Philine Sophia Martina van Overbeeke

Appreciating What Matters:

The many dimensions of volunteer value

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Waarderen wat telt:
de verschillende facetten van vrijwilligerswaarde

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Volunteering is something I grew up with. Many of my family members and friends have been volunteering since I was little. Sometimes, I even joke that my first time as a volunteer was when I was only two years old. Even though the value of volunteering was instilled in me from a very young age, I never expected that I would write a dissertation about it. I am not one of those people who have long dreamed of being an academic. It was not even on my radar until my supervisor invited me to be a research assistant in 2016. This was the first step on a long journey of teaching and research on the nonprofit and volunteering sector. In 2016, I wrote my Master's thesis on volunteering and, despite strong advice to find a different topic for my dissertation, I decided to continue this line of research. Along the way, this has sometimes led to frustration, but mostly to many wonderful conversations about volunteering.

One enjoyable aspect of this topic is that almost everyone I encounter either volunteers or knows someone who does. I cannot count the number of times I have heard comments like "Oh, that is so interesting. We should talk!" and "Maybe you should talk to my mom about this." This happened in hostels during my travels (I had a wonderful conversation about volunteering in the Kibbutz), my gym when working out, and even at the beauty salon while getting my nails done (the nail stylist's mother had started volunteering after retirement). This illustrates just how deeply the concept of volunteering is embedded within our society. As I also noticed, however, conversations about the value of volunteering and the nonprofit sector quickly gravitate to discussions of money: how nonprofit CEOs are earning too much, how it might be better for everyone in the sector to work for free, how ethical (or unethical) it is for some volunteers to be paid for their work, and even how volunteers take away paid jobs and how unfair this is. In almost all cases, I have been able to convince my conversational partners that there is a lot more to it. The value of volunteers and volunteering is *not* purely about numbers or money. It can be social as well, and some jobs simply *need* to be done by volunteers in order to create that value. With this dissertation, I hope to add to the debate on this topic, both in academia and practice.

1.1 Volunteers and paid staff in nonprofit organizations

Who is a volunteer?

"Oh, well, if *that* is volunteering, I am actually a volunteer as well!" One of my students exclaimed this when we were discussing different types of volunteering during a lecture. For most people, it is quite clear when someone is a paid staff member: the individual has a contract with an organization to perform services in exchange for an established wage. In contrast, volunteering can take many forms, and what is (or is not) considered volunteering differs by country, context and even individual. This dissertation follows the proposition by Cnaan and colleagues (1996) that perceptions of what is considered volunteering exist on a continuum along four dimensions (see Table 1.1).

Table 1.1

Interpretations of Volunteering (based on Cnaan et al., 1996)

	Strict definition		Broad definition
Freedom of choice	Free will	⟷	Obligation
Remuneration	None	⟷	Stipend/low pay
Structure	Formal	⟷	Informal
Intended beneficiaries	Others/strangers	⟷	Self (as well)

The first dimension is freedom of choice, which ranges from free will to being obliged to volunteer. The latter requires a bit more explanation. While volunteering has traditionally been seen as something a person does with full freedom of choice, recent decades have shown a rise in situations where volunteering is obligatory or semi-obligatory. For example, in certain countries, people are required to volunteer as a condition for receiving government benefits. Some sports organizations require members (or their parents) to put in volunteering hours to benefit the club (e.g., staffing the canteen, driving children to games, refereeing). In corporations, employees might feel pressured by social standards or peer pressure to participate in corporate volunteering projects, especially if these activities are organized from the top down for the purpose of team building or skills development. Moreover, in certain religions, traditions of performing voluntary service are perceived by some to be obligations as well.

A second dimension is remuneration, ranging from none at all to stipends or low pay. The third concerns the structure of the volunteer work, ranging from formal (through a nonprofit or other organization) to informal (e.g., helping a neighbor with groceries). The fourth and final dimension has to do with the intended beneficiaries, who can be strangers, close friends/family, or even volunteers themselves. As presented in Table 1.1, the strictest definition of volunteer would be an activity that is performed out of

free will, with no form of renumeration at all, formally organized, with the intent of benefitting others/strangers.

The definition used in this dissertation falls somewhere between the strictest and broadest definition of volunteering. The focus is restricted to formal volunteering, examining only forms of volunteering that are coordinated by an organization. Regarding the other three dimensions, however, I follow the broader definition of volunteering. More specifically, I also consider instances in which individuals are obliged to volunteer (e.g., in Chapters 2 and 4). Chapter 2 also covers examples of stipend volunteering. As I suggest in Chapters 2 and 5, some forms of value to volunteers themselves could be regarded as remuneration. Similarly, as described in Chapters 2, 4, and 5, volunteers can also be seen as benefitting from the value created by volunteering and/or the experience of being a volunteer.

How do volunteers differ from paid staff?

Although they are similar in many ways, volunteers and paid staff differ in terms of their relationships with the organizations where perform their work, the beneficiaries of their efforts, and potential donors, based on several inter-related components. These differences can be observed in many aspects, including psychological contracts, remuneration and freedom of choice (Metz et al., 2017). Paid staff receive a salary for performing their tasks, and their freedom of choice is relatively limited, at least to the extent that their livelihoods depend on the organizations for whom they work. In contrast, according to the strict interpretation of volunteering (see Cnaan et al., 1996) a volunteer receives no renumeration and has complete freedom of choice. Moreover, while paid staff often rely on a transactional psychological contract, volunteers tend to place greater emphasis on a relational and even value-based psychological contract (Metz et al., 2017). As a result of these differences, volunteers are perceived by beneficiaries, donors, and society as fundamentally different from paid staff. Moreover, volunteers actually engage with these stakeholders and the organizations for which they volunteer in different ways, and this also influences the hierarchical relationships within these organizations (Pearce, 1993).

A different perspective on these differences was ushered in with the growth of third-party volunteering (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010). In third-party arrangements, volunteers are sent to a host organization (in most cases, a nonprofit) by a sending organization. The sending organization could be a business (corporate volunteering), a governmental entity (welfare volunteering), or an educational institution (service learning). In the case of corporate volunteering, the volunteers are also employees. In such settings, the differences between volunteers and paid staff as described above are blurred, particularly when considering the unique value created by volunteers. They also introduce new players to the field, along with new value recipients, as the two

organizations involved (Brudney et al., 2019; van Overbeeke et al., 2022) both stand to share in the created value (see also Chapters 2 and 3).

Volunteer value creation

Volunteer value is often described in financial terms. Organizations use a cost-saving framework to decide whether to assign certain positions or tasks to volunteers or paid staff. When volunteers and paid staff are interchangeable, it is relatively easy to calculate the financial value of volunteers (Chapters 2 and 3 discuss multiple methods of doing so). These calculations take a certain monetary value as a proxy for the volunteer hours donated. When volunteers and paid staff are not interchangeable, however, money is no longer a good proxy for describing volunteer value. Nonprofit managers and volunteer coordinators must therefore define other ways to accentuate the importance of volunteers to their organizations.

1.2 Research questions and main contributions of this dissertation

This dissertation consists of a collection of related essays that contribute to the existing body of research on volunteerism, volunteering, and volunteer management, approached from the perspective of value creation. The over-arching research question is as follows: *"How do volunteers create value?"* The essays in this dissertation examine various ways in which volunteers create added value for nonprofit organizations, as well as for their beneficiaries, communities, society and even themselves.

Academic contributions

In exploring the research question, I make multiple contributions to the current literature.

Framework shift from replacement cost to added value. The dissertation provides an overview of volunteer-created value, as positioned at three levels — micro (individual), meso (organizational), and macro (societal) — with multiple beneficiaries. This breakdown reveals that volunteers create many types of value for different types of recipients, thereby going beyond cost-saving frameworks. More specifically, indirect service volunteers can add value for organizations relating to three broad themes: the complementary value of volunteering, the supplementary value of volunteers, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering. I present a conceptual model of volunteer-added value, along with factors that drive this value. Based on this analysis, I argue that research on volunteer management should shift the focus away from cost savings and paid staff replacement toward value-added decision making. *Chapters 2 and 3*.

Attention to the neglected areas and recipients of volunteer-added value. In this dissertation, I identify multiple areas and recipients of volunteer-added value that have thus far been neglected in both research and practice. With the objective of drawing greater attention

to these aspects, the essays in this dissertation propose strategies for avoiding situations that can prevent or diminish the realization of volunteer-added value. In addition, the essays suggest 'new' recipients of volunteer-added value, thereby introducing the concept of value appropriation. I further conceptualize the understanding of specific recipients (in the case of volunteer tourism) and how value might be different for them. *Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5.*

New questions for volunteer research and management, specifically in mixed staff organizations. I propose that volunteers can change the added value of an intervention for beneficiaries and that they can also add value without having any direct contact with beneficiaries. I further propose that, as individuals, different volunteers can produce both different and similar types of value for themselves and communities. These propositions raise new questions for volunteering researchers and managers. *Chapters 2, 3, 4, and 5.*

Practical implications

The findings and conclusions presented in this dissertation can serve as a source of information for practitioners, including nonprofit boards and managers, volunteer coordinators, and policymakers.

First, such knowledge could help nonprofit organizations working with both volunteers and paid staff decide when to activate volunteers and when to rely on paid staff. More specifically, Chapters 2 and 3 provide insight into the value that volunteers can add to an organization. For certain tasks (e.g., fundraising, organizing local events), better outcomes could be achieved by mobilizing volunteers instead of paid staff. In addition, the knowledge presented in this dissertation concerning the necessity of volunteers within an organization could be particularly useful for volunteer coordinators who need to defend their positions. It also provides arguments that policymakers could use to show the importance of volunteers for society, potentially making the case for certain types of third-party volunteering as well. Furthermore, by highlighting the difference between added and unique volunteer value, this dissertation advances the discussion on displacement between volunteers and paid staff.

Multiple chapters of this dissertation could influence and strengthen the debate about inclusiveness in volunteering. More specifically, they highlight the importance of this debate and present strategies that could help practitioners (specifically those acting as primary gatekeepers in third-party volunteering) take the first steps toward making volunteering more inclusive. The dissertation could also help practitioners and policymakers reflect on volunteer tourism by describing how it can create negative value and presenting ideas that could potentially mitigate this issue.

Finally, this dissertation has the potential to increase the value of volunteering for individuals, organizations, and society. The explanation of what the value is and how it

is created is an important step toward optimizing the efficiency of nonprofit organizations by balancing the combination of volunteers and paid staff. Moreover, as presented throughout the dissertation, the strategies for making volunteering more inclusive represent an initial step toward allowing more people to create value, thus generating more value within society.

1.3 Outline of the dissertation

In this section, I outline the remaining chapters of the dissertation, each of which constitutes a separate manuscript investigating specific aspects of volunteer value. An overview of topics and research designs is provided in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2

Overview of dissertation chapters

	Chapter 2	**Chapter 3**	**Chapter 4**	**Chapter 5**
Research question/topic	How do volunteers create value for different recipients?	How do indirect service volunteers create value for nonprofit organizations?	How can third parties make volunteering more inclusive?	Differences in value creation by diasporans and non-diasporans in volunteer tourism.
Level	Micro Meso Macro	Micro Meso	Meso Macro	Micro Macro
Design	Empirical	Empirical Conceptual	Empirical	Conceptual
Data collection	Integrative literature review PRISMA 145 articles	Participatory focus groups 8 groups 70 participants	Semi-structured and vignette interviews 18 interviews 15 participants	N/A
Data analysis	Quantitative Deductive Inductive analysis	Inductive thematic analysis	Deductive and inductive analysis	N/A

Chapter 2 provides an integrative review on the broader topic of volunteer value creation. By reviewing 145 articles, I identify types of value that volunteers create for recipients at differing levels: micro (individual), meso (organizational), and macro (societal). At the micro level, volunteers create value for themselves (e.g., personal development, social capital), their beneficiaries (e.g., different and better interventions and services through trust, genuine relationships), and the paid staff with whom they work (e.g., reduced workload). At the meso-level, volunteers create value for the

organization in which they perform their volunteer tasks (i.e., the 'host organization'). Examples include cost-savings, improved services and impact, and enhanced legitimacy. In cases of third-party volunteering, a sending organization is involved as well (e.g., a company in the case of corporate volunteering or a university in the case of service learning). Volunteers also create value for sending organizations (e.g., higher levels of organizational commitment behavior and reputation enhancement). At the macro level, I identify multiple forms of value creation by volunteers at two levels (e.g., greater community engagement at the community level and increased social trust at the societal level). Chapter 2 contributes to the volunteering literature by creating a broad overview of volunteer value creation. More specifically, by positioning this process at three levels, it opens new routes for approaching future research on this topic. It further identifies important under-researched topics concerning value recipients, value distributions, and multi-level value. Finally, the review suggests that volunteers can generate unique value, as compared to paid staff.

Chapter 3 further investigates the proposition from Chapter 2 that volunteers and paid staff can create different types of value. Focusing on the micro and meso level, this chapter examines the value of volunteers for a large charity organization. Drawing on existing literature, I argue that, due to the fundamental contrast between volunteers and paid staff in terms of remuneration and freedom of choice, volunteers are perceived differently (e.g., by nonprofit organizations and their beneficiaries and potential donors). This also means that they interact differently with these stakeholders. The unique position of volunteers can allow them to add unique value for an organization, in addition to providing an additional pair of hands. This chapter goes beyond the monetization of volunteer labor — an approach that is dominant in the organizational perspective — to define a broader perspective on the creation of added value. Information obtained from eight focus groups with volunteers and paid staff within a large charitable organization in the Netherlands reveals three overarching themes of value: the complementary value of volunteering, the supplementary value of volunteers, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering. Each of these themes has implications for the assignment of tasks within nonprofit organizations. More specifically, it could facilitate decisions concerning when and where to place volunteers and paid staff to maximize efficiency. The findings advance the debate concerning the interchangeability of volunteers and paid staff and demonstrates that the value that volunteers create for their organizations goes well beyond staff substitution.

Chapter 4 provides a closer examination of the meso and macro levels. Volunteering is important for multiple reasons at the individual and societal levels (Chapter 2), and diversity is often mentioned as an important driver of volunteer value for nonprofit organizations (Chapters 2 and 3). Because volunteering is not accessible to all

individuals in society, however, the full potential value of volunteering is not being realized. This chapter addresses inclusion and exclusion within the context of volunteering, with a focus on "sending organizations" in dual volunteer management. In such situations, a "sending organization" (e.g., a corporation or school) organizes volunteer opportunities for its participants in a "receiving organization," in which the volunteer service is performed. The chapter identifies the crucial role played by gatekeepers in sending organizations in terms of including and excluding volunteers in receiving organizations. Information obtained from semi-structured and vignette interviews is presented to identify three strategies for sending-gatekeepers in third-party models of volunteering to enhance volunteer inclusion: encouraging, enabling, and enforcing.

Chapter 5 is a conceptual comparative essay on the relative value of diasporic and non-diasporic volunteer tourism at the micro and macro levels. It provides a detailed examination of a specific field and context that deserves more attention, as noted in Chapter 2 of this dissertation. Volunteer tourism is a form of third-party volunteering, in which tourists combine vacation with volunteering abroad. According to existing literature, volunteer tourists are predominantly young, white women (non-diasporans) travelling from the Global North to the Global South. During their time as volunteers, they create value. The value that they create for themselves and the sending organization is largely positive, while the value they create for the host organization and its beneficiaries is largely negative. This chapter provides a conceptual identification of the types of positive and negative value that might change when volunteer tourists are diasporans. To date, only limited attention has been devoted to diasporans travelling to their countries of heritage to volunteer. This chapter formulates a research agenda concerning how the value created by volunteer tourists might be different for this specific group of volunteers.

Chapter 6 is the final chapter of this dissertation, in which I formulate conclusions based on the preceding chapters. In addition, I discuss the academic contributions and practical implications of the research presented throughout the dissertation. Finally, I suggest avenues for future research.

1.4 Declaration of contributions

In this section, I declare my individual contribution to the chapters of this dissertation and acknowledge the contributions of others, where relevant.

Chapter 1. I performed most of the work for this chapter independently. Feedback on a full draft version provided by the supervisor and co-supervisor has been implemented in the final version.

Chapter 2. I performed the majority of the work for this chapter. I formulated the research question, developed the search query and selection criteria, conducted the main portion of data analysis, and wrote the manuscript. During this process, I received help from a research assistant regarding data analysis, and I implemented feedback on the manuscript provided by my supervisors, my writing group, and participants in PhD workshops and conference sessions in which the chapter was presented.

Chapter 3. This chapter was co-authored by Prof. Lucas C. P. M. Meijs and Dr. Corinna Frey-Heger. I was the lead author and performed the majority of the work for this chapter. I formulated the research question, developed the data-collection strategy, conducted the main portion of data collection, performed the data analysis, and wrote the majority of the manuscript. During this process, I implemented feedback on the manuscript provided by my supervisors, my writing group, and participants in PhD workshops and conference sessions in which the chapter was presented.

Chapter 4. This chapter was co-authored by Dr. Stephanie A. Koolen-Maas, Prof. Lucas C. P. M. Meijs, and Prof. Jeffery L. Brudney.[1] I was the lead author of this chapter and performed most of the work independently. I formulated the research question, co-developed the data-analysis strategy, conducted the main portion of data collection, performed the data analysis, and wrote a large part of the manuscript. During this process, I implemented feedback on the manuscript provided by my co-authors and participants in PhD workshops and conference sessions in which the chapter was presented. This chapter has been published in a leading academic nonprofit journal. The full reference is as follows: van Overbeeke, P. S. M., Koolen-Maas, S. A., Meijs, L. C. P. M., & Brudney, J. L. (2021). You shall (not) pass: Strategies for third-party gatekeepers to enhance volunteer inclusion. *VOLUNTAS, 33*, 33–45.

Chapter 5. This chapter was co-authored by Malika Ouacha. I was invited to write this chapter for the edited volume in which it is published. I wrote the original outline for the chapter and contributed equally to the main text with the co-author, providing the volunteer value angle and the non-diasporic perspective, in addition to co-developing the argumentation. During this process, we implemented feedback on the manuscript provided by our supervisor and participants in conference sessions in which the chapter was presented. This chapter has been published in a book on global civil society. The full reference is as follows: van Overbeeke, P. S. M. & Ouacha, M. (2022). The value of diasporic cross-border philanthropy and voluntourism. In: Fowler, A, & K. Biekart (eds.). *A Research Agenda for Civil Society* (pp.173–187). Elgar Books.

