Savelkoul (2014), *"Ethnic diversity and social capital: Testing underlying explanations derived from conflict and contact theories in Europe and the United States."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
217. Martijn Hogerbrugge (2014), *"Misfortune and family: How negative events, family ties, and lives are linked."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
218. Gina-Felicia Potarca (2014), *"Modern love: Comparative insights in online dating preferences and assortative mating."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
219. Mariska van der Horst (2014), *"Gender, aspirations, and achievements: Relating work and family aspirations to occupational outcomes."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
220. Gijs Huitsing (2014), *"A social network perspective on bullying"* ICS dissertation, Groningen
221. Thomas Kowalewski (2015), *"Personal growth in organizational contexts."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
222. Manuel Muñoz-Herrera (2015), *"The impact of individual differences on network relations: Social exclusion and inequality in productive exchange and coordination games."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
223. Tim Immerzeel (2015), *"Voting for a change: The democratic lure of populist radical right parties in voting behavior."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
224. Fernando Nieto Morales (2015), *"The control imperative: Studies on reorganization in the public and private sectors."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
225. Jellie Sierksma (2015), *"Bounded helping: How morality and intergroup relations shape children's reasoning about helping."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
226. Tinka Veldhuis (2015), *"Captivated by fear: An evaluation of terrorism detention policy."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
227. Miranda Visser (2015), *"Loyalty in humanity: Turnover among expatriate humanitarian aid workers."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
228. Sarah Westphal (2015), *"Are the kids alright? Essays on postdivorce residence arrangements and children's well-being."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
229. Britta Rüschoff (2015), *"Peers in careers: Peer relationships in the transition from school to work."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
230. Nynke van Miltenburg (2015), *"Cooperation under peer sanctioning institutions: Collective decisions, noise, and endogenous implementation."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
231. Antonie Knigge (2015), *"Sources of sibling similarity: Status attainment in the Netherlands during modernization."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
232. Sanne Smith (2015), *"Ethnic segregation in friendship networks: Studies of its determinants in English, German, Dutch, and Swedish school classes."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
233. Patrick Präg (2015), *"Social stratification and health: Four essays on social determinants of health and wellbeing."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
234. Wike Been (2015), *"European top managers' support for work-life arrangements"* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
235. André Grow (2016), *"Status differentiation: New insights from agent-based modeling and social network analysis."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
236. Jesper Rözer (2016), *"Family and personal networks: How a partner and children affect social relationships."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht

237. Kim Pattiselanno (2016), *"At your own risk: The importance of group dynamics and peer processes in adolescent peer groups for adolescents' involvement in risk behaviors."* ICS- dissertation, Groningen
238. Vincenz Frey (2016), *"Network formation and trust."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
239. Rozemarijn van der Ploeg (2016), *"Be a buddy, not a bully? Four studies on social and emotional processes related to bullying, defending, and victimization."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
240. Tali Spiegel (2016), *"Identity, career trajectories and wellbeing: A closer look at individuals with degenerative eye conditions."* ICS- dissertation, Groningen
241. Felix Christian Tropf (2016), *"Social science genetics and fertility."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
242. Sara Geven (2016), *"Adolescent problem behavior in school: The role of peer networks."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
243. Josja Rokven (2016), *"The victimization-offending relationship from a longitudinal perspective."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
244. Maja Djundeva (2016), *"Healthy ageing in context: Family welfare state and the life course."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
245. Mark Visser (2017), *"Inequality between older workers and older couples in the Netherlands: A dynamic life course perspective on educational and social class differences in the late career."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
246. Beau Oldenburg (2017), *"Bullying in schools: The role of teachers and classmates."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
247. Tatang Muttaqin (2017), *"The education divide in Indonesia: Four essays on determinants of unequal access to and quality of education."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
248. Margriet van Hek (2017), *"Gender inequality in educational attainment and reading performance: A contextual approach."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
249. Melissa Verhoef-van Dorp (2017), *"Work schedules, childcare and well-being: Essays on the associations between modern-day job characteristics, childcare arrangements and the well-being of parents and children."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
250. Timo Septer (2017), *"Goal priorities, cognition and conflict: Analyses of cognitive maps concerning organizational change."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
251. Bas Hofstra (2017), *"Online social networks: Essays on membership, privacy, and structure."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
252. Yassine Khoudja (2018), *"Women's labor market participation across ethnic groups: The role of household conditions, gender role attitudes, and religiosity in different national contexts."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
253. Joran Laméris (2018), *"Living together in diversity: Whether, why and where ethnic diversity affects social cohesion."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
254. Maaïke van der Vleuten (2018), *"Gendered Choices: Fields of study of adolescents in the Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
255. Mala Sondang Silitonga (2018), *"Corruption in Indonesia: The impact of institutional change, norms, and networks."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
256. Manja Coopmans (2018), *"Rituals of the past in the context of the present: The role of Remembrance Day and Liberation Day in Dutch society."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht

257. Paul Hindriks (2018), *"The struggle for power: Attitudes towards the political participation of ethnic minorities."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
258. Nynke Niezink (2018), *"Modeling the dynamics of networks and continuous behavior."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
259. Simon de Bruijn (2018), *"Reaching agreement after divorce and separation: Essays on the effectiveness of parenting plans and divorce mediation."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
260. Susanne van 't Hoff-de Goede (2018), *"While you were locked up: An empirical study on the characteristics, social surroundings and wellbeing of partners of prisoners in The Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
261. Loes van Rijsewijk (2018), *"Antecedents and consequences of helping among adolescents."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
262. Mariola Gremmen (2018), *"Social network processes and academic functioning: The role of peers in students' school well-being, academic engagement, and academic achievement."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
263. Jeanette Renema (2018), *"Immigrants' support for welfare spending: The causes and consequences of welfare usage and welfare knowledgeability."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
264. Suwatin Miharti (2018), *"Community health centers in Indonesia in the era of decentralization: The impact of structure, staff composition and management on health outcomes."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
265. Chaïm la Roi (2019), *"Stigma and stress: Studies on attitudes towards sexual minority orientations and the association between sexual orientation and mental health."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
266. Jelle Lössbroek (2019), *"Turning grey into gold: Employer-employee interplay in an ageing workforce."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
267. Nikki van Gerwen (2019), *"Employee cooperation through training: A multi-method approach."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
268. Paula Thijs (2019), *"Trends in cultural conservatism: The role of educational expansion, secularisation, and changing national contexts."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
269. Renske Verweij (2019), *"Understanding childlessness: Unravelling the link with genes and the socio-environment."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
270. Niels Blom (2019), *"Partner relationship quality under pressing work conditions: Longitudinal and cross-national investigation."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
271. Müge Simsek (2019), *"The dynamics of religion among native and immigrant youth in Western Europe."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
272. Leonie van Breeschoten (2019), *"Combining a career and childcare: The use and usefulness of work-family policies in European organizations."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
273. Roos van der Zwan (2019), *"The political representation of ethnic minorities and their vote choice."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
274. Ashwin Rambaran (2019), *"The classroom as context for bullying: A social network approach."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
275. Dieko Bakker (2019), *"Cooperation and social control: Effects of preferences, institutions, and social structure."* ICS dissertation, Groningen

276. Femke van der Werf (2019), *"Shadow of a rainbow? National and ethnic belonging in Mauritius."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
277. Robert Krause (2019), *"Multiple imputation for missing network data."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
278. Take Sipma (2020), *"Economic insecurity and populist radical right voting."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
279. Mathijs Kros (2020), *"The nature of negative contact: Studies on interethnic relations in Western societies."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
280. Lonneke van den Berg (2020), *"Time to leave: Individual and contextual explanations for the timing of leaving home."* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
281. Marianne Hooijsma (2020), *"Clashrooms: Interethnic peer relationships in schools."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
282. Marina Tulin (2020), *"Blind spots in social resource theory: Essays on the creation, maintenance and returns of social capital."* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
283. Tessa Kaufman (2020), *"Toward tailored interventions: Explaining, assessing, and preventing persistent victimization of bullying."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
284. Lex Thijssen (2020), *"Racial and ethnic discrimination in western labor markets: Empirical evidence from field experiments."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
285. Lukas Norbutas (2020), *"Trust on the dark web: An analysis of illegal online drug markets."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
286. Tomáš Diviák (2020), *"Criminal networks: Actors, mechanisms, and structures."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
287. Tery Setiawan (2020), *"Support for interreligious conflict in Indonesia."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
288. Vera de Bel (2020), *"The ripple effect in family networks: Relational structures and well-being in divorced and non-divorced families."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
289. Diego Palacios (2020), *"How context and the perception of peers' behaviors shape relationships in adolescence: A multiplex social network perspective."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
290. Saskia Glas (2020), *"Where are the Muslim Feminists? Religiosity and support for gender equality in the Arab region."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
291. Tomas Turner-Zwinkels (2020), *"A new macro-micro approach to the study of political careers: Theoretical, Methodological and empirical challenges and solutions."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
292. Lotte Scheeren (2020), *"Not on the same track? Tracking age and gender inequality in education."* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
293. Joris Broere (2020), *"Essays on how social network structure affects asymmetric coordination and trust."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
294. Marcus Kristiansen (2021), *"Contact with benefits: How social networks affect benefit receipt dynamics in the Netherlands."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
295. Judith Kas (2021), *"Trust and reputation in the peer-to-peer platform economy."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
296. Andrea Forster (2021), *"Navigating educational institutions: Mechanisms of educational inequality and social mobility in different educational systems."* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam

297. Jannes ten Berge (2021), *“Technological change and work: The relation between technology implementation within organizations and changes in workers’ employment.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
298. Jolien Geerlings (2021), *“Teaching in culturally diverse classrooms: The importance of dyadic relations between teachers and children.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
299. Kirsten van Houdt (2021), *“Stepfamilies in adulthood: Solidarity between parents and adult children.”* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
300. Suzanne de Leeuw (2021), *“The intergenerational transmission of educational attainment after divorce and remarriage.”* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
301. Fleur Goedkoop (2021), *“Involvement in bottom-up energy transitions: The role of local and contextual embeddedness.”* ICS dissertation, Groningen
302. Eva Vriens (2021), *“Mutualism in the 21st century: The why, when, and how behind successful risk-sharing institutions.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
303. Ardita Muja (2021), *“From school to work: The role of the vocational specificity of education in young people’s labor market integration.”* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
304. Siyang Kong (2021), *“Women and work in contemporary China: The effect of market transition on women’s employment, earnings, and status attainment.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
305. Marijn Keijzer (2022), *“Opinion dynamics in online social media.”* ICS dissertation, Groningen
306. Sander Kunst (2022), *“The educational divide in openness towards globalisation in Western Europe.”* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
307. Nella Geurts (2022), *“Puzzling pathways: The integration paradox among migrants in Western Europe.”* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
308. Dragana Stojmenovska (2022), *“Men’s place: The incomplete integration of women in workplace authority.”* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
309. Bram Hogendoorn (2022), *“Divorce and inequality: Stratification in the risk and consequences of union dissolution.”* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
310. Tom Nijs (2022), *“This place is ours: Collective psychological ownership and its social consequences.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
311. Nora Storz (2022), *“‘This land is ours—but is it also theirs?’ Collective ownership beliefs and reconciliation in territorial conflict regions.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
312. Tara Koster (2022), *“Parenting and fairness in diverse families.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
313. Danelien van Aalst (2022), *“Elements Contributing to Teachers’ Role in Bullying.”* ICS dissertation, Groningen
314. Wybren Nooitgedagt (2022), *“Who owns the country? Collective psychological ownership and intergroup relations in settler societies.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
315. Marija Dangubiaë (2022), *“Rejecting Muslim minority practices: Principles and prejudices.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
316. Sara Cvetkovska (2022), *“Lines in the shifting sand: The implications of being tolerated.”* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
317. Maaïke Hornstra (2022), *“Going beyond the dyad: Adult intergenerational closeness after divorce and remarriage.”* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam

- 318. Wouter Kiekens (2022), *"Sexual and gender minority youth's mental health and substance use: Disparities, mechanisms, and protective factors."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
- 319. Carlijn Bussemakers (2022), *"Adversity and educational inequality: The interplay between adverse experiences and parental resources for children's educational attainment."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
- 320. Evi Velthuis (2022), *"To tolerate or not to tolerate?' Reasons for tolerance of minority group practices among majority members in the Netherlands and Germany."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
- 321. Hendrik Nunner (2023), *"Co-evolution of social networks and infectious diseases."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
- 322. Carly van Mensvoort (2023), *"Inspiring leaders: An empirical study of female supervisors at work."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
- 323. Anne van der Put (2023), *"Healthy at work: The role of the work environment in worksite health promotion."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
- 324. Rowan ten Kate (2023), *"Understanding loneliness among older migrants."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
- 325. Sanne Kellij (2023), *"I see, I see what you don't see: Neural and behavioral social-cognitive processes underlying (persistent) victimization."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
- 326. Inge Hendriks (2023), *"Changes and contrasts in attitudes towards ethnic minorities."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
- 327. Eleonora Marucci (2023), *"Antecedents and consequences of teacher attunement in primary and secondary school classrooms."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
- 328. Kasper Otten (2023), *"Cooperation in changing groups: How newcomers and norms shape public good provision in the lab, online games, and the field."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
- 329. Carlos de Matos Fernandes (2023), *"In or out? The paradox of exclusionary mechanisms in keeping cooperation going."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
- 330. Ruohuang Jiao (2023), *"Reputation effects in peer-to-peer online markets: meta-analyses and laboratory experiments."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
- 331. Marlou Ramaekers (2024), *"Informal helping. Insights from a dyadic, family and societal perspective."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
- 332. Kim Stienstra (2024), *"Educational quality and inequality: The interplay between schools, families, and genes."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
- 333. Ece Arat (2024), *"Diverse stepfamilies: Parenting and children's well-being."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
- 334. Christian Fang (2024), *"Family life in postdivorce families."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
- 335. Vera Buijs (2024), *"Close relationships and subjective well-being: A life course perspective on social needs, relations, and interactions."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
- 336. Twan Huijsmans (2024), *"Our place in politics: Urban-rural divergence and how place affects political attitudes."* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
- 337. Thomas Teekens (2024), *"Sustainable collaboration in care: Joint production motivation and interprofessional learning in an interorganizational network."* ICS dissertation, Groningen