[1] Sadly, my mentor and co-author Jeff Brudney passed away during the revision process of this manuscript. He is dearly missed.

Chapter 6. I performed most of the work in this chapter independently. Feedback on a full draft version provided by the supervisor and co-supervisor has been implemented in the final version.

Chapter 2

An Integrative Review Exploring Value Creation by Volunteering and Volunteers

2.1 Introduction

The value created by volunteers is extremely important to contemporary society. Volunteers are being increasingly relied upon by organizations, individuals, and communities. Imagine a world without volunteers. This would change the number of free services we receive, the fees we pay for associational life, the culture of activism, and the response time and hands available during times of crises (e.g., pandemics, natural disasters). Perhaps more importantly, it would change the ways in which we perceive and value these services, both positively and negatively. Some services are perceived differently when they are performed by volunteers (e.g., Ronel, 2006; Hoogervorst et al., 2016). Paid activism is not the same as volunteer activism, and a paid coach is not the same as a volunteer coach who is also the parent of one of the young players.

The discourse on volunteer value has developed over the years. Within this discourse, however, scholars have used a wide variety of terms to describe what they mean by value connected to volunteering. Researchers commonly use words with a positive connotation (e.g., benefit, advantage), as well as those with a negative connotation (e.g., disadvantage, challenge). Moreover, scholars have investigated the value created by volunteers for different groups of recipients of that value. Volunteer value can be found at the micro level (for individuals), the meso level (organizations), and the macro level (society), and it can range from increased well-being to civic learning and from higher organizational impact to societal solidarity (e.g., Afkhami et al. 2019; McBride et al., 2012). In this sense, scholars in various disciplines have found that volunteers create value for multiple value recipients at a variety of levels (e.g., Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010). Researchers further adopt different ways of expressing the value created by volunteers (e.g., in financial or social terms). For the purposes of this research, I define

volunteer value as follows: *the financial and social value that is created by volunteers when they perform their volunteer work, which is received or appropriated by certain individuals, organizations, or society* (definition constructed as suggested by Bacq & Aguilera, 2022).

In recent decades, new trends in volunteering and society have changed the ways in which civil societies are experiencing volunteer value. As a result of this pluralization (Hustinx et al., 2012) of volunteering, in addition to engaging in traditional forms of volunteering, people are currently more likely to choose volunteer opportunities of an episodic character (Cnaan et al., 2022) and to find roles in organizations that "fit their biography" (Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003). Traditionally, formal volunteering has taken place within volunteer-involving organizations (e.g., nonprofit organizations that directly recruit and guide their own volunteers). More recently, however, other actors (e.g., government agencies, businesses, and educational institutes) have increasingly become involved in volunteering. In the literature, this phenomenon is referred to as "third-party volunteering" (Haski-Leventhal., 2010). Examples include corporate volunteering, in which employers allow their employees to volunteer during working hours, and service learning, in which students volunteer to achieve learning goals embedded within higher-educational curricula (see e.g., Brudney et al., 2019; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010). In these examples, the volunteer-involving organizations are referred to as "receiving" or "host organizations," and the corporations or institutions of higher education are known as "sending organizations."

The introduction of third-party volunteering has also added new actors (sending organizations) to the equation in terms of value creation. In addition to potentially creating value, these sending organizations might also receive value from the volunteering they support. These third parties often have instrumental (or other) goals of their own (e.g., team building through corporate volunteering), thereby creating value for the volunteers they send to the volunteer-involving organizations (Koolen-Maas et al., 2023) and potentially making volunteering more inclusive (van Overbeeke et al., 2022). At the same time, however, they might also (perhaps unintendedly) appropriate any value that is created for themselves, rather than for the intended recipients of that value (e.g., the beneficiaries of the nonprofit organization).

Considering the plethora of terms used to describe value, the changing volunteering landscape, and the growing range of value recipients/appropriators, it is necessary to create a new integrative framework or overview of value creation across the various levels of value recipients. A holistic framework is even more important, given that most of the current literature focuses on specific types of value (e.g., how volunteering improves health), specific recipients (e.g., volunteers), or specific terms for describing value (e.g., benefits). In this article, I explore and synthesize various types of value creation at multiple levels through an integrative literature review focusing on the following research question: *How do volunteers create value for different types of value recipients?*

According to an analysis of 145 articles, value creation by volunteers is a widely researched and the broad landscape spans many disciplines, albeit with some interesting uncharted territory still remaining. By answering the research question, this article makes five important contributions to the current literature. First, the development of a broad overview of volunteer value creation for different types of recipients could be beneficial to other researchers. The overview reveals a wealth of current knowledge on regular or traditional volunteering, programmatic volunteering, and direct service volunteering. At the same time, it identifies avenues for future research on special forms of volunteering, including membership volunteering, activist volunteering, and indirect service volunteering. Second, the review highlights a considerable body of knowledge on the positive side of value creation and opens pathways toward research on negative volunteer value, including questions regarding value distribution and the possibility of value appropriation. Third, by positioning value creation at three levels (micro, meso, macro), this review opens new routes for approaching research on volunteer value creation, as it clearly distinguishes the variety of value recipients and the broad range of value created. It also identifies a skewed distribution in research in favor of the micro level and, more specifically, value that is created for individual volunteers themselves. More attention could be paid to the other value recipients at the micro level (e.g., beneficiaries and paid co-workers), as well as at the meso and macro levels. Moreover, the review demonstrates that most research focuses on a single level, thus pointing to a need for research on multi-level value and the interconnectedness of the levels and recipients. Fourth, current research often focuses on value created by volunteers as "unpaid employees." As suggested by the results of this research, studies should also investigate the unique value of volunteers as compared to paid staff, given that volunteers bring unique sets of values that go beyond the absence of a need to be paid. Fifth, the review exposes a skewed distribution of research on the creation of volunteer value. More specifically, the literature is one-sided in terms of a narrow focus on the Global North. This highlights a need for comparative research between countries and cultures. Taken together, this could open new pathways for future research, including value creation for beneficiaries, sending organizations, and society, especially in the Global South.

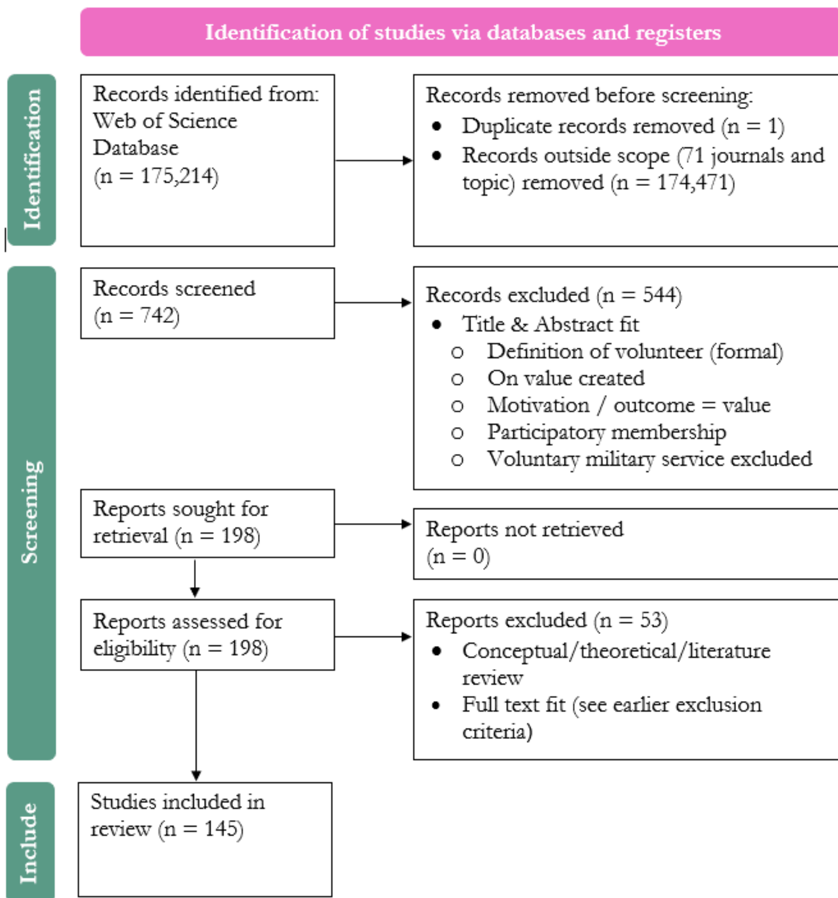
This article is structured as follows. I start by describing my methodology and explaining my search strategy, selection criteria, and analytic process. Thereafter, I report my findings, present a discussion, and outline a future research agenda.

2.2 Methodology

The research was designed as an integrative literature review aimed at providing a "holistic conceptualization and synthesis of the literature" (Toracco, 2016, p. 357). This format also made it possible to problematize certain gaps in the current literature. The scope of this review comprises volunteer value creation for the various recipients of this value at the micro (individual), meso (organizational), and macro (societal) levels. The review is structured according to the PRISMA (Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses) framework (see Figure 1). In subsequent sections, I explain my search strategy, selection criteria, and method of data analysis.

Figure 2.1

PRISMA flow chart (see Page et al., 2020)



Search strategy (identification)

The review targeted 71 peer-reviewed journals that are regarded as having high impact in the nonprofit (Andersson & Walk, 2020) and business (FT 50, 2021) sectors, covering a variety of disciplines, including nonprofit management, public management, social work, human resource management, general management, and multi-disciplinary research. The search was performed solely through Web of Science, as all these journals appear in that database. I constructed a Boolean search string combining the keyword "volunteering" with a variety of keywords that have previously been used to describe the concept of value, in both the positive and the negative sense: *Volunteer* AND (Valu* OR Benefit OR Impact OR Result OR Effect OR Advantage OR Worth OR Quality OR Cost OR Disadvantage OR Loss OR Contribution OR Challenge OR Gift OR Return)*. This search string is intentionally limited regarding keywords and synonyms, as it does not include keywords that could possibly describe acts of volunteering without mentioning the term "volunteer" (e.g., crowdsourcing, participation, and citizenship). This was done to maintain clarity of focus. Even after the addition of many synonyms and careful consultation and deliberation, the keywords used to describe value in the search string might still exclude articles by scholars using different words to describe value. To minimize this risk, I deliberately asked for feedback from other scholars in the field[2] concerning the term "value" at academic presentations, and they confirmed my selected keywords and suggested additional ones, which led to the final Boolean search string.

Selection (screening)

An initial search in all fields yielded 175,214 articles. This number was greatly reduced (to 743 articles) after selecting only the articles in the above-mentioned journals and on the topic of volunteer value creation. The main reason for these exclusions was the overwhelming number of medical articles on experiments with volunteers (test subjects) measuring certain values (e.g., blood, hormone levels). In the remaining articles, only one duplicate was found. After eliminating the duplicate, 742 articles were ultimately reviewed for selection based on title and abstract, according to four selection criteria. First, only articles on formal volunteering were selected. Second, I regarded motivations to volunteer as individual value creation, and I thus selected articles addressing this topic. Third, only empirical research papers were selected, thereby ensuring that only evidence-based research would be included. For example, these criteria were applied to exclude articles focusing on voluntary military service and membership, as well as review or conceptual articles. This resulted in a final sample of 198 articles for the analysis.

Analysis

The selected articles were analyzed deductively (quantitative findings) and inductively

[2] I am grateful to all scholars who discussed this with me during conferences, PhD seminars, and individual conversations.

(qualitative findings) through an iterative process, in which I moved back and forth between the selected papers. This process resulted in the elimination of 53 articles that did not meet the criteria after reading the full text. This left a total of 145 articles for consideration in this review. I started by coding the articles based on several general descriptive characteristics. These included methodological approach (qualitative, quantitative, mixed), theoretical lens (if mentioned early in the article), year of publication, journal, and the geographical location of the volunteer work studied, as this is where the value is created.

I then coded a set of volunteer-specific details, including host organization (the organization in which the volunteering took place). For this characteristic, I distinguished between mutual support/benefit, service delivery, and campaigning/advocacy organizations (Handy, 1988; Meijs, 1997). Most mutual support/benefit organizations are associations in which members offer services to other members (e.g., field hockey clubs, chess clubs, Alcoholics Anonymous). Service delivery organizations usually offer services to clients outside the organization (e.g., Meals on Wheels, UNICEF, youth care organizations). Examples of campaigning and advocacy nonprofit organizations are Greenpeace and Extinction Rebellion. When applicable, I coded sending organizations (see Brudney et al., 2019; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010; van Overbeeke et al., 2022) following different categories (e.g., corporations, universities, governments agencies). I also coded volunteer roles, differentiating between direct service volunteers and indirect service/support volunteers. Direct service volunteers work in contact with their beneficiaries (e.g., youth mentoring, elderly care), while indirect service volunteers do not (e.g., board membership, fundraising) (Hartenian, 2007). The fourth volunteer-specific characteristic was the type of volunteer, which was coded according to whether the article focuses on volunteers as an overarching, homogenous group or whether it investigates a specific subgroup (e.g., students, elderly people, migrants). Finally, special forms of volunteering (e.g., stipend volunteering, episodic volunteering) were coded, if applicable (e.g., Moor et al., 2011; Compion et al., 2021).

The final category to be coded consisted of value-specific details, which refer to the level and expression of value. Focusing on the level of value, I followed the suggestions of Austin and Seitanidi (2012a; 2012b) and of Studer and von Schnurbein (2013) and coded the micro level as individual, the meso level as organizational, and the macro level as societal. Multiple value recipients or appropriators can exist within a given level. At the micro level, I distinguish between volunteers, beneficiaries, and paid co-workers of the volunteer. The meso level consists of both the sending and host organizations. For the macro level I distinguish between value for society at large and for smaller communities (people who live in the same place or share certain characteristics, such as a neighborhood or the LGBTQIA+ community). Value expression was coded as

either financial or non-financial. The 'direction' of the value was coded as well: positive (i.e., beneficial) or negative (i.e., destructive). The specific value created by volunteering, as mentioned in the articles, were coded inductively, and then grouped in overarching value themes based on thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

2.3 Findings

The coding process yielded both descriptive and qualitative findings. This section begins with a description of the quantitative findings, including descriptive statistics, volunteer-specific details, and value-specific details. This is followed by a discussion of the qualitative findings regarding specific types of volunteer value created for recipients at the micro, meso, and macro levels.

Quantitative findings

An overview of the quantitative findings of this review is presented in the section below, including descriptive information (e.g., journal, year of publication, methods, theoretical framing, and geographic location). I also discuss volunteer-specific details (e.g., type of sending and host organization, type of volunteer and volunteer task, and specific forms of volunteering) and value-specific details (e.g., the level at which the value is found and whether it is considered positive or negative, and social or financial).

Descriptive information

As expected, most studies on volunteer value creation have been published in leading nonprofit journals, including *Voluntas* (49), *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* (41), *Nonprofit Management & Leadership* (10), and *Voluntary Sector Review* (10). Others were published in a variety of journals in the fields of management, public administration, and social work (35). The earliest publication included in this review is from 1992. The topic has seen a relatively steady increase in scholarly attention, with an upswing around 2009 and a stronger increase in published articles from 2016 onwards. As indicated by the data, most research on this topic has been performed in the past five (69/145 publications) to ten years (117/145 publications), as of early 2022.

About half of the studies (70) are based on a quantitative approach, with 54 studies using qualitative methods and 21 adopting a mixed-methods approach. In all, 104 different theories are used in the reviewed articles, although 60 articles do not explicitly mention any theory in the beginning of the manuscript. Of the articles that do refer to theory at the outset (81), most draw on functional theory (Voluntary Functions Index: 11), self-determination theory (9), social exchange theory (7), and social capital theory (4).

The review reveals a skewed distribution of volunteering location: 132 studies were conducted in the Global North, as compared to only 12 conducted in the Global South. Most studies were performed in North America (55) and Europe (46). The Middle East

and Oceania/Australia are less represented, with 12 and 11 studies, respectively. Only a few studies were conducted in Asia (5), South/Latin America (3), and Africa (3). A few other studies (3) did not specify any location, and some (7) were performed across multiple continents. There does not seem to be a notable difference between studies conducted in the Global North and those conducted in the Global South regarding the type of value or value recipient that was studied. Given the limited research performed in the Global South, however, it is impossible to make a fair comparison. It should also be noted that some research conducted in the Global South was performed by scholars from the Global North.

Volunteer-specific details

The type of volunteer-involving organization was coded to identify any differences in value creation. According to the findings, most current knowledge is based on service-delivery organizations (76) and, more generally, civil-society organizations with no specification of organizational type (21). Mutual support/benefit organizations (17) and campaigning/advocacy organizations (4) are underrepresented in the current body of research. Other types of organizations mentioned in the articles include schools (2), government agencies (2), and for-profit organizations (1). Due to the small numbers of these organizational types, however, it is not possible to make any inferences about whether different types of value are created in these organizations. A significant share of articles (33) do not mention any organization at all. These types of studies typically focus only on whether individuals have volunteered in the past 12 months (yes/no), without inquiring about anything related to the actual volunteering. As such, many of the articles (53) also do not contain any descriptions of the tasks (direct or indirect) performed by volunteers. Most articles that do explicitly mention the task focus on direct service (48), in which volunteers are in contact with their beneficiaries. Only 11 articles examine the value of volunteers in indirect-service settings, and 33 address instances of both types of tasks. Direct interaction with beneficiaries might be a driver of certain types of value creation (e.g., trust).

Several articles (39) examine forms of third-party volunteering. In most of the articles addressed, the sending organizations were corporations (14) in the case of corporate volunteering, educational institutions (10) in the case of service-learning or community service, and international volunteer programs (7). Third-party volunteering was also investigated in volunteer centers (2), government agencies (2), and other institutions (4). The overwhelming majority of articles (103) focus on "regular" volunteering, whereas only 42 articles zoom in on special types of volunteering. Most of these (33) relate to third-party organizations (corporate volunteering, international volunteering, service learning), while others focus on such types as episodic volunteering (4), community volunteering (2), workfare volunteering (1), stipend volunteering (1), and customer service (1). In many investigations of third-party and special forms of

volunteering, the focus is on the volunteer or the third party as the recipient of value. As in the case of international volunteering, this raises concerns about value appropriation by the third parties involved. Most articles (78) address volunteers in general, while some other articles focus on specific groups: employees (18), disadvantaged groups (e.g., immigrants, disabled people, unemployed people, and LGBTQIA+ people; 14), students (11), youth (11), and elderly people (9).

Value-specific details

Most articles (97) in the sample focus on positive volunteer value, while 36 examine both positive and negative effects, and only 12 articles address solely negative value. Many studies (115) describe value in non-financial or social terms (115), with 16 articles focusing on financial value and 14 examining both.

As demonstrated by the review, volunteer value creation is indeed manifested at all three levels (micro, meso, macro) and for a variety of recipients/appropriators within those levels. More than half of the research articles (81) analyze volunteer value at only one level, whereas 31 focus on two levels and 6 focus on all three levels. Volunteer value creation is most studied at the micro level, as found in 112 articles, of which 99 describe the value generated for the individual volunteers themselves. Research on other recipients at this level is rare (18 for beneficiaries, 11 for paid co-workers, 4 for others). At the meso level (54 articles), the recipients of value include the host organization (37), the sending organization (12), or both (5). The macro level appears to be under-represented in the sample, with only 22 articles focusing on recipients at this level. Macro-level studies often focus on society at large, including the environment (12), with others (15) focusing on communities (local, or specific community groups). This is specified further in the following sections, in which I describe the qualitative findings of the review at each recipient level (micro, meso, macro). Each section contains tables presenting an overview of the types of value for each category of recipient. A detailed overview specifying the type of value and the sources in which they were mentioned is included in the Appendix.

Qualitative findings

This section provides a discussion of the qualitative findings of the review. It addresses specific types of value created for various recipients categorized at three levels: micro (individual volunteer, beneficiary, paid co-worker), meso (host and sending organization), and macro (community and society).

Micro-level value: Volunteers, beneficiaries, paid co-workers

The results of the review suggest that, at the micro level, value is created for three different categories of recipients: individual volunteers, beneficiaries (e.g., youth and elderly people), and paid co-workers in host organizations.

Value created for individual volunteers

Volunteers create value for themselves in many ways. The current literature review reveals 10 overarching themes of individual value that have been examined in scholarly research, as summarized in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1

Value for individual volunteers, by theme. Numbers in parentheses represent the number of journal articles addressing the specific value theme and created value.

Value theme	Value created
Individual development (56)	Learning (28), skills development (22), communication (9), identity (9), growth (8), autonomy (6), global citizenship (5), adaptation to retirement (4), empowerment (3), teamwork (3), ethical judgement and behavior (2), self-realization (1)
Social capital (44)	Building relationships/meeting people (36), kinship (8), integration (3), trust (2), social adjustment (1)
Professional development (39)	Improved career opportunities (16), new/additional work experience (12), knowledge development (11), new challenges (2), school credit (2), growing customer base (1)
Well-being (37)	Mental well-being (18), psychological well-being (12), physical well-being (7), subjective well-being (6), quality of life (2)
Affective outcomes (29)	Meaningfulness (11), warm glow (11), sense of satisfaction/job satisfaction (10), enjoyment/pleasure (7), fun (7), personal interest/passion (2)
Expressing norms and values (29)	Social transformation motivation (15), civil/humanitarian values (12), identification with NGO mission/target group (8), giving back (8), religious values (5)
Personality traits & characteristics (28)	Self-confidence (9), self-esteem (7), contentment/enjoyment/happiness (6), compassion/empathy (6), self-worth (4), control (3), generosity (2), self-efficacy (2), psychological development (2), modesty (1), self-deception (1), self-reliance (1), social competence (1), locus of control (1), interest (1), patience (1), resilience (1)
Reputational outcomes (7)	Recognition/praise (6), reputations-based rewards (3)
Financial value (5)	Stipends (3), wage premium (2)
Tangible rewards (5)	Trips/travel/living abroad, (5) parties (1), ice cream (1)

The analysis of individual volunteer value resulted in the identification of 10

overarching themes. First, *individual development* is the most researched topic in the literature on volunteer value. Examples include learning to work with others, intercultural communication, improved ethical judgement, personal empowerment, increased autonomy, and skill-development (e.g., Afkhami et al., 2019; De Wit et al., 2019; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021; Classens, 2015). A second theme regarding individual volunteer value is *social capital* (Gagnon et al., 2021; Isham et al., 2006; Ruiz Sportmann & Greenspan). Both bridging and bonding forms of social capital are investigated in the sample of articles. Third, individuals can also *develop professionally* through their volunteer work, for example by developing knowledge and adding to their résumés (e.g., Classens, 2015). A fourth theme relating to value is *well-being*. As demonstrated by Krageloh and Shepherd (2015), the physical, social, and environmental quality of life improves for individuals when they volunteer. Volunteering can also increase psychological, physical, mental, and subjective well-being (e.g., Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Manetti et al., 2015). Fifth, volunteer value manifests in the form of *affective outcomes* for volunteers themselves (e.g., personal feelings and achievements). Examples include a sense of enjoyment and pleasure when performing volunteer tasks (e.g., Gevorgyan & Galstyan, 2016; Ramsden, 2020; Shah, 2006) and simply having fun (e.g., Compion et al., 2022; Goudeau & Baker, 2021. A sixth theme of volunteer value creation is the opportunity for the volunteer to *express their norms and values* (e.g., Katz & Sasson, 2019; Nichols & Ralston, 2016). Seventh, volunteers create individual value as their volunteering helps them to improve *personality traits and characteristics*. For example, scholars have emphasized that volunteers can become more interested in others and show more compassion and empathy (Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Gage & Thapa, 2012). The eighth theme relating to the value for individual volunteers consists of *reputational outcomes*, including the recognition, praise, and reputation-based rewards that volunteers receive during and after their volunteering. Another theme is *financial value*, including stipends (e.g., Vos et al., 2012; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021) and higher future wages (Duerrenberger & Warning, 2019; Shantz et al., 2019). Finally, volunteers receive value in the form of tangible rewards, like parties (Shannon, 2009) and travelling or living abroad (Jackson & Adarlo, 2016; Okabe et al., 2019).

Value created for beneficiaries

Volunteers can create value for the beneficiaries of volunteer-involving organizations in two ways: outcomes for beneficiaries and mutual relationships (see Table 2.2). Beneficiaries are those who receive the services provided by volunteers through nonprofit organizations (e.g., troubled youth in youth care).

Table 2.2

Value for beneficiaries, by theme. Numbers in parentheses represent the number of journal articles addressing the specific value theme and created value.

Value theme	Value created
Beneficiary outcomes (9)	Positive impact (5), reduced vulnerability/loneliness (3), comfort (2), happiness (2), societal rehabilitation (2), reduced anxiety (1), broadened worldview (1)
Mutual relationships (8)	Perceived altruism (3), empathy/similarity (2), no specific details (2), perceived sincerity (2), support (2), trust (2), role model (1), enthusiasm (1), close/genuine relationships (1)

Researchers have reported on value created by volunteers for beneficiaries primarily in the form of *beneficiary outcomes* (McBride et al., 2011; Samuel et al., 2016; Ronel, 2006; Thoits, 2021; Townsend, 2014). Most articles simply refer to a generally positive impact for the beneficiary (e.g., McBride et al., 2011; Thoits, 2021), while others are more specific. For example, volunteers can add value to beneficiaries' levels of satisfaction, comfort, and happiness. In addition, beneficiaries who are in contact with volunteers feel less anxious, less lonely, and less vulnerable (e.g., Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Samuel et al., 2016). Volunteers can thus have a positive impact on the social rehabilitation of beneficiaries (Yanay-Ventura, 2019). Second, the *mutual relationships* between beneficiaries and volunteers differ from those that beneficiaries have with the paid staff members of an organization (Gazley et al., 2012; Nichols & Ojala, 2009). The volunteer–beneficiary relationship is often perceived as closer and more genuine, as volunteers are "not part of the establishment" (Ronel, 2006, p. 1144). These relationships are thus perceived as more altruistic and sincere (Hoogervorst et al., 2016), and beneficiaries value the enthusiasm, empathy, and unconditional support provided by volunteers (e.g., Nichols & Ojala, 2009; Meyer et al., 2012).

Value created for paid co-workers

The results of this review suggest that volunteers create value for their paid co-workers within the host organization in four ways (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3

Value for paid co-workers, by theme. Numbers in parentheses represent the numbers of journal articles addressing the specific value theme and created value.

Value theme	Value created
Employee outcomes (4)	Stress/negative emotions (2), organizational commitment (1), intention to quit (1)
Work outcomes (4)	Workload (3), additional support (1)
Mutual relationship (2)	Lack of trust (2), perceived threat to job security (2), perception of unreliability (1)
Financial value (2)	Wages (2)

Value created for paid co-workers can be expressed first in the form of *employee outcomes*. Interestingly, while paid staff members acknowledge that volunteers can be an additional form of support, different studies report that volunteers are related to either reducing or increasing the workload for their paid co-workers (Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Rogelberg et al, 2010; Thomsen & Jensen, 2020). The presence of volunteers in the organization also creates value in terms of *employee outcomes*. Researchers have found evidence of both positive and negative value in the form of organizational commitment, intention to quit, stress, and emotions (Rogelberg et al, 2010; Ward & Greene, 2018). Some researchers also report that volunteers are perceived as a threat to the job security of paid workers (Einarsdóttir, 2020; Thomsen & Jensen, 2020). The *mutual relationship* between paid co-workers and volunteers seems to result in a relatively negative form of value. Paid staff members perceive volunteers as less reliable, and they tend to feel a lack of trust toward them (Einarsdóttir, 2020; Thomsen & Jensen, 2020). A final way in which value created for paid co-workers can be expressed is in the form of *financial value*. Studies on this form of value have reported contrasting results, with some noting that the wages of paid co-workers are higher when volunteers are involved in the host organizations, while others observe that their wages are lower (Pennerstorfer & Trukeschitz, 2012; Prouteau & Tchernonog, 2021).

Meso-level value: Host and sending organizations

The review reveals that volunteers can create value for two recipients at the meso level: the host organizations in which volunteers perform their work (in most cases, nonprofits) and the sending organizations (only if applicable to the type of volunteering).

Value created for host organizations

For host organizations, the review reveals two main value-related themes, as presented in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4

Value for host organizations, by theme. Numbers in parentheses represent the number of journal articles addressing the specific value theme and created value.

Value theme	Value created
Organizational outcomes (31)	Improved services/product (15), increased expertise (7), resource efficiency (7), community relations (7), ideas for improvement (4), achieving mission (3), brand equity (3), initiating innovations (3), performance (3), public support (3), goodwill (2), reputation enhancement (2), legitimacy (2), credibility (1), partnership (1), organizational growth (1), organizational inclusion (1)
Financial value (18)	Positive: cost savings (12), more donations/funds raised (7) Negative: costs (6)
Disruptions (3)	Power imbalance (1), rule-breaking (1), tension (1), uncertainty (1)

The results of the review indicate that, in host organizations, volunteers create value through *organizational outcomes*, including increased expertise, resource efficiency, improved services, broader reach, and enhanced legitimacy and credibility (e.g., Brudney & Kellough, 2000; Loiseau et al., 2016; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020). Second, volunteers create *financial value* for a host organization, usually based on a balance of positive (cost-saving) value and negative (cost-incurring) value (e.g., Bowman, 2009; Dunn et al., 2022). Authors use a variety of ways to calculate this value, usually offsetting incurred costs against cost-savings (e.g., Social Return on Investment, Economic Value Added). Moreover, organizations with volunteers receive more donations, both monetary and in kind (e.g., Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Hrafnsdóttir & Kristmundsson, 2017). In contrast, other articles have reported that volunteers can create negative value for host organizations in terms of disruptions. Examples include volunteer rule-breaking, uncertainty in consistency, tensions between volunteers and paid co-workers, and power imbalances between sending and host organizations (Einarsdóttir, 2020; Jacobs, 2017).

Value created for sending organizations

As identified in this review, volunteers also create value for sending organizations (e.g., a school, a corporation). The three overarching value-related themes are presented in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5

Value for sending organizations. Numbers in parentheses represent the number of journal articles addressing the specific value theme and created value.

Value theme	Value created
Employee work outcomes Student outcomes (12)	Commitment to sending organization (5), employee morale (3), sense of cohesion (3), achieved student learning (2), communication with colleagues (2), job performance (2), organizational citizenship behavior (2), positive attitude toward work/employer (2), accountability (1), workplace deviance (1)
Organizational outcomes (7)	Public image/reputation (6), relationship with the surrounding community (3), achieving CSR goals (2), attracting new students/members/employees (2), consumer attitudes and behavior (2), differentiation (2), legitimacy (2), goodwill (1), retention (1), working climate (1)
Financial value (2)	Fundraising (1), more donations (1), increased organizational income, through volunteer fees [international volunteering] or patronage/purchases [corporate and customer volunteering] (2)

The first theme of volunteer value for sending organizations consists of outcomes for employees and students. For example, employees participating in corporate volunteering are more productive, show higher work performance, and are more accountable (Afkhami et al., 2019; Knox, 2020). These outcomes are all beneficial to the sending organization, often to as greater extent than for the individual volunteer. It is for this reason that the theme is classified under sending organizations. The second theme for sending organizations consists of organizational outcomes, including public image, community relations, and legitimacy (e.g., Hjort & Beswick; Rodell et al., 2020). The third theme of volunteer value is financial. For example, in some cases, sending organizations may see an influx of donations or increased income (Lasker, 2016). In the case of corporate and customer volunteering, organizations might also see an increase in patronage and purchases (Rodell et al., 2020).

As the popularity of third-party volunteering increases, researchers and practitioners alike have started to wonder about the creation of value, the recipients of value, and the appropriation of value. For example, in a study on international volunteers for the UK, Hjort and Beswick (2021) note that the value created in Rwanda reverts to the UK when volunteers return home. I elaborate on this point in the discussion.

Macro-level value: Community and society

The review also points toward the creation of volunteer value at the macro level, with a distinction between two types of recipients: specific communities and society at large.

Value created for the community

By performing volunteer tasks, volunteers can create value for the local civil society and the communities in which they perform their volunteering. An overview of these forms of value creation is presented in Table 2.6.

Table 3.6

Community value. Numbers in parentheses represent the number of journal articles addressing the specific value theme and created value.

Value theme	Value created
Meeting community needs (8)	Community development (3), healthy community (2), improved local environment (1), safer space (1)
Community outcomes (7)	Skills/knowledge-transfer (3), awareness of needs (2), community engagement/belonging (2), community commitment (1)
Sustained local civil society (7)	Continuity of service/goods provision/achievement of mission (2), Sustained volunteer community (6)
NPO sector outcomes (3)	Providing/increasing voice (2), trust in charitable institutions (1), increased reach (1)
Financial value (1)	More donations (1)

One way volunteers can create value for the community is by *meeting community needs* in the local (or other) communities within which they perform their volunteer work. Examples include more general community development, improved local environment, and safer and healthier communities (e.g., Gagnon et al., 2021; Lasker, 2016; Ramsden, 2020). Volunteers can also add value in the form of specific *community outcomes*. For example, volunteers have been reported to have greater sense of belonging than people who do not volunteer, in addition to being more engaged in/committed to the community (Seymour et al., 2018; Zanbar, 2019). In addition, volunteers are important to the *sustainability of the local civil society*, as they are at least partly responsible for achieving the mission of nonprofit organizations, while also having the potential to increase the visibility and reach of these organizations and, possibly, even maintaining and sustaining the volunteer community (e.g., Compion et al., 2022; Edwards et al., 2001; Rodell et al., 2017). Volunteers can also create community value in the form of outcomes for the local nonprofit sector (e.g., by increasing voice and enhancing trust in charitable institutions). Finally, as reported by Rajan and colleagues (2009), volunteers can create a form of *financial* value, given that people who volunteer are more likely to donate money, specifically to domestic causes.

Value created for society

Value created for society can be classified into four broader themes, as presented in Table 2.7.

Table 4.7

Societal value. Numbers in parentheses represent the number of journal articles addressing the specific value theme and created value.

Societal value	
Societal behaviors (6)	Solidarity (2), social trust (1), political interest/local decision-making (2), breaking stereotypes (1), pro-environmental behavior (3)
Social change (5)	Civic engagement (2), improved services (2), identification of social needs (1)
Financial value (4)	Social Surplus of Voluntary Work/output method/input method (3), shadow economy (1)
Increased inequality (4)	Increased "othering" (2), self-segregation (2), power imbalance/exploitation (1), reinforced dependency (1)

Societal value can be found in changes that occur in the *societal behaviors* of volunteers, including increased social solidarity, broadening world views, and increased social trust (Afkhami et al., 2019; Dahl & Abdelzadeh, 2017; Serrat et al., 2016). Moreover, volunteering can instigate *social change*, as volunteers are often more capable of identifying social needs, which can then be addressed by civil society organizations (De Wit et al., 2019). Volunteers have also been reported to improve services for society at large (Edwards et al., 2001; Tooley & Hooks, 2020) and to be more civically engaged than people who do not volunteer (Isham et al., 2006; Serrat et al., 2017). Value for society at large can also be expressed in terms of *financial value*. One way this has been done is by calculating the monetary value of volunteer hours produced within a given country (e.g., Brown, 1999; Butcher, 2010). At the same time, however, some forms of volunteering (e.g., stipend volunteering) can create a shadow economy with negative consequences for society (Vos et al., 2011). Multiple researchers have warned of negative value in terms of *increased inequality* that volunteering can create within a society. For example, Khvorostianov and Remennick (2017) demonstrate that volunteering can result in self-segregation. Other scholars have pointed to a risk of increased "othering" as a result of volunteering (Horvath, 2020; Perold et al., 2013). Moreover, some forms of volunteering (e.g., volunteer tourism) have been associated with a risk of power imbalance, reinforced mentality of dependency, and a lack of sustainable community development (Loiseau et al., 2015; Perold et al., 2013).

2.4 Discussion

This integrative literature review is intended to synthesize and problematize the existing literature on how volunteers create value for a various types of value recipients. The findings identify topics that have been researched thoroughly, in addition to highlighting several gaps in the current body of knowledge. An overview of all topics addressed in this review is presented in Table 9. In this section, I highlight some interesting findings and contributions and outline an agenda for future research.

Table 5.8

Overview of current knowledge on volunteer value situated at the micro, meso, and macro level

Level	Recipient/appropriator and value themes
Micro	*Volunteers* Individual development, social capital, professional development, well-being, affective outcomes, expressing norms and values, personality traits and characteristics, reputational outcomes, financial value, tangible rewards *Beneficiaries* Beneficiary outcomes, mutual relationships *Paid co-workers* Employee outcomes, work outcomes, mutual relationships, financial value
Meso	*Host organizations* Organizational outcomes, financial value, disruptions *Sending organizations* Employee and student work outcomes, organizational outcomes, financial value
Macro	*Communities* Meeting community needs, community outcomes, sustained local civil society, NPO sector outcomes, financial value *Society* Societal behaviors, social change, financial value, increased inequalities

Volunteer value in general

The broader overview on the creation of volunteer value, as provided in this review, could serve as a new basis upon which scholars of nonprofit organizations and volunteering can build their research. The overview yields a clear illustration of the current body of knowledge, highlighting deeper distinctions in terms of value-related themes and the specific types of value created. In addition, it maps out in greater detail which research topics relating to volunteer value are saturated and which require more attention (see Table 9). According to the review, most existing knowledge concerning volunteer value is based on regular (i.e., traditional) forms of volunteering. Given the rapid changes that are taking place within the field of volunteering, and considering the decline in traditional volunteers and increase in other types of volunteering, future

research should focus on special forms of volunteering. Examples include third-party volunteering, online volunteering, micro-volunteering, and spontaneous volunteering. Given the inherent differences in the characteristics of these types of volunteering (Koolen-Maas et al., 2023), they could logically be expected to create different types of value. Moreover, the value created by these forms of volunteering could potentially manifest at different levels (e.g., with third-party volunteering as an extra player in the field).

The review also indicates that most existing research focuses on programmatic volunteering and volunteering within service organizations, and particularly those that are dominated by paid staff (see Table 9). Future research should focus more on membership volunteering and activist volunteering. These types of volunteering often result from motivations other than those typically associated with programmatic volunteering (Koolen-Maas et al., 2023), and they are thus likely to result in different types of value creation, particularly at the micro level. Specifically in times where the importance of social movements and political action is increasing, it is important to understand the types of value that volunteers might create. On a related note, the review reveals that most existing studies focus on direct service volunteers, with relatively less attention to other types of volunteers. The fact that direct service volunteers have direct contact with their beneficiaries almost automatically implies that they create value for these individuals (or groups). With indirect service volunteers, the types of value that are created for recipients beyond the beneficiaries (e.g., the volunteer themselves and the volunteer-involving organizations to which they contribute their time) are less clear and deserve more research.

Positive and negative volunteer value

In this review, most research articles focus on positive value created by volunteering (see Table 9). In recent years, however, practitioners and scholars alike have become increasingly aware of the potential negative value of volunteering. It is important for future studies to focus on this "dark side" of volunteering (Hustinx et al., 2022) as well. Moreover, researchers should direct attention toward the ways in which the value created by volunteering is distributed or appropriated. Important questions to explore include whether it is "fair" when volunteers create substantial value for themselves, but not so much for the organizations and beneficiaries for whom they volunteer, as well as how the value that is created can be distributed equitable. The latter issue is particularly relevant when third parties are involved, given the possibility of value appropriation (whether fair or unfair). For example, a company might gain a great deal of publicity through its corporate volunteering program, or an international volunteering organization might make a lot of money on volunteer tourism. It is important to explore when value appropriation is fair and unfair, as well as how this influences the very core of volunteer value creation.

Volunteer value creation at three levels

As indicated by the results of the review, volunteer value can indeed be created at all three levels (micro, meso, and macro) and that various types of recipients (or appropriators) are present within these levels. The positioning of volunteer value creation at these three levels provides new insight into volunteer value and a framework upon which academics can built future research on the topic. In addition, the distinctions between the different categories of value recipients provides a clear image of the current distribution of research on volunteer value and which types of value are connected to which types of recipients. To date, most studies have focused on only one type of value recipient at one value level. It could be argued, however, that value created for individuals also has an indirect effect on society. Future research could focus on such interconnections of the value created by volunteers at various levels. Another interesting avenue for research concerns the ways in which volunteer value is distributed across the various types of recipients at the various levels.

One particularly interesting finding of the review is that the overwhelming majority of studies that have been published on the creation of volunteer value are focused on the micro level, with the volunteer themselves as the most important recipients of the value created through their efforts. This important finding could be used to inform both policymakers and practitioners concerning ways to mobilize and incentivize volunteers by focusing issues of recruitment and motivation. In my own observation, volunteers are often treated as a single homogeneous group. However, according to the scarce body research focusing on specific groups of people who volunteer (e.g., students, marginalized groups, and disabled people), volunteers with different characteristics create different types of value, often corresponding to their specific needs (e.g., Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Ramsden, 2020; Yanay-Ventura, 2019). Future studies should focus on different types of volunteers and investigate whether this affects the ways in which value is created.

The two other groups of value recipients at the individual level—beneficiaries and paid co-workers—have also been under-researched. As indicated by the review, beneficiaries in certain organizations (e.g., youth care agencies) attribute the creation of substantial value specifically to the intervention of volunteers (Hoogervorst et al., 2017; see also Metz et al., 2016). It would be useful to extrapolate this research to other sectors, asking important questions concerning which parts of the intervention work specifically because volunteers are doing them. As demonstrated by the results of this review, one type of value created for beneficiaries stems from similarity to the volunteer (whether actual or perceived). Another idea for future research would be to examine the value of similarities and/or differences between volunteers and beneficiaries in these types of relationship interventions. It would be interesting to identify the types of interventions in which these similarities are important and in which types differences

could be valuable as well. Regarding the value created for paid co-workers, the studies included in the review offer mixed results, with some reporting positive forms of value creation and others reporting negative forms. In the future, researchers should focus on criteria leading to positive value to reduce the negative value.

As highlighted by this review, very few studies have thus far been performed at the meso level. Greater attention should be directed toward the organizational level, if only to help organizations (both sending and host) to understand when and why they should work with volunteers, aside from any budgetary issues. Attention should also be paid to various types of host organizations, given that the type of value created by volunteers is likely to differ according to the type of organizations in which the volunteer work is performed. In one of only few existing examples, Ruiz Sportmann and Greenspan (2019) specifically note that different types of value are created depending on the type of organization. In this regard, future research should also focus more on the creation of value for host organizations that focus on mutual support and campaigning, which have thus far been largely neglected in this regard.

In the current body of literature, most studies focus on host organizations. This makes sense, as third-party scenarios that involve sending organizations are still relatively new (Haski-Leventhal., 2010). What is interesting in these situations, however, is that most research focusing on these organization have largely tended to concentrate on the creation of value for the sending organization. This is important, as it provides further legitimacy that sending organizations (e.g., universities and corporations) can use to continue operating their volunteering programs. As noted by critics, however, the value created through such programs is sometimes disproportionately distributed across the various parties involved. More specifically, the sending organization often gets the best deal, thereby appropriating or destroying value for the host organization. Future research should focus on such third-party situations and the positive/negative value that they create for all recipients.

As indicated by the results of the review, the creation of volunteer value at the macro level has also been largely neglected by researchers. Although many articles start out by mentioning how important volunteers are to communities and society, most authors then shift their attention to other aspects of value creation (e.g., the value of the civil society in fighting poverty or the effects of political activism) without differentiating between volunteers and paid staff. Many research articles describe the value of civil society in general (i.e., nonprofit organizations, either with or without paid staff). While it is probably harder to measure, additional research is needed on the value of volunteering as part of the value created by the nonprofit sector or civil society at the macro level. Such knowledge is of particular importance to governments, as it could enable them to value all volunteer work performed in a country more positively than is currently the case.

Value created and unique volunteer value

The results of the review suggest that there is a difference between the value created by volunteering and the value added by volunteering. In some cases, value is likely to be the same regardless of whether the tasks are performed by volunteers or by paid staff. In others, unique value is created because of the specific nature of volunteering (e.g., Ronel, 2006; Hoogervorst et al., 2016). For example, individuals could potentially increase social capital regardless of whether they are volunteers or paid staff. Similarly, organizations attribute value to several outcomes (e.g., positive word of mouth), which could also be generated by paid staff. For beneficiaries, however, the knowledge that they are in contact with a volunteer adds a specific dimension of value to their experience (e.g., because their relationship with the volunteer feels more genuine). This illustrates the possible difference between volunteer value creation and volunteer added value (see also e.g., Studer, 2012). One interesting avenue for future research could involve distinguishing factors that affect value that is created by volunteers, as compared to the unique value that is added by volunteers. This could help to identify how volunteers can truly create the most positive social value. Such knowledge could also inform managers concerning when and for which tasks they could best engage volunteers and paid staff.

Blind spots in research on volunteer value

The descriptive information reported in this review points toward several interesting insights in the current body of knowledge on the creation of volunteer value. For example, most studies of volunteer value creation have been conducted and written in the Global North, with North America receiving a particularly large share of attention in the literature. The focus on individualized societies (e.g., the USA and many European countries) might explain the over-representation of research on individual volunteer value. Research on value creation in Asia or Africa is likely to yield different results. Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that civil society operates differently in other parts of the world (Butcher & Einolf, 2017; Salamon et al., 2017). The ways in which civil society is organized might also lead to the creation of other forms of volunteer value. In the future, scholars should direct more attention toward these areas when investigating the creation of volunteer value. Moreover, the field could benefit from more comparative research between countries and culture.

Conclusion

A world without volunteers would look very different than the one we know today. As synthesized in this integrative literature review, the current knowledge on the creation of volunteer value creation can be positioned in a new way three levels: micro (individual), meso (organizational), and macro (societal). This framework could be useful for both academics and practitioners, as it points toward an agenda for future research and volunteer management from a value perspective.

Chapter 3

Beyond costs saving and interchangeability: Towards a value-based framework for the contributions of volunteers and volunteering to nonprofit organizations

With Prof. Dr. Lucas Meijs & Dr. Corinna Frey-Heger

3.1 Introduction

In many nonprofit organizations, volunteers work alongside paid staff and share responsibilities with them. For example, in grassroots and membership organizations (Smith, 2000), members might be asked to volunteer for a few hours in supporting roles, while substantive services are performed by paid professionals. For example, members of a local field hockey club might take turns staffing the canteen and coaching younger teams, while aspiring players are trained by paid instructors. In service delivery agencies (Brudney, 2016; Nesbit et al., 2018) (e.g., elder-care facilities) paid nursing staff provide medical care to residents, and volunteers spend time with them (e.g., drinking coffee and playing games) as friendly visitors. In campaigning and charitable organizations (Nesbit, 2017), paid employees often perform administrative duties while volunteers raise funds, serve on boards, or attend protests. Even in the public sector, volunteers can assist police officers by patrolling

the streets and helping with routine administrative tasks (Gaston & Alexander, 2001). The literature often refers to such situations as collaboration between volunteers and paid staff, or as contexts where the value of services is co-produced (Brudney, 1983; Pilemalm, 2020; Tõnurist & Surva, 2017).

Provided they have the proper training, volunteers are usually able to perform the same tasks as paid staff. Nevertheless, how an organization divides work between volunteers and paid staff depends on a variety of factors. First, different types of co-production manifest globally throughout the nonprofit sector, for various reasons. From a societal perspective, the division between volunteers and paid staff in co-production and collaboration can depend on factors including the prevailing non-profit regime (Salamon & Anheier, 1998) and the legal status (Mead, 2019) and position of unions (Calvert, 1985).

Second, researchers and practitioners alike opt for either volunteers or paid workers based on certain organizational factors. For example, in cases where issues of liability or labor union contracts might arise, an organization may require certain tasks to be performed by paid professional staff. Most studies nevertheless focus on analyzing the relative costs of volunteers and paid staff for the organization (see e.g., Brudney & Duncombe, 1992; Handy et al., 2008; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Metz et al., 2016; Mook et al., 2007). In many cases, the cost-saving framework proceeds from a policy of replacing paid workers with volunteers to reduce costs, thereby implying that volunteers and paid workers are perfectly interchangeable (Handy & Brudney, 2007; Handy et al., 2008).

Multiple researchers have disputed the interchangeability of volunteers and paid staff, due to fundamental differences (Bowman, 2009; Brudney & Gazley, 2002; Metz et al., 2016; Meijs, Parren, & Simons, 2017). Because volunteers are not paid for their tasks and have freedom of choice (based on Cnaan et al., 1996), they are likely to exhibit differences in a variety of aspects, including organizational behavior, psychological contract, motivation, job attitude, and even created value (Pearce, 1983; 1993; Liao-Troth, 2001; Metz et al., 2016; van Overbeeke: Chapter 2 of this dissertation). Following this logic, if a volunteer were to be replaced by a paid staff member, stakeholders would be likely to have different perceptions of the services provided or the nonprofit organization through which they were provided, thereby leading to different valuations. In relation to the context of youth services, Metz and colleagues (2017) conclude that volunteers are perceived differently than paid staff and that they thus create different types of value (e.g., trust and genuine

relationships). Similar results have been found in other settings, including hospitals (Handy et al., 2008, Netting et al., 2000) and visitor centers (Smith & Holmes, 2012). The difference in created value is based primarily on the relationship between the volunteer and the beneficiary, through direct service.

Our empirical study takes place in an indirect service setting, where volunteers are not in direct contact with their beneficiaries (based on Hartenian, 2007). The study focuses on the creation of value by volunteers for nonprofit organizations (as part of the meso-level value described in Chapter 2 of this dissertation). Drawing on participatory focus groups, we explore the following research question: *How do indirect service volunteers create added value for nonprofit organizations?*

Based on our analysis, we identify three distinct themes relating to the value added by volunteers: the supplementary value of volunteering, the complementary value of volunteers, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering. In the supplementary theme, volunteers and paid staff are indeed interchangeable, and the added value stems mainly from the larger number of people working for the organization. In contrast, the complementary theme views volunteers as creating a unique value that would be lost if they were to be replaced with paid staff. The ambidextrous theme is characterized by leveraging a combination of the other two forms: a large number of people (supplementary) and unique propositions (complementary) working for the organization.

This analysis contributes to the current literature in multiple ways. First, it points to the need to shift away from the cost-saving framework toward one based on value. This argument builds on literature that explains fundamental differences between paid staff and volunteers. A second contribution of this study is that it establishes a conceptual framework of volunteer-added value, differentiating between three value themes: complementary, supplementary, and ambidextrous. Examination of these distinctions and their underlying drivers makes it possible to open the black box of substitution and interchangeability among volunteers and paid staff. More specifically, we replicate drivers that create volunteer value within direct service settings and extend them to indirect service settings. We further demonstrate that indirect service settings entail additional unique drivers that create volunteer value. In the value-based framework, the decision to have a certain activity performed by either volunteers or paid employees depends on which would create the most value for society, the organization, or the beneficiary. Such decisions subsequently influence the effectiveness and efficiency of the nonprofit organization.

The remainder of this paper is set up as follows. After providing an overview of current literature on relationships between volunteers and paid staff and on volunteer value creation at the organizational level, we explain our methodology and describe our findings. The paper ends with a discussion and ideas for future research.

3.2 Literature review

The cost-saving framework and the relationship between volunteers and paid staff

The relationship between volunteers and paid staff has been studied from a variety of perspectives. One line of research focuses on interorganizational cooperation between volunteers and paid staff, with the objective of explaining tensions between these two groups (Farmer & Fedor, 1999; Boezeman & Ellemers, 2009), analyzing active resistance between them, or providing practical advice for managing such relationships (McCurley & Lynch, 1996; Netting et al, 2000; Ellis, 2010; van Bochove et al., 2013; López-Cabrera et al., 2020).

A second line of research focuses on intraorganizational relationships (Peloza & Hassay, 2006) between formal professional organizations and all-volunteer, grassroots, or community-based organizations (Brudney et al., 2018; Gazley & Guo, 2020; Guo & Acar, 2005). This also includes studies on third-party involvement (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010) and dual volunteer-management systems (Brudney et al., 2019), as well as examples of auxiliary organizations (Dobrin & Wolf, 2016; Lüder, 2016). In the literature on co-production, nonprofit and community-based organizations have been recognized as intermediaries of civic participation (Berry, 2005; LeRoux & Carr, 2007).

The third, relatively scarcely investigated, line of research is based on task assignment, exploring the question of who in the organization performs which task. In the literature, this question is often framed in terms of the potential interchangeability of volunteers and paid staff from a variety of perspectives, including beneficiaries (Metz et al., 2016); cost and efficiency (Handy & Brudney, 2007); supply and demand (Berenguer et al., 2023); and evaluating the value of volunteers (Bowman, 2009).

The practice of determining whether to assign certain tasks to volunteers or paid staff members based on cost and the availability of volunteers reflects the cost-saving framework (based on e.g., Handy, Mook, & Quarter, 2008). Studies conducted from this perspective focus on the costs of volunteering, whether actual or approximated. Scholars exploring the approximation of such costs have formulated methods for

calculating the amount of money donated or saved because of involving volunteers. As observed by Bowman (2009), "there is no price for volunteer labor, so its economic value must be imputed" (p. 492). According to Bowman (2009), the economic value of volunteer hours can be imputed using four different categories of approaches: demand price, supply price, contribution to revenue, and replacement cost. The demand price represents what the involvement of volunteers actually costs the organization (Bowman 2009). For example, Brudney and Duncombe (1992) consider the costs of supporting volunteers, including recruitment, training, and management (see also Graff, 2006). These costs should be weighed against potential benefits to determine whether a volunteer program is (or is not) economically beneficial (Handy & Brudney, 2007). The concept of supply price is comparable to what Handy and Srinivasan (2004) refer to as opportunity cost. It means the wages (e.g., hourly) that people would lose by volunteering, assuming they could have worked for a paid job instead. As explained by Foster and colleagues (2001), contribution to revenue is the value that corresponds to the output (e.g., the value of the products produced, or donations raised). Finally, replacement cost refers to what the organization would have paid to a paid staff member for the same work performed by a volunteer (Bowman 2009; Handy & Srinivasan 2004; Mook et al, 2007; Gaskin, 2000). Although this approach is typically used, in theory, it is not valid unless perfect substitution is possible between volunteers and paid staff (Bowman, 2009). The literature seems to assume a perspective in which volunteers can perfectly replace paid staff.

In addition to their potential to replace paid staff, volunteers are assumed to provide certain unique propositions, thereby invalidating the assumption of perfect interchangeability. Based on the unique abilities and intangible assets associated with volunteers, Brudney and Gazley (2002) suggest that a well-managed and supervised volunteer program can enhance cost-effectiveness by improving the quality of services, freeing up paid staff for specialized tasks, and strengthening the organization in terms of fundraising, community relations, and dedicated attention to clients. As observed by Graff (2006, p. 31), "Suggesting the value of volunteer work is equivalent to the wage not paid to have work completed does a disservice to volunteers everywhere and obscures the complex and multiple values that spin out from every act of volunteering." In these capacities, volunteers add value by virtue of being volunteers, and they are therefore not interchangeable with paid staff. When this situation occurs in a nonprofit organization, the cost-saving framework is no longer applicable, and the choice between volunteers and paid staff should be based on other forms of value (Handy et al., 2008; Meijs et al., 2017).

Towards a value-based framework

Volunteers and volunteering create value at three different levels: micro (individual volunteers, beneficiaries, paid staff members), meso (nonprofit organizations, sending organizations) and macro (community and society) (see van Overbeeke: Chapter 2, this dissertation). According to van Overbeeke, value is likely also interconnected and multi-level. For example, when direct service volunteers create value on the micro level (e.g., the beneficiaries) they also create value for the organization by contributing to the quality of the organization's intervention. Indirect service/support volunteers also create value at the meso level in more straightforward ways; for example, by enhancing organizational outcomes and effecting organizational improvement.

Volunteer value through the organization's intervention

The literature reveals several ways that volunteers add value to beneficiaries at the micro level.. The first important way that volunteers can add value to the intervention is through their perceived credibility. As argued by Metz and colleagues (2016), volunteers are more likely than paid staff members are to form meaningful relationships, due to their personal involvement and the informality that tends to characterize their relationships (see also Brown, 1999; Jarrett, Sullivan, & Watkins, 2005; Ronel, 2006; Ronel, Haski-Leventhal, Ben-David, & York, 2009). Moreover, beneficiaries are more likely to perceive volunteers as their equals. Volunteers are thus likely to be perceived as less judgmental, especially when they are actually peers of the beneficiaries. In addition, volunteers are likely to be perceived as more sincere, given that their motivation is, by definition, non-pecuniary (Hoogervorst et al., 2015; Metz et al., 2016; Ronel, 2006). The relationship between volunteers and beneficiaries is characterized more by affective trust than it is by the cognitive trust associated with paid staff. In cases when volunteers have experienced problems similar to those experienced by their beneficiaries, they can cultivate cognitive trust as well (see e.g., Borkman, 1976, on experiential knowledge in self-help groups). The quality of social support to beneficiaries or clients is also perceived higher when it is provided by volunteers than when it is provided by paid staff (Grossman & Tierney, 1998; Ronel et al., 2009).

A second major way volunteers add value is by enriching the context of the beneficiaries more than paid staff are likely to do, especially in the case of organizations with large, diverse volunteer pools. According to Anheier and colleagues (2014), volunteers often have larger networks than non-volunteers do. In the analysis of Meijs and colleagues (2017), this characteristic can be more effective at opening doors (particularly within the local context) than are requests from the organization's paid personnel or headquarters.

Volunteers can also enrich the context of an organization by creating greater diversity, as they are likely to be more varied in terms of age, professional skills, interests, educational level, and personal background than paid staff are. With a diverse pool of volunteers, an organization can more easily reach different target audiences (Meijs et al*.,* 2017). As argued by Mook and colleagues (2007), volunteers can cultivate a broader base of supporters. In addition, a diverse volunteer pool can also make an organization more recognizable to a more pluriform (as opposed to uniform) base of support (Lam & Kuperus, 2007).

The combination of the network effects and diversity associated with volunteers can generate proximity, which could be described as "perceived similarity." More specifically, it refers to the fact that people are more likely to comply with requests from people who resemble them—a manifestation of "homophily." For example, such effects can emanate from similarities in terms of race, religion, gender, social attitude, and other personal characteristics (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2007). Interestingly, in many cases, clients are likely to perceive volunteers as more similar to themselves, even when the volunteers are actually very similar to the paid staff. Finally, in the perception and experience of beneficiaries, volunteers can offer a different kind of continuity than paid staff. This is because volunteers are likely to remain available to or maintain their relationships with beneficiaries long after they have separated from the organization. Such a luxury is rarely possible for paid staff members, particularly within the context of budget cuts (Metz et al*.,* 2016; Ronel, 2006).

Volunteer value through organizational outcomes

As confirmed in the literature, several themes relating to volunteer value are similar or transferable between levels. For example, perceived credibility can be found at both the micro and meso levels (e.g., beneficiaries and nonprofit organizations). Lam and Kuperus (2007) argue that volunteers within organizations can increase the credibility of their organizations to outsiders, especially in the case of campaigning. According to Roza and Handy (2015), volunteers can indeed enhance the credibility of the organization by acting as goodwill ambassadors (see also Brown, 1999). By involving volunteers, organizations also send a positive signal to their donors, thus possibly helping to resolve any issues of trust that donors might have due to apprehensions concerning the use of their funds. In addition, many potential donors are likely to perceive organizations with larger numbers of volunteers as more trustworthy than those with fewer volunteers. Furthermore, volunteers can make the work of organizations more transparent to the community by providing word-of-mouth promotion and publicity, which could result in an increased base of supporters, volunteers, and donors (Handy & Brudney, 2007; Mook et al., 2007). As argued by various scholars, volunteers can help attract more financial resources, and even more

volunteers, to their organizations (Haski-Leventhal, Hustinx, & Handy, 2011; Ronel et al., 2009).

Volunteers also have the capacity to enrich the context of an organization in various ways. The effects of a larger network, greater diversity, and even perceived proximity could be important when an organization is seeking donations (of money, time or in-kind). As argued by Bekkers and Wiepking (2007), the social pressure of being observed by someone is even higher when the observer is a family member or friend. As a result, people may donate a larger amount of their income if they are asked to donate by a volunteer they know. Friends and spouses are also more likely to persuade each other to start (or continue) volunteering. A volunteer can open doors that would otherwise remain closed to a more distant, non-familiar source (Meijs et al., 2017). Furthermore, Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) identify awareness of a need as one of eight mechanisms that drive charitable giving. A larger volunteer pool and the larger network associated with it may thus generate greater awareness and, therefore, more donations.

Volunteer value through organizational improvement

Volunteers do not face the same pressures or expectations (internal/external) as paid staff members do. As a result, volunteers can afford to be more candid regarding the operations and management of the organization. They are a valuable source of feedback for improvement, both because of their independence and because of the information they receive from clients, who may be more willing to communicate with them than with paid staff (Meijs et al., 2017). In addition, because volunteers are more independent from the organization than paid staff members, as they do not derive their livelihood from their efforts, they enjoy the "luxury of focus" (Meijs et al., 2017). More specifically, they have the space to focus on one activity, or even an individual client, rather than on a multitude of organizational demands. Therefore, they are likely to be more creative, innovative, and experimental than most paid staff members.

As noted by MacDuff (2008), short-term volunteering is particularly likely to generate more creativity in the form of new ideas. Moreover, volunteers may perform new tasks or address new challenges that would not be considered by paid staff, given that the latter might not like, accept, or have time for the task (De Vries et al., 2012). Volunteers can invest their time, effort, and creativity into new activities or programs, both because they may recognize these challenges and because managers are unlikely to tell them to move on to the next task (Meijs et al., 2017). As stated by DeCarlo (1979, p.22), volunteering "provides the opportunity to develop and maintain creative, innovative leadership skills." In addition, as demonstrated by Bekkers (2005), volunteers are usually more open to experiences, less conscientious, and more extraverted than non-volunteers are. According to Anheier and colleagues (2014), these characteristics are often associated with innovators. They also assert that volunteers are motivated to

facilitate social (or other forms of) innovation because they want to learn, can easily communicate changes in needs among the population, and are able to create links between other organizations through their networks. Volunteers with a "strategic broker position" between a formal organization and society or the target group are likely to express new ideas, which are subsequently more likely to be accepted by the organization (Anheier et al., 2014; Burt, 1997; 2005).

Another way volunteers create value at the meso level is through organizational outcomes, including increased expertise, resource efficiency, improved services, broader reach, and greater legitimacy and credibility (e.g., Brudney & Kellough, 2000; Loiseau et al., 2016; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020). At the same time, however, volunteers can also destroy value for an organization. For example, volunteer behavior can be disruptive, tensions can arise between volunteers and paid staff, and (in the case of third-party volunteering) power imbalances can emerge between sending and receiving organizations (Einarsdóttir, 2020; Jacobs, 2017). Another way volunteers have been shown to add value to nonprofit organizations is that, on average, those working with volunteers tend to receive more donations (e.g., Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Hrafnsdóttir & Kristmundsson, 2017) than do those that do not work with volunteers.

3.3 Methodology

An examination of the multifaceted dimensions of volunteer value requires a methodological approach that goes beyond quantitative metrics. Qualitative research allows for the optimal investigation of the depth and richness of the value that volunteers bring to nonprofit organizations. Through participatory focus groups with volunteers and paid staff members (which also involved the implementation of a form of citizen science) within a selected case, we were able to collect data on the particular contextual features that shape experiences and explain how volunteers perceive the value they create for their organizations. In this section, we introduce the research context and case of UNICEF the Netherlands and explain our methods for data collection (participatory focus groups) and data analysis (thematic analysis).

Research context

Given its distinct position in the Netherlands as a campaigning organization with extensive volunteer involvement in indirect service and support roles, UNICEF the Netherlands (hereinafter, UNL) constitutes a compelling case for our research. As a renowned advocate for the rights and wellbeing of children, UNL relies on a large volunteer base to amplify its impact. The fact that UNL emphasizes campaigning instead of service introduces a unique dynamic, in which volunteers play pivotal roles in advocacy, community engagement, and awareness-building rather than in direct service delivery. The organization's structure allows for an exploration of how

volunteers in indirect support roles create value for the overarching goals of the organization.

With a paid staff of 90 FTE at its headquarters in The Hague, UNL relies heavily on the support of approximately 2,300 volunteers, roughly representing around 200 FTE. These volunteers assume a variety of positions, such as participating in the volunteer council, joining expert teams, or becoming part of Regional Committees (RCUs) or Student Teams (STUs). Within these positions, volunteers can take on different roles and responsibilities. For example, they can organize local events, sell UNICEF products, provide guest lectures, or manage responses on social media. It is interesting to note that, regardless of their specific roles, UNL volunteers do not engage in direct interactions with the beneficiaries of the organization, as the Dutch branch of UNICEF does not directly implement programs for children. This distinctive feature makes UNL a relevant case for our research, particularly in light of our focus on the meso level of indirect service provision.

Data collection

Participatory focus groups (Linville et al, 2003; MacDonald, 2012) constituted the primary source of data for this study. Focus groups are particularly useful for facilitating the recounting of experiences and the expansion of ideas and opinions within a group setting. The interactive nature of focus groups enables the exchange of ideas and the creation of a comfortable environment that encourages participants to express themselves freely. The amplified participation in such groups makes this an efficient way to generate comprehensive insight from firsthand observers. To ensure a comfortable environment, especially for the volunteers, we minimized hierarchical effects by not mixing volunteers and paid staff in the same focus group.

Our data-collection process started with an exploratory session with paid staff members in the volunteer-organization department of UNL. During this session (lead by one of the authors), we discussed examples of volunteer value for the organization and, more specifically, how volunteers add value to the organization in ways that paid staff cannot (or at least to a lesser extent). This session informed our sampling methods and the structure of the eight participatory focus groups.

Sampling

The eight focus group sessions took place between late 2016 and early 2017, conducted by the researchers. The first two sessions were held at the UNL headquarters in The Hague, the Netherlands, one with members of the Volunteer Council (volunteers), and one with the Management Team (paid staff). The remaining six focus groups consisted of volunteer teams. The sessions were held at the home bases of the teams involved, which were geographically dispersed throughout the country. Participants were invited through a variety of channels: the UNL volunteer newsletter, a message on the

volunteer intranet and posts on the Volunteer Facebook pages. In addition, the three regional volunteer consultants were asked to contact RCU members.

In total, 70 people involved with UNL (21 men, 49 women) from various cities in the Netherlands participated in the focus groups. Of all participants, 13 (18.6%) were paid staff members, and 57 (81.4%) were volunteers (9 at the Volunteer Council, 24 in Regional Committees—hereinafter, RCU), and 24 were volunteers in the dedicated student volunteer teams of UNL. The participants were assembled through deliberate sampling to maximize heterogeneity. This allowed us to generate an organizationally representative sample in terms of volunteer/paid staff ratio, diversity of nationality, educational background, current employment, age (for example, the youngest participant was 18 and the oldest 76), and other characteristics.

Procedure

The focus groups were designed to foster active participation, drawing inspiration from the collaborative essence of citizen science (Haklay et al., 2021). To highlight individual experiences, we deliberately integrated moments for personal reflection alongside group interaction. To ensure a shared understanding among participants, each focus group commenced with a detailed explanation of the research goals, accompanied by illustrative examples showcasing the perceived organizational value added by volunteers as it emerged from the initial exploratory session.

The subsequent group discussions unfolded organically, as we prompted participants to start conversations about their volunteer roles and brainstorm on the distinct ways they believed their volunteer contributions added value to UNL. Following this initial group exchange, participants were allocated time for individual reflection, during which they used sticky notes to document the primary forms of added value they perceived during their volunteer work. To provide context, participants were also encouraged to accompany their notes with brief written statements providing further details on the specific form of value they had identified. This methodological nuance was intended to amplify the personal perspectives and experiences of the participants. Each session ended with a group discussion, in which the participants' written statements were discussed and thematically organized. In addition to embracing the collaborative spirit of citizen science, this served to initiate the preliminary stages of subsequent coding procedures.

The number of focus groups that should be conducted depends on reaching the point of saturation (Fusch & Lawrence, 2015). In our study, saturation occurred after seven focus groups. An eighth focus group was conducted as confirmation, and indeed, it did not yield any new information. In other words, the same forms of value and underlying drivers were brought up without mentioning new forms.

Data analysis

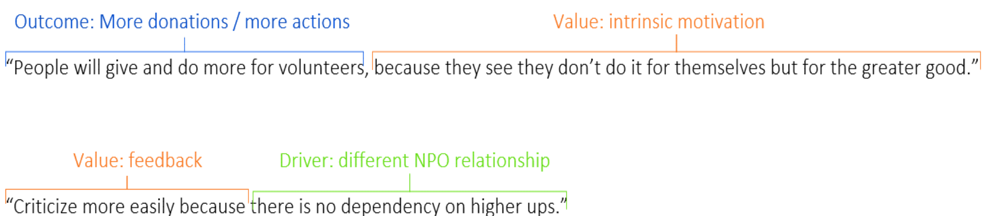
We opted for a focused data-analysis strategy, utilizing the written statements generated by participants during the individual reflection phase of the participatory focus groups. By concentrating on the written statements, we sought to extract insights expressed in the participants' own words, thereby allowing for a thorough exploration of the perceived value that volunteers attribute to their roles within the organization. All written values and statements were imported into ATLAS.ti for coding.

Applying the framework of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), we systematically and inductively coded the written statements to identify recurrent patterns. Informed by the coding patterns created by the participants during the focus groups and the group discussions, we decided to adopt a multi-focus approach for the coding process. More specifically, we coded for the "root" of value creation (e.g., not being paid), as well as for the value itself (e.g., proximity) and the outcome of created value (e.g., more donations). This was intended to allow a better understanding of the drivers underlying the creation of volunteer value in indirect support settings. We choose this approach in response to observations made during the focus groups and the process of data analysis. Although the initial goal of the focus groups was to identify unique or specific forms of volunteer value and their drivers, we also observed forms of value that could be added by hiring more paid staff as well.

The coding process ultimately resulted in three overarching themes relating to value: the complementary value of volunteering, the supplementary value of volunteers, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering (a combination of the first two themes). Each of these overarching value themes contains multiple types of value that can be added by volunteers. We also identified six drivers of volunteer value. Illustrative quotes and codes are presented in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1

Examples of coding structure



3.4 Findings

When we started collecting our data, we focused on the *what*: the value that volunteers can create due to their status as volunteers. Throughout the collection and analysis of data, however, we found drivers that could explain different types of volunteer value,

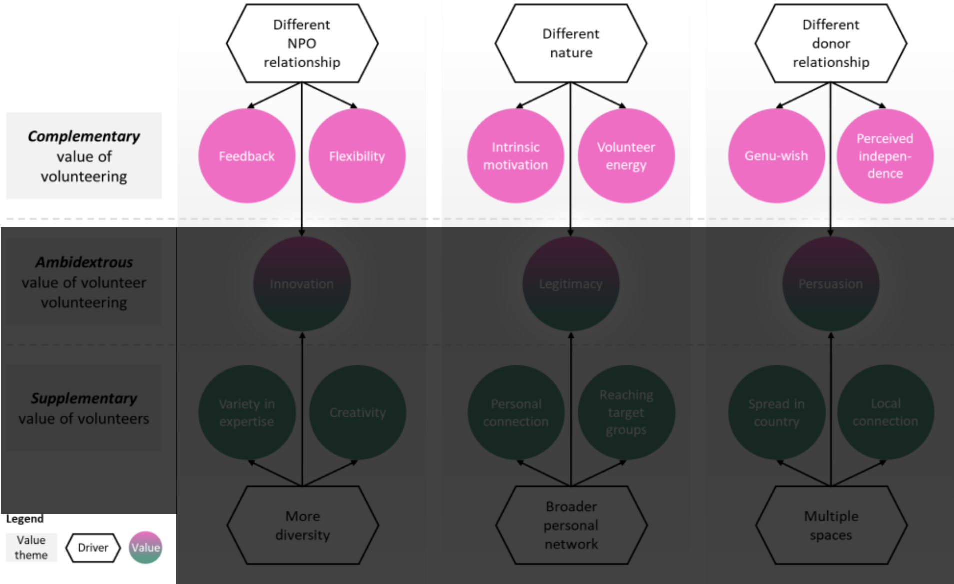
thus adding the *why* to the *what*. This section is divided into three subsections focusing on the *how*. This is intended to build a conceptual framework (see figure 3.4) of volunteer added value. The first subsection highlights the complementary value of volunteering (the drivers of which are rooted in the act of volunteering). The second subsection addresses the supplementary value of volunteers (which is driven by the number of extra hands available). Finally, the third subsection explores the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering (which is driven by the combination of complementary and supplementary value).

The complementary value of volunteering

The complementary value of volunteering is a unique theme that exists solely due to the nature of volunteering (e.g., unpaid, uncoerced). It would not exist or could even be destroyed if the task at hand were to be performed by a paid staff member. We identified three drivers that explain how this value is created. One important driver is the different starting point of volunteers, which is (or is perceived to be) different from that of paid staff. Second, the relationships volunteers form with the nonprofit organizations they work for differ from those of paid staff, as their livelihoods do not depend on their volunteering activities. Third, volunteers are perceived differently by current and potential donors, future volunteers, and other stakeholders, purely by virtue of their status as volunteers. A representation of how these drivers connect to different forms of complementary volunteering value is presented in Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2

Supplementary value of volunteering, drivers, and specific forms of value



Different relationship with the nonprofit organization

The first driver of complementary value is the different relationship that volunteers have with the organization (as compared to paid staff). During the focus groups, participants often mentioned the fact that, because their livelihood does not depend on volunteering for the NPO, volunteers experience a certain level of freedom and safety that paid staff are less likely to have. For example, volunteers have a greater opportunity to provide honest feedback to the organization. An event volunteer in The Hague wrote, "Volunteers will find it easier to be critical towards management. They see and hear things that people at headquarters do not, but that are very important to know, so the organization can use this knowledge." (ETDH8) Volunteers might find it easier to be critical because they perceive less risk, as they are not as financially dependent on the organization as paid staff members are. For example, a member of the Management Team noted that volunteers have an "independent position from the organization, due to the absence of an employment or financial relationship." (UMT14) This means that, when volunteers do express criticism they hear in the field or within their own networks, the organization cannot take away the volunteer's livelihood.

Because they are not bound to office hours and regulations, volunteers can be more flexible in terms of where and when they work for the organization: "Volunteers can easily work whenever and wherever they want, while paid staff members must often be at a certain location during office hours" (RCULM23). This also applies to the types of events volunteers wish to organize, as well as to how they organize them. Although UNL obviously has general guidelines, volunteer teams can often alter them slightly to reflect their own locations and target groups. In the focus groups, all volunteer teams mentioned examples of events they had organized, and for which they had diverged slightly from the national strategy to fit their communities better. Similarly, because they do not receive wages for their work, volunteers are free to spend as much time as they would like on certain projects or tasks ("luxury of focus"). For example, a student volunteer from Rotterdam wrote, "Freedom to act (amount of time spent). I feel more proactively engaged with UNICEF because we have no boundaries and no requirements" (STR18).

Different nature

The starting point for volunteers differs from that of their paid co-workers, as they have made a free choice to participate without pay and in their own time. This was mentioned frequently during the focus groups. For example, some participants considered their difference from paid staff important, due to the altruistic nature of their volunteer hours: "Volunteers are perceived to have more 'pure' motives (no targets, no salary)" (VB3). As expressed by these volunteers, this distinguishing factor also means that their motivations to do things for UNL are different from those of the paid staff at the headquarters. Participants frequently noted that their added value is

different from paid staff, because their motivation is purely intrinsic, in contrast to the motivation of paid staff, which is at least somewhat extrinsic, given that they are paid. A student volunteer from Eindhoven put it nicely, "People who are volunteers are motivated from another perspective than people who work. We don't do it for the money; we do it because we think it's really important" (STN10). Many participants also mentioned that volunteers are able to contribute a certain type of volunteer energy—referred to by some as "eagerness" or "passion." A volunteer from Meerkerk wrote, "[We do it] based on passion; you radiate it. You either want to do well, or you no longer choose to volunteer (commitment from passion). It's a feeling of wanting to do something good" (RCULM16).

Different relationship with potential donors (and other stakeholders)
Volunteers are also perceived to have a different relationship with potential donors (e.g., of funds, goods, future volunteer hours). This is due in part to the donor's perception of altruism. For example, a respondent from the RCU The Hague wrote that people would tell her, "You are doing it as a volunteer, so I would like to contribute." She continued, "Otherwise, they might have the idea, 'I am contributing to your salary if I give something'" (VB2). Participants also observed that potential donors perceive volunteers as credible, given that they are showing that they truly do care about the goals of the organization. In seven of the eight focus groups, participants mentioned credibility as a form of value added by volunteers. A student volunteer from Nijmegen noted, "People who volunteer are more credible than people who get paid" (STN14). Another student stated, "Volunteers are more credible. People [paid staff] may do it because their boss told them to. We [volunteers] do it because we really believe in it" (STN17) This is related to feelings of perceived independence. A member of the student team in Rotterdam noted, "You always hear that people don't trust charity because of all the money that goes to the top management. I think volunteers get way more respect" (STR15).

The focus groups revealed a form of volunteering value that has thus far not been discussed in the literature and that in English can best be described as the "goodwill factor", or *gunfactor* in Dutch, , i.e. the willingness to grant someone something, or to hope that they will be granted something even though you might want it for yourself as well, or even though it might not be the most logical decision. We refer to this form of value as 'genu-wish' (genuinely wishing something upon someone). A student in Nijmegen explained the concept of genu-wish as follows: "Because it's for the greater good and not for an individual goal, people are more willing to help us" (STN37). A participant from the volunteer council mentioned, "There is some goodwill, because people respect the volunteer's time" (VB17). A volunteer in Meerkerk noted, "Even in your network, the genu-wish plays a big role. People have reasons for giving you things, and [it influences] the ease with which you can organize events" (RCULM1). Another

participant in the same group added, "At some point, you just think they [volunteers] deserve it" (RCULM8). In The Hague, a volunteer observed, "People feel for the volunteer who is willing to make an effort without getting a reward" (ETDH11).

The supplementary value of volunteers

The supplementary value of volunteers comprises types of value that could potentially be created by paid staff members as well. Simply hiring more paid workers (possibly in a targeted manner) to perform certain tasks would have similar outcomes as having volunteers perform them, and discontinuing the involvement of volunteers in certain services or projects would not change the outcome or value created. These types of value are of a more quantitative nature, and they are largely dependent on large numbers. We identified three drivers of supplementary value: more diversity, broader networks, and customization to multiple localities. A visual representation of this value theme, its drivers and specific types of value is presented in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3

Supplementary value of volunteering, drivers, and specific forms of value

Diversity

Diversity was mentioned in seven of the eight focus groups. Within this context, diversity can have many meanings, including with regard to background (e.g., education, upbringing), personal characteristics (e.g., ethnicity, gender), and current life circumstances (e.g., paid employment, study, living situation). A volunteer from the RCU in The Hague referred to volunteers as having "many different backgrounds and

ideas" (RCUDH8). This was corroborated by a student volunteer from Rotterdam who wrote: "Creativity: Since volunteers come from different backgrounds, with different skills, and they are not brainstorming together with paid staff, it might be easier for them to come up with more creative ideas" (STR11). A student volunteer from Nijmegen added, "It is very clear that coming across people from different cultures or different views can help to make the atmosphere much more open to experiments and changes" (STN42).

Broader personal network

Like all individuals, both volunteers and paid staff members have their own personal networks with which they interact. When more volunteers are involved in an organization, the organization's network is automatically extended as well. A member of the Volunteer Council said that, because of volunteers, "new or more difficult to reach target groups can be reached" (VB13). In addition to helping in terms of numbers, the personal connections associated with these networks are important: "Volunteers together know many people who can be approached personally. From experience, I know that personal contact is much more positive than a piece in the newspaper or something like that" (ETDH4). The personal-connection aspect contributes an additional level of trust and understanding: "People understand it better when it's closer. Who is UNICEF? It could be from a family member or someone doing an event at the time" (VB15). The fact that volunteers are part of a community is helpful, as this allows members of the community to know what is happening, when an event is coming up, and when help is needed. More specifically, volunteers who tend to extend a hand to others when asked seem to benefit from a certain reciprocity when asking for favors for UNL.

Multiple spaces

Many participants also mentioned the perception that potential donors seem to have a sense of perceived proximity to volunteers. Although this could be related to the location, it often stems from another form of closeness or similarity that potential donors feel toward the volunteer. For example, as described by a member of the RCU Meerkerk, "Because of proximity, people will genu-wish something quicker with regard to sponsoring, gifts, or assistance" (RCULM10). More people can also enable wider geographic coverage (which could also be achieved through the targeted recruitment of paid staff). A member of the Volunteer Council noted, "Volunteers are spread throughout the whole country. They talk to people about UNICEF outside of office hours because events have to be organized. This way, you can reach target groups other than those that are accessible through the networks of paid staff" (VB20). In addition to talking to more people dispersed broadly throughout the country, volunteers are better connected through their spaces. As observed by a member of the Volunteer Organization: "People are more likely to feel as if they are being addressed personally

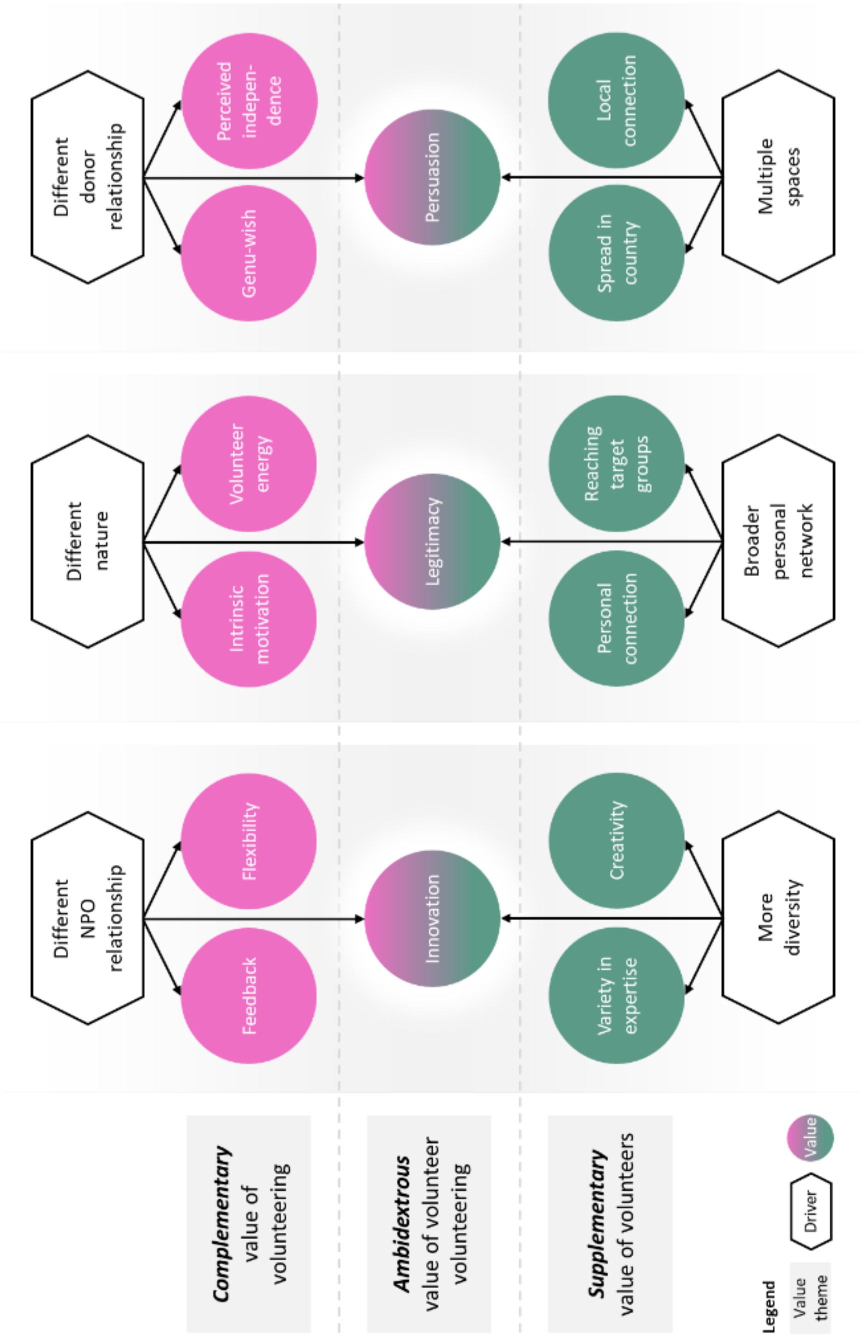
when it's someone from the same neighborhood or someone speaking the same dialect." This can allow events to be customized to specific communities. In multiple focus groups, participants mentioned events that might have had different effects in other areas of the country. For example, "Activities like the skating event that work in rural Limburg [province in the South] might not work in Friesland [province in the North] or the Randstad [network of cities]." The participant continued, "But also because Frisians talk and interact differently with each other than Limburgers do" (RCULM22). Moreover, because volunteers are often embedded within their local communities, they are likely to understand what is happening and be able to play into this when organizing events or raising funds. One volunteer wrote, "Personal contact with the environment [is important]. Everyone in my town and surroundings knows me, so they know when I need something to organize [an event], and then they want to help" (RCULM5).

The ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering

A third value theme that emerged from the analysis was less expected. This theme reflects situations in which the complementary value of volunteering and the supplementary value of volunteers combine to create "ambidextrous value" (similar to the effect of combining the facility of two hands or legs). The data revealed three types of ambidextrous value: innovation, legitimacy, and persuasion. In Figure 3.4., the previous figures are connected to form a visualization of the drivers of three types of ambidextrous value.

Figure 3.4

The value-based framework



Innovation
Participants mentioned volunteers can be a source of innovation. The underlying drivers here are diversity and the different relationship that volunteers have with their nonprofit organizations. The population of volunteers comprises a large group of people with different backgrounds, expertise, and skills, all of which translate into more creativity and new ideas. Taking this into account, along with their independence from the organization, volunteers can actually release that creativity when organizing events or coming up with new ideas for the organization. According to a student volunteer in Nijmegen, volunteers are "innovative and creative. Volunteers might have more space to think out of the box, because they have to deal with fewer rules" (STN31). A participant in the event team in The Hague noted, "Volunteers dare to experiment more and bring in new ideas. Because they are not in the working environment of UNL the whole week, they can come up with new ideas. It can never cost you your job; at most they can take your volunteer card" (ETDH5). Volunteers also have the opportunity to test out events on a smaller scale. One volunteer (RCULM13) wrote about the ability to function as a "testing ground" where they can "test smaller events in the region and see if it works. If it does, we can make it bigger. If it doesn't, it's not a problem."

Legitimacy
Volunteers can enhance the perceived legitimacy of a nonprofit organization. This is driven by the different nature of volunteers within the organization and their broadening personal networks. When people invest their own time and effort toward a goal, instead of being paid to do so (different nature), this affects how people perceive the organization. When many people do this (in the case of UNL, 2,300) and make it known within their networks (personal networks), this strengthens the legitimacy of the organization. One member of the event team in The Hague wrote, "The more volunteers, the more support. It sends a message: Together we stand strong" (ETDH1). A paid staff member in the management team stated that volunteers can be an important means for illustrating "the base of support in society" (UMT18).

Persuasion
Volunteers are more persuasive than paid staff members are. Driven by their unique relationship with current or potential donors and their ability to customize their efforts to multiple localities, volunteers have a persuasive power different from that of paid staff. As mentioned by many participants, some activities (e.g., receiving donations, helping with event planning, convince people of the organization's mission) are much easier for volunteers. Participants in multiple focus groups identified "persuasion" as one of the main forms of value added by volunteers. For example, a member of the management team wrote that "not paid equals persuasiveness" (UMT4). Another participant in the same group noted that, when volunteers explain the story of UNL,

there is a “different connotation to the message” that is more “more trustworthy/neutral/persuasive” (UMT4).

3.5 Discussion

This objective of this study was to explore how indirect service volunteers create added value for the nonprofit organizations for which they volunteer. To this end, we conducted participatory focus groups with volunteers and paid staff members from a large charitable organization in the Netherlands (UNICEF Netherlands), followed by thematic analysis. Our main conclusion is that volunteering and volunteers in indirect service settings not only save money but can create additional value within nonprofit organizations that are dominated by paid staff. Our findings reveal six drivers of the value added by volunteers that contribute to three overarching value themes: the complementary value of volunteers, the supplementary value of volunteering, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering.

The value-based framework of volunteering

The complementary value of volunteering has to do with unique values that cannot be produced by paid staff. It is driven by three fundamental differences between volunteers and paid staff: differences in the relationship with the organization, differences in the nature of the work, and differences in the relationship with donors (and other stakeholders). This finding is consistent with literature suggesting that the unique propositions of volunteers make them non-interchangeable with paid staff (Brudney & Gazley, 2002; Carter Khal, 2019). Some of our findings specifically indicate that certain types of added value that have previously been found for direct service volunteers can also be observed in indirect service settings. Moreover, the findings suggest that specific types of value added by volunteers (e.g., perceived independence, credibility) are similar for both beneficiaries and donors (either current or potential). We also identified specific types of volunteer value that are likely to emerge only in indirect service settings—more specifically in charitable, activist, and campaigning organizations. “Genu-wish” is based on the donor-volunteer relationship, which, in some cases, might seem similar to the relationship between beneficiaries and volunteers (see e.g., Hoogervorst et al., 2015; Metz et al., 2016). It is important to note, however, that beneficiaries are unlikely to genuinely wish for a volunteer to perform a service for them.

The supplementary value of volunteers could also be produced by paid staff, although it is enhanced by a number of aspects inherent to having volunteers in the organization. It is driven by three factors: more diversity, broader personal networks, and customization to multiple localities. This relates to the existing knowledge that volunteers usually come in larger numbers (as compared to paid staff), due to the part-time character of their involvement (Pearce, 1983), as well as to the fact that their paid

job experience and education (whether current or past) are likely to differ from those of paid staff (Meijs et al., 2017). Consistent with previous studies (e.g., Lam & Kuperus, 2007), our findings indicate that volunteers can make an organization more diverse.

The ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering is characterized by a combination of complementary and supplementary value. Our formulation of this value theme was inspired by the concept of organizational ambidexterity in organizational theory, where it is described as the importance or benefits of balancing—at times conflicting—roles that an organization must serve in order to be effective (see e.g., Luger et al., 2018; March, 1991; Peng, 2019). Within the context of volunteering, ambidextrous value can be regarded as a leveraged function of drivers from both the complementary and the supplementary value themes. Based on our data, we have identified three specific forms of value: innovation, legitimacy, and persuasion.

First, the innovation resulting from ambidextrous value results from the combination of a different relationship with the organization and more diversity. Due to the different character of their relationships with the organizations for which they volunteer, volunteers enjoy greater freedom to experiment, and their diversity enables them to bring in new ideas. Together, these characteristics can lead to innovation in a nonprofit organization (e.g., in terms of fundraising strategies). This is in line with the findings of other scholars, including de Wit and colleagues (2019), who found that volunteers are helpful for realizing innovations (e.g., new projects or improvements in current activities). Innovation by volunteers has also been observed within a variety of other contexts, including international scenarios (Perold et al., 2013), volunteering for open-source software (Setia et al., 2012), and social entrepreneurship (Scheiber, 2016).

Second, the different nature and broader personal networks of volunteers combine to enhance the legitimacy of the nonprofit organizations to which they contribute their efforts. This occurs as volunteers spread the organization's message to larger numbers of people within their networks. This finding is consistent with Handy and Greenspan (2009), who observe that "volunteering, especially community-oriented events and services, increased the interactions of the organization with the wider community and thus enhanced its reputation and legitimacy within the community" (p. 974). Research on the capacity of volunteers and volunteering to create legitimacy for their nonprofit organization is nevertheless scarce.

Third, the different character of the relationship between volunteers and donors combines with their capacity for customization to multiple localities adds the value of persuasion. According to our findings, volunteers are better able to persuade potential donors or volunteers to contribute their time or money to a given cause. This could possibly be due to a combination of closer proximity and higher levels of credibility. Although this specific value has yet to receive much attention in the volunteering

literature, it does have a connection to Artistotle's rhetorical triangle, such that paid staff might be better at tapping into *logos* (logic, reason), while volunteers are more effective at tapping into *ethos* (credibility, reliability) and *pathos* (emotion, sympathy).

Theoretical contributions

The study makes several contributions to existing understandings of how volunteer value is created and the types of value that can be created for nonprofit organizations by indirect service volunteers. First, we advocate a shift in focus away from the cost-saving framework and toward a value-based framework. With this argument, we build on the existing body of knowledge that explains fundamental differences between volunteers and paid staff (e.g., Brudney & Gazley, 2002; Metz et al., 2016). In the value-based framework, the decision to have a certain activity performed by either volunteers or paid staff depends on which would create the most value for society, the organization, or its beneficiaries. This decision subsequently influences the effectiveness and efficiency of the organization.

Second, we establish a conceptual framework of volunteer-added value and differentiate between three themes: the complementary value of volunteering, the supplementary value of volunteers, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering. We also identify the drivers underlying each of these themes, thereby opening the black box of substitution and interchangeability between volunteers and paid staff. In doing so, we endorse the theoretical claim that volunteers and paid staff are usually not interchangeable. In the model, we also focus on drivers that create volunteer value. We do this by replicating drivers that create volunteer value within direct service settings and extending them to indirect service settings. Moreover, we demonstrate that indirect service settings present additional unique factors that create volunteer value. We thus identify differences between drivers and value in direct and indirect service settings, thereby demonstrating that not all drivers apply to both volunteers and paid staff.

The value-based framework presented in this article extends the existing literature of volunteer value for the beneficiaries of direct service organizations to the context of indirect service volunteering. The value of volunteers for their beneficiaries has been researched quite extensively (e.g., Haski-Leventhal et al., 2009; Hoogervorst et al., 2016; Metz et al., 2016), despite the fact that not all volunteers work directly with their beneficiaries (Hartenian, 2007). Existing literature on this topic centers primarily on settings in which the volunteers are directly connected to their beneficiaries (e.g., youth mentoring, elder care). The results of our study indicate that some of these values can also be created when volunteers work in indirect settings (e.g., as board members or awareness builders). Moreover, our research has revealed a new form of value for

organizations that has not previously been mentioned in the literature: "genu-wish" (in Dutch, the *gunfactor*).

Limitations and future research

This study is subject to several limitations, due to the fact that it focuses on a single organization that clearly uses volunteers only for indirect service. All participants in the focus group participants were affiliated with UNL, either as volunteers or as paid staff members. Our findings might have been influenced by the fact that UNL is a large, established nonprofit organization with professional volunteer management. Likewise, most participants were volunteers, which could have resulted in overly positive opinions about their unique added value for the organization. Future studies should address a more diverse pool of organizations and participants, if possible, including potential donors or volunteers as well. This would make it possible to test whether our model holds for other types of organizations. Similarly, this study focuses on the value of volunteers and volunteering in direct service for a nonprofit organization. Following the micro, meso, and macro perspectives (Chapter 2 of this dissertation), future research could focus on what volunteers themselves gains from this type of volunteering and how this translates into societal value. It could be that their individual rewards are different from those realized by volunteers who receive a direct "thank you" from a beneficiary.

Conclusion and implications for practice

Why should an organization "hire" volunteers? The literature points predominantly to the financial advantages of involving volunteers for cash-strapped nonprofit organizations. Upon closer examination, however, nonprofit organizations might have reasons for enlisting volunteers that go beyond financial considerations. To date, these motivations have been suggested rather than empirically evaluated. For this reason, the present study is based on focus groups with people affiliated with a major nonprofit organization, with the goal of assessing whether these expectations would be validated by the volunteers and employees of this institution. The current study opens a debate concerning the interchangeability of volunteers and paid staff in organizations. To date, managers and academics have focused primarily on the cost-saving effects of enlisting volunteers. Previous research on direct volunteers has demonstrated that the involvement of volunteers can increase the value of an intervention (Metz et al., 2016). According to the results of our research, volunteers can also increase the value of organizational processes. This finding has policy implications for nonprofit organizations, funders, governments, and labor unions, in addition to contributing to the replacement debate.

Although the findings of our research are limited to one specific organization and the resulting sample, we attempted to increase its generalizability by conducting eight focus

groups, obtaining both written and verbal information from participants, and allowing the results to reveal the unique forms of value added by volunteers within this setting. According to the literature and the findings of the present research, volunteers can add several unique forms of values to organizations. These forms of value result from the fact that volunteers are both seen and appreciated as volunteers. These characteristics of volunteering point to three broad themes relating to value: the complementary value of volunteering, the supplementary value of volunteers, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering.

It has long been acknowledged that volunteers are valuable to many nonprofit organizations. As demonstrated by our results, their value is not restricted to financial advantages. It also extends to the more intangible—and equally useful—forms of value documented in this study.

Chapter 4

You Shall (not) Pass: Strategies for Third-Party Gatekeepers to Enhance Volunteer Inclusion

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4.1 Introduction

Over the past several decades volunteering has become more complex yet also more important for individuals and organizations (Sachar et al., 2019). Nonprofit organizations often have a never-ending quest for volunteers to sustain and expand their activities (Farmer & Fedor, 2001; Hager & Brudney, 2004). Besides its importance for nonprofit organizations, volunteering has also become valuable for other types of organizations. In education, for example, volunteering sends a signal of the "merit" of prospective students to prestigious universities (Handy et al., 2010). In the business world, volunteering showcases the involvement of corporations and their employees in corporate social responsibility (see Roza, 2016). On the other side, nonprofit organizations often have a never-ending quest for volunteers to sustain and expand their activities (Farmer & Fedor, 2001; Hager & Brudney, 2004). As the need for volunteers grows, and organizations and governments continue to explore new ways of involving individuals in volunteering (e.g. community service at schools, welfare-volunteering), the possibilities to transfer volunteer energy into actual volunteering (Brudney & Meijs, 2009) appear limitless.

Yet, inclusion in volunteering is not so straightforward (Meyer & Rameder, 2021). Within this article we use the term volunteer inclusion to refer to equal formal volunteering opportunities that are available to all individuals. Hustinx and colleagues (2010) called social inequality in volunteering a major challenge. Sachar and colleagues (2019) argue that volunteering actually exacerbates social exclusion and reproduces existing social hierarchies. In turn, social exclusion diminishes pro-social behaviors such as volunteering (Twenge et al., 2007). This potentially leads to an endless cycle of reinforced social inequalities. In their review of barriers to volunteering, Southby and colleagues (2019) state that value is lost as groups who stand to gain from and create most value for themselves by volunteering are most likely to be excluded. Scholars recognize that certain groups such as unemployed citizens, ethnic minorities, and physically disabled individuals are underrepresented in volunteering as a result of exclusion. This exclusion is practiced by organizational gatekeepers (Bonnesen, 2019), namely the individuals who are the first point of contact for prospective volunteers, and who direct them towards volunteering opportunities within nonprofit organizations.

Given that diversity within organizations reflects the dynamics in civil society, the under-representation of certain groups in volunteering is especially troublesome. Weisinger and colleagues (2016) stress the business case for diversity and recognize the importance of inclusion, noting that diversity can have meaningful impact on organizational performance and effectiveness. A diverse volunteer workforce increases the chances of beneficiaries being similar to volunteers (e.g. ethnicity, disability, religious orientation), which in turn could improve nonprofit services (McBride et al., 2011; Hoogervorst et al., 2016). Bortree and Waters (2014) argue that a diverse volunteer workforce strengthens the relationship between the nonprofit organization and the volunteer, and even improves retention of volunteers.

Addressing diversity and inclusion is also a moral imperative for nonprofit organizations. A social justice case for diversity and inclusion can be made as nonprofits should focus on reducing exclusion and marginalization (Weisinger et al., 2016). A sustainability case of volunteer inclusion has also been made. Brudney and Meijs (2009) argue that in order to sustain volunteer inclusion, new approaches to capturing volunteer energy are needed. They propose including individuals with non-volunteering antecedents as an approach to replenish volunteer energy.

Research finds that the managerial and organizational systems available to enhance inclusion in volunteering cannot usually compensate for the exclusion of volunteers (see e.g., Eliasoph 2009; 2011). A primary reason is that civil society organizations increasingly focus on efficiency. As a result, volunteer recruitment is often aimed at approaching easily accessible volunteers who already possess the skills and backgrounds for the tasks at hand (Bonnesen, 2019; Dean, 2016; Meyer & Rameder,

2021). Volunteer recruitment aimed at enhanced inclusion can be considered more costly and accordingly less efficient.

Brudney and colleagues (2019) elaborate on a promising way to favor participation over efficiency in volunteer recruitment. They introduce dual models of volunteer management. These dual volunteer management models involve two organizations that share the guidance of volunteers. There is a "sending" organization such as a corporation or school that arrange or organize volunteer opportunities for its participants. Additionally, there is a "receiving" nonprofit organization, which offers opportunities where volunteers would perform their service. In these dual volunteer management models, two gatekeepers (one at the sending-organization and the other at the receiving-organization) control the access to volunteering.

In this article we argue that gatekeepers in sending-organizations can play a significant role in surmounting exclusion for two reasons. Gatekeepers in sending-organizations (hereafter sending-gatekeepers) might have the ability to reach individuals outside the scope of the receiving-organization. They may also have the ability to prepare individuals for volunteering. In other words, sending-gatekeepers have the opportunity to recruit, train, and place potential volunteers in receiving-organizations that otherwise would not have been recruited. The role of sending-gatekeepers merit attention as this study explores how to make volunteering more inclusive to diverse groups.

This study centers on the strategies sending-gatekeepers ("first gate") can utilize to enhance volunteer inclusion in receiving nonprofit organizations. We explore the following research question: What strategies can sending-gatekeepers use to enhance volunteer inclusion in receiving nonprofit organizations? Our data emanate from ten semi-structured interviews and eight subsequent vignette interviews conducted in the Netherlands with third parties characterized as sending-gatekeepers. The interviews identify strategies for achieving and enhancing volunteer inclusion in receiving nonprofit organizations.

By answering the research question, we make three contributions to the scholarly literature. First, the study advances knowledge of inclusion and exclusion in volunteering. We demonstrate that various gatekeepers constitute a central actor in the attainment of volunteer inclusion. We theorize a (new) more complex and dynamic process that can activate and access potential volunteers in the dual volunteer management models presented by Brudney and colleagues, which heretofore "have not received serious treatment" (2019, p. 75). As policymakers increase their efforts to enhance social inclusion through volunteer participation (Hustinx et al., 2010), the strategies by which gatekeepers in these models manifest inclusion and exclusion of volunteer energy merit attention.

Second, the systematic mapping of nonprofit research by Ma and Konrath (2018) confirms the predominant stance of theory in predicting participation in volunteering on the one hand and various (desirably positive) outcomes of volunteering on the other (see for example Musick & Wilson, 2008; Smith, 1994; Wilson, 2000; 2012). Ma and Konrath (2018, p. 1148) conclude that theories of volunteering "predominantly focus on the preconditions, motivations, and consequences of volunteering." Sachar et al. (2019) echo this view, concluding that volunteering research mainly focuses on its antecedents or consequences, while volunteering itself remains a "black box." This preoccupation of volunteering research on "who volunteers" (Studer & Von Schnurbein, 2013) and on the outcomes of volunteering overlooks the activities of organizations in eliciting (or overlooking) particular types of volunteer energy. Understanding which individuals and communities are not accessed or actively recruited because they entail non-volunteering antecedents or backgrounds is an important building block toward a more inclusive volunteer workforce.

Third, most knowledge on volunteer exclusion is based on research at the individual level. By contrast, we shed unaccustomed light on the organizational side of volunteer inclusion and exclusion, as suggested by Sachar et al. (2019). We argue that current practices of volunteer management socialize volunteer managers to focus their recruitment attention on those individuals and communities that have "volunteer antecedents" (Studer & Von Schnurbein, 2013). These include antecedents such as higher education and income, which ease recruitment. Greater volunteer inclusion, however, requires volunteer managers to give attention to individuals or groups with "non-volunteering antecedents". Non-volunteering antecedents include for example, an immigrant or unemployment status or disability.

Findings provide insights on the strategies of sending-organizational gatekeepers that enhance volunteer inclusion. Our findings can have instrumental value for both sending- and receiving-organizations as well as governments. We conclude with a discussion of strategies to foster volunteer inclusion.

4.2 Volunteer Exclusion and Inclusion

Volunteer exclusion manifests itself both at the individual (i.e. volunteers) and at the organizational level (i.e. nonprofit organizations). Meijs and colleagues (2006) posit that individuals engage in volunteering according to their "volunteerability", a concept parallel to "employability" in relation to paid work. An individual's volunteerability is based on their willingness, availability, and capability to volunteer. Volunteer energy materializes into actual volunteering only when nonprofit organizations adapt to the features of an individual's volunteerability. That is to say that although some individuals might have the appropriate levels of volunteerability, they only actually engage in

volunteer service when they are approached by the right volunteer organization with a suitable volunteer job or assignment (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2018).

Individual self-selection to (not) volunteer

(Perceived) inadequate levels of volunteerability lead to individuals not seeking volunteer opportunities (Cemalcilar, 2009; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2018; Haski-leventhal et al., 2019). Useful explanatory models include the dominant status theory (Smith, 1994) and the resource theory (Wilson & Musick, 1997).

Introducing the dominant status theory of volunteering, Smith (1994) and Hustinx and colleagues (2010) show that individuals who possess more socio-cultural and socio-economic resources, such as high levels of education, wealth, and income, belong to the dominant status group of volunteering. Those with ample resources make up the largest share of the volunteer workforce. They are in higher demand by volunteer organizations (Hustinx et al., 2010) and are more likely to present themselves as prospective volunteers to nonprofit organizations (Smith, 1994). This is corroborated by Enjolras (2021) who argues that people are more likely to volunteer when their human, economic, and social capital are higher. Moreover, Handy and Cnaan (2007) find that individuals with more personal resources have greater ability to avoid or overcome social anxiety in approaching a nonprofit organization for volunteer opportunities.

While individuals with ample resources hold the largest share of the volunteer workforce and are in higher demand, the opposite holds true for individuals with restricted resources. According to Clary and colleagues (1996) the lack of personal resources affects the intrinsic or extrinsic motivations to become a volunteer. Dury and colleagues (2015), following Wilson and Musick (1997), agree that a lack of resources (e.g., low education and household income) present barriers to volunteering. Besides, some people face structural barriers such as time constraints or health issues (Sundeen et al., 2007). Negative perceptions of volunteering, negative attitudes towards volunteering, and the fear of being rejected are also reasons to not volunteer (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2018; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2019; Warburton & Smith, 2003). Additionally, those who do not volunteer are more likely to believe volunteering requires specific knowledge and skills, resulting in their perception of being under-qualified, or that the skills they do possess will be worthless (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2018; Haski-Levethal et al, 2019). In sum, the lack of certain resources or personality traits (Ackermann, 2019) results in individuals (un)consciously self-selecting themselves as non-volunteers.

Combined, these theories suggest that dominant status groups are more likely to self-select into volunteering for two reasons. First, because they possess the economic, social, and cultural resources that enable them to volunteer. Second, because these

resources are associated with dominant status positions, they render high-status volunteers that are more desirable to non-profit organizations. These theories help to explain that the volunteer workforce often consists of individuals who have, or believe they have, ample personal resources to serve nonprofit organizations. Consequently, nonprofit organizations seek individuals who belong to the dominant status group (Hustinx et al., 2010). This serves as a self-enforcing process of inclusion and exclusion of volunteers (see e.g. Dean, 2016) which can be overcome. For instance, by adequate organizational support and better information (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2008).

Organizational decision to (not) select volunteers

Although both academic and practitioner literature seem to be obsessed with recruitment (Brudney & Meijs, 2009), research on inclusion and exclusion of volunteers in the volunteer selection and matching process from the organizational, remains scarce. Given "the mere fact of being asked to volunteer greatly increases the likelihood that people start to volunteer" (Bekkers et al., 2016, p. 5), it is incomprehensible that the likelihood of being invited or asked to become a volunteer is not evenly spread (Handy & Cnaan, 2007; Smith, 1994).

Previous research provides ample evidence that individuals are typically asked to do volunteer work before they become active (see Bekkers et al., 2016). Surveys conducted by the Independent Sector Organization in the United States show that direct solicitation is a highly efficacious method of recruitment into volunteer service. For example, those asked to volunteer are much more likely to accept that invitation and to give more time (Musick & Wilson, 2008; Toppe et al., 2002). Most importantly, "the influence of solicitation does imply that the 'decision' to enter into volunteering is also made in part by others than the prospective volunteer" (Bekkers et al., 2016).

Volunteer organizations tend to target individuals with high "participation potential" in their volunteer recruitment (Musick & Wilson, 2008, p.290). That is, those individuals with positive volunteering antecedents. Participation potential relates to the dominant-status and resource approaches to volunteering discussed earlier. Bonnesen (2019) finds that in addition to the pressures for efficiency, receiving-gatekeepers exclude different social groups based on the notion of finding the perfect volunteer. For instance, Miller and colleagues (2002) show that nonprofit organizations do not consider individuals with disabilities for volunteering roles. The authors show that nonprofit organizations even insert barriers to obstruct individuals with disabilities to become volunteers. We argue that nonprofit organizations can enhance volunteer inclusion if volunteer recruitment would deliberately target audiences with non-volunteer antecedents.

Third-party Model and Dual-management Gatekeepers

Nowadays, volunteers are no longer only asked to volunteer by nonprofit organizations where the volunteer work is performed. The past decade has led to an increase in actors within the volunteering landscape. Traditionally, the volunteering landscape consists of the volunteers who give their time, the nonprofit organizations where volunteers perform their volunteer work, and the beneficiaries who benefit from the services provided by the nonprofit organization (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010). Contemporary models of volunteer management conceive of more actors involved in embedding volunteer energy (Brudney et al., 2019; Hustinx & Meijs, 2011). It is no longer only the nonprofit organization that recruits and involves volunteers, but also schools and corporations (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010), volunteer centers (Bos, 2014), and government agencies. The latter solicits volunteer service in exchange for welfare (Davis Smith, 2003; De Waele & Hustinx, 2019) and provides community service sanctions to offenders (Bazemore & Maloney, 1994).

These so-called third parties reap new sources of volunteer energy with different groups of individuals. In their third-party model of volunteering, Haski-Leventhal et al. (2010) propose that these entities expand the ways in which potential volunteer energy becomes 'activated' or 'tapped' and transformed into actual volunteer service. These third parties follow the functional re-embedding strategy trying to reintegrate, re-construct, or restore volunteering by mobilizing and enabling individuals to volunteer (Hustinx, 2010; Hustinx & Meijs, 2011). Sometimes these strategies are not without risk and can create negative consequences (Eliasoph, 2011) or support existing patterns of privilege (Wheeler-Bell, 2017).

To understand these new actors in relation to traditional actors, Brudney and colleagues (2019) articulated a Volunteer Stewardship Framework. Their framework proposes that the volunteer-activation process takes different forms and utilizes different management practices. They differentiate four basic volunteer models: membership, service, secondary, and intermediary. They distinguish volunteer models according to (1) whether volunteer administrators enjoy private access to volunteer energy, or if they must share access with other organizations (common pool); and to whether (2) the volunteer administrator has unitary control in the management of the volunteers, or this control is shared with another organization.

According to Brudney et al. (2019) the membership model accesses volunteer energy amongst their own members or constituents and transforms the volunteer energy into voluntary work within that same organization. In the service model, volunteer energy is activated amongst a common pool of potential volunteers by a nonprofit organization and is reaped by the same nonprofit organization to deliver products or services to the nonprofit's beneficiary group. These two models have a single

management model: the sending-organization is the same as the receiving-organization. The other two models adhere to shared or dual volunteer management, which can be found in the third-party model of Haski-Leventhal and colleagues (2010). In the secondary model, sending-organizations such as corporations, schools, and government agencies access volunteer energy amongst their own members or constituencies and send them to receiving-organizations in the community. The same applies to the intermediary model (e.g., volunteer centers), although these actors do not have a private pool of potential volunteers. In the secondary and intermediary models two gatekeepers share volunteer management (Brudney et al., 2019). Sometimes the gatekeepers in the sending-organizations have their own instrumental goal to have their constituents volunteer (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010), for instance the development of professional skills in corporate volunteering, community interest in school-based service learning, or employment in workfare schemes.

As elaborated upon earlier, volunteering excludes certain individuals when volunteer recruitment only targets those individuals with volunteering potential (i.e., having certain antecedents and backgrounds) (Davies, 2018; Musick & Wilson, 2008). Volunteer gatekeepers consider certain groups as inappropriate and inefficient audiences when they recruit for volunteers. Volunteer gatekeepers presume that individuals having non-voluntary antecedents (e.g., lower education or income levels) possess low levels of volunteerability. According to Studer and Von Schnurbein, nonprofit organizations are challenged "to find the 'right' volunteers" (2013, p. 418), suggesting that volunteer recruitment entails volunteer selection and, hence, volunteer exclusion. While activities such as screening and matching volunteers is an efficient and effective strategy to meet organizational needs, they jeopardize volunteer inclusion.

To enhance volunteer inclusion, we argue that sending-gatekeepers can play a role in the shared volunteer models. Community service at schools (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010), corporate volunteering (Meijs et al., 2006), obligatory forms of volunteering (Bridges Karr, 2007), and national days of service (Maas et al., 2020) can introduce individuals to volunteering. If sending-gatekeepers (also) include those with non-volunteering antecedents, these potential new volunteers can become aware of the value of volunteering and of the fact that they can contribute to the volunteer service. In that way, third parties can motivate those who would otherwise self-select not to volunteer or who would be excluded from the volunteer service. For instance, Roza (2016) finds that corporate volunteering motivates employees who otherwise do not volunteer. Kampen and colleagues (2019) examine volunteer programs wherein individuals are obligated to volunteer to receive welfare payments. These programs incite volunteer service from former or non-volunteers.

As volunteer gatekeepers control access to volunteer service by allowing or disallowing individuals to volunteer, we explore the strategies that sending-gatekeepers can use to

enhance volunteer inclusion. We now turn to the methodology and data that inform our study.

4.3 Methodology

Data Collection

As research on the phenomenon is scarce, our study adopts an exploratory qualitative research approach (De Boer & Smaling, 2011; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007). This case study approach is appropriate as it facilitates theoretical development and helps us to understand respondents' meanings and perceptions (De Boer & Smaling, 2011).

We collected data in a two-phase interview process consisting of semi-structured interviews in the first phase and vignette-based interviews in the second phase. We invited all respondents based on convenience sampling through an email-listing of practitioners, provided by the Association for Dutch Organizations of Volunteering (NOV). NOV encompasses more than 360 affiliated sending- and receiving-organizations. The solicitation began with a brief description of the study, followed by an invitation to participate in an interview. Our data emanate from 18 semi-structured and vignette-based interviews with 15 sending-gatekeepers in organizations that mobilize and send volunteers for volunteer service in receiving-organizations. Respondents had between two and 10 years of experience in these positions and worked at, for example, companies with corporate volunteering programs and volunteer centers that organize community service. Some respondents worked at organizations that specifically focus on stimulating volunteer involvement with groups with non-volunteering antecedents, while others target the population of prospective volunteers more generally. Three respondents participated in both phases of the data collection, resulting in 12 unique respondents. Interviews were conducted in Dutch, the native language of the respondents.[3] All interviews were recorded with consent of the respondents, and notes were taken by the interviewer during and immediately after the interviews.

Phase 1

Respondents in the first phase of the study were gatekeepers at sending-organizations. Five respondents worked in intermediary models as defined by Brudney et al. (2019) (e.g., representatives of volunteer centers) and five respondents in secondary models (e.g., representatives of corporations).

We conducted one face-to-face, and nine virtual interviews; interviews ranged in length between 30 and 60 minutes. Interviews followed a semi-structured approach, where

[3] Citations in our results are translated from Dutch to English. Quotes were first translated from Dutch to English by the first author and consequently translated back to Dutch by the second author to enhance data validity. Differences in translations where discussed and lasted until consensus was reached.

respondents answered both pre-determined and improvised open-ended questions (Jamshed, 2014; McIntocs & Morse, 2015). Interviews began with a brief description of the research, followed by questions about the interviewee's experience with intermediary and/or secondary management of volunteers, respondent's thoughts on how these shared volunteer management models might lead to the inclusion and exclusion of prospective volunteers, and how inclusion within volunteerism could be enhanced more generally. In the first phase of the data collection, respondents discussed strategies that their organizations implement to enhance volunteer inclusion. Respondents also shared their ideas on other strategies that enhance volunteer inclusion.

Phase 2

Guided by the first set of interviews and literature, we developed six vignettes representing various third-party models (three intermediary, three secondary) to conduct vignette-based interviews to prompt respondents (Jenkins et al., 2010). Following Spalding and Philips (2007), the vignettes were inspired by our initial interview data to assure the data's credibility. Vignettes are a technique used in in-depth interviews or focus groups that provide sketches or fictional scenarios, while still grounded in reality, whereby respondents are invited to respond to scenarios by drawing on their own experience. The presentation of vignettes results in collecting "situated data" (Bloor & Wood, 2006). Vignettes "act as a stimulus to extend discussion of the scenario in question" (Bloor & Wood, 2006, p. 183). An advantage of vignette interviewing is that it is less confrontational to ask interviewees to put themselves in the shoes of hypothetical characters, which can yield rich and sensitive data otherwise not available (Jenkins et al., 2010). Vignettes provide a valuable research tool for exploring people's perceptions, attitudes, beliefs, and meanings concerning specific situations (Barter & Renold, 1999; Hughes & Huby, 2002). They can "meet the demands of rigor required of qualitative research" (Wilson & While 1998, p. 85) and have been documented as a useful research strategy for more than 25 years (Spalding & Philips, 2007).

The six vignettes we generated recounted hypothetical situations related to the inclusion or exclusion of volunteers. For instance, one vignette about the secondary model portrays a situation wherein only certain schools participate in the community service program despite it not being mandatory anymore. Another vignette on the intermediary model describes the methods of recruitment undertaken by a volunteer center. The vignettes were standardized to facilitate analysis and comparison across respondents. For this phase of the data collection, we conducted six vignette-based interviews with a total of eight respondents. Interviews were conducted via face-to-face (three), telephone (one) or video calls (two); all ranged in length between 45 and 90 minutes. The vignettes were presented in writing (Hughes, 1998) in the face-to-face

interviews or were emailed during the (video) calls. Following the presentation of a vignette, respondents were asked a set of questions on levels of inclusion in the scenario, proposed strategies for further inclusion presented in the vignette, and their own additional proposed strategies for enhanced inclusion. In addition, the interviewer probed to gain further insights. The vignettes solicited discussion from respondents on the organizational strategies to enhance volunteer inclusion.

Data Analysis

The semi-structured and vignette-based interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed. The transcriptions and interview notes resulted in 118 pages of raw data after carefully excluding irrelevant sections of the documentations (e.g. exchanging pleasantries, digressing from main topic). These data were subjected to procedures commonly used in qualitative data analysis (Eisenhardt, 1989). Codes were generated based on a mixed approach between deductive and inductive analysis. On the one hand, we used a systematic inductive approach in which we analyzed the data closely and developed coding of the information (Gioia & Hamilton, 2012). On the other hand, the codes were derived theoretically, taking into account the research question of the study and the knowledge regarding the topic. Theoretical saturation was determined when the analysis of the data generated no new codes (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Eventually codes with similar attributes, repetitive patterns and consistencies were organized into broader, more comprehensive themes (i.e., strategies).

The first author coded all data, while the second author coded about half of the data. The two coders compared the coding schemes and discussed any discrepancies, leading to modifications of the coding scheme. For example, the coders noticed that the two coders viewed group activities as either a training for volunteers or an introduction for the receiving-organization. Ultimately, this code was split up into two codes: training for prospective volunteers and meet-and-greet for receiving-organizations.

Below we present the findings from our study of interviews with sending-gatekeepers in the Netherlands.

4.4. Findings

All respondents agreed that oftentimes current mechanisms and processes to attract and place individuals in volunteering are not inclusive. In their experience, individuals with non-volunteer antecedents are often underrepresented, possibly as a result of not being asked to volunteer. Respondents recognize factors such as a person's neighborhood, income, social status, migrant background, employment status, religion, age, and mental and physical abilities. More importantly, our data identifies three strategies that sending-gatekeepers could utilize to enhance volunteer inclusion: encouraging, enabling, and enforcing as presented in the coding scheme (table 4.1) and elaborated on below.

Table 4.1

Coding scheme

Concept	Category	Theme
Giving volunteering a different name Don't call it volunteering	Changing terminology	Encouraging
Promotion using intranet Warm recruitment Cold recruitment	Recruiting potential volunteers	
Guest lectures Inspirational Workshops about volunteering Shadowing to show what volunteering is Conversations	Explaining volunteering	
Workshops on "new faces" Info evenings Trial days Meet-and-greets "Eliminate" third gatekeeper Volunteer matching Intakes	Prepare receiving organizations	Enabling
Workshops on skills Group activities Focus on volunteer assets "Eliminate" second gatekeeper Volunteer preference considered	Prepare prospective volunteers	
Obligating bypasses monetary concerns Obligating bypasses time constraints Obligating connects new people to volunteering Obligating means everyone joins	Mandatory volunteering enhances inclusion	Enforcing
Doubts sustainability of mandatory volunteering Doubts internal motivation when enforced	Mandatory volunteering possible negative externalities	

Encouraging

To enhance inclusion, respondents mention the importance of recruiting potential volunteers, specifically individuals with non-volunteering antecedents. Some respondents mention this might start by changing the terminology and not calling it 'volunteering' anymore, as the verb might be off-putting to non-volunteers. "We call it doing something for someone or society," mentioned a respondent.

Multiple respondents talk about ways to teach people what volunteering is. They do this by going to locations usually frequented by individuals who have non-volunteering antecedents. They give guest lectures, inspirational sessions, and workshops about different types of volunteering, and what it means for volunteers and their community. Furthermore, respondents argue that finding spokespeople from the communities of non-volunteers will help: "You need to break barriers and show them that volunteering is not scary, and that most people can do it [volunteering]."

Another method is to show what volunteering is by having potential volunteers shadow a volunteer for a few hours: "We organize activities where current volunteers can bring others, so they can have that [volunteer] experience and might think: 'That might be nice to do.'"

When it comes to recruitment, respondents call upon both cold and warm recruitment to attract potential volunteers. Cold recruitment includes methods like hanging up flyers, posting on (internal) online platforms and using social media (mentioned only by respondents in the intermediary model). Respondents suggested that cold recruitment methods can "work if this is the way individuals inform themselves". It was also noted that it "is not just about putting flyers up in the right place, it also what happens to them next."

Regarding warm recruitment, several respondents suggest that relocating warm recruitment efforts toward other neighborhoods, different schools or companies, disabled individuals, or other age groups could attract specific individuals who are normally excluded from volunteering. Most respondents mention that "word of mouth" is key to attracting new volunteers. One respondent observes: "You need to go to the neighborhood center and speak to them when you are accompanied by someone who is already volunteering. Go to a mosque or a school. Find their friends." Another respondent emphasizes the personal touch: "Personal contact, exchanging experiences: 'Come with me, so you can see what I do. If you like it, you can also apply, if not, you don't'. That is important."

Enabling

The data suggests that sending-gatekeepers have the opportunity to enable both the prospective volunteer to volunteer and enable the receiving-organization to be enhance volunteer inclusion.

Enabling the volunteer

Several respondents suggest that in cases where prospective volunteers feel underqualified, offering workshops or trainings on skills could be a method to enhance inclusion. Another respondent's idea is to "organize group activities to get to know the [receiving-] organization and focus on personal development." Multiple respondents emphasize the importance of a good intake, where the volunteer's preferences regarding the (location of the) receiving-organization, volunteer task, job-length, and frequency are considered. "When someone wants to join, they will do an intake here. Then we talk about 'Have you done this before? Why do you want to join? What are you looking for?'", states a respondent. Respondents also consider the importance of trial days, where prospective volunteers can find out if the receiving-organization and volunteer-role are a fit, before fully committing.

Multiple respondents mention that prospective volunteers can be encouraged and feel more at ease with the introduction of a volunteer-buddy. For example, a respondent recalls: "We prefer at least two people going somewhere [receiving-organization], because it is more fun." The respondent further explains that with asylum-seekers a volunteer-buddy also helps to overcome the language-barrier: "We also look at language, we try to always have someone join who can speak English…and ask the [receiving-]organizations to help them learn Dutch." Another idea is a volunteer-buddy directing prospective volunteers to receiving-organization: "We have bicycle-volunteers and if they [prospective volunteers] have a volunteer-job, we have bicycle-volunteer who cycle with them to the [receiving-] organization."

Respondents also mention some individuals might need (financial) support to start volunteering, for example a small volunteer stipend or covering their travel cost. Another type of support suggested is allowing employees to volunteer during working hours.

Furthermore, our respondents introduce the concept of the "third gatekeeper" who sending-gatekeepers need to consider. This third gatekeeper is someone with autonomy over the prospective volunteer, for example their parent or direct manager. Prospective volunteers might need their permission to start volunteering, meaning that the sending-gatekeeper needs to actively engage with these individuals as well.

Enabling the receiving-organization

To open up the receiving-organization for new volunteers, respondents suggest sending-gatekeepers to organize informational sessions to showcase what these "new" individuals have to offer. For example, by organizing meet & greets or group activities at the receiving organization. This way, organizations might learn that the "perfect volunteer" could be found outside of their usual target group and will ask people with non-volunteering antecedent to join their organization in the future. A respondent suggests: "I think it is our job to let [receiving-]organizations know: 'Something new is coming. We will keep you posted