338. Ana Macanovia (2024), *"Trust in the shadows: The role of communication in extra-legal contexts."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
339. Christoph Janietz (2024), *"Inequality at work: Occupations, organizations, and the wage distribution."* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
340. Philipp Schneider (2024), *"Social Influence and the Energy Transition: Leveraging social networks and norms."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
341. Nick Wuestenenk (2024), *"Support for sexual liberalization among ethnic majorities and minorities in Europe: The role of social norms in the public expression of opinions."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
342. Renae Sze Ming Loh (2024), *"Copy Paste? Digital skills, social reproduction, and social mobility in education."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
343. Klara Raiber (2024), *"Beyond sacrifice? Long-term employment consequences of providing unpaid care."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
344. Sofie Lorijn (2024), *"Peer relationships in the transition from primary to secondary education."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
345. Xingna Qin (2024), *"In connection – The role of peers, parents, and teachers in adolescent friendship dynamics."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
346. Echo Teng Li (2024), *"Simulation models of the collective consequences of bounded rationality in opinion formation in networks: Cases of market concentration and vaccination opinion polarization."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
347. Thomas Feliciani (2025), *"Divided spaces and divided opinions: Modeling the impact of residential segregation on opinion polarization."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
348. Thijmen Jeroense (2025), *"Social network segregation: Studies on network homogeneity in sociodemographic characteristics and political attitudes."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
349. Dieuwke Zwier (2025), *"Rhythms of class: Socio-economic disparities and peer dynamics in secondary school choice."* ICS dissertation, Amsterdam
350. Lian van Vemde (2025), *"Creating inclusive societies: Fostering belonging and positive intergroup relations in culturally diverse classrooms."* ICS dissertation, Utrecht
351. Rob Franken (2025), *"Social networks and sports participation: The interplay of selection and influence processes."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
352. Julian Rengers (2025), *"Selective disclosure at work: Lesbian, gay, and bisexual employees' disclosure decisions, motivations, and approaches."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
353. Sara Wiertsema (2025), *"Young adults in motion: Understanding the impact of the school-to-work transition on sports and physical activity."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
354. Sofie Wiersma (2025), *"Imprints at work: How the pasts of organizations and leaders shape workplace precarity and inequality."* ICS dissertation, Groningen
355. Tessa Ubels (2025), *"Stuck in migration: Pathways to social change and well-being for people on the move and the role of psychosocial support."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
356. Katrin Müller (2025), *"Shifting perspectives: majority members' perceptions of the prevalence of ethno-racial minority discrimination."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen
357. Maikel Meijeren (2026), *"Helping those in need: volunteering for humanitarian organizations and for refugees."* ICS dissertation, Nijmegen

Volunteering is defined as unpaid work, without any obligations, for the benefit of others and/or society. Embedded within this definition, volunteering for humanitarian organizations and for refugees represents a unique type of volunteering. First, these volunteers typically do not volunteer for the benefit of in-group members, but rather for members who are perceived by many to belong to out-groups or newcomers. Second, this type of volunteering is thought to be influenced by societal events more than other types of volunteering. Third, these volunteers have the potential to fulfil a bridge function in society, being middle (wo-)men between host society and newcomers.

This dissertation offers new insights into volunteering for humanitarian organizations and for refugees. In doing so, it consists of two parts. In part one, I aim to shed light on the bigger picture by examining volunteering for humanitarian organizations across the Dutch population, answering the question: who volunteers for humanitarian organizations in the Netherlands? In part two, I take a closer look by studying dynamics in volunteering for refugees within one refugee aid organization, with the question: what are motivations to start and (dis)continue volunteering for refugees at VluchtelingenWerk Nederland? With regard to question one, I conclude that we cannot assume that humanitarian organizations (always) know 'who' their volunteers are. There is much volunteer turnover, as voluntary careers within a single organization are more likely to be short-term. However, there is a sufficient inflow of new volunteers to compensate for the large outflow. Concerning question two, most people are motivated to volunteer for refugees because of feelings of compassion. Moreover, when these volunteers are treated as professionals by the organization they volunteer for, they are more likely to continue. Vice versa, organizational deficiencies and personal circumstances result in people quitting volunteering for refugees.

Maikel Meijeren (1990) obtained a Bachelor's degree in Sociology and an Extended Master's Degree in Sociology at Tilburg University. He conducted the present study at the Interuniversity Centre for Social Science Theory and Methodology (ICS) and the department of Sociology at Radboud University Nijmegen. His research is part of the transdisciplinary SCOOP research program on sustainable cooperation. He currently works as a postdoctoral researcher on topics in volunteering and civil society at the Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University Rotterdam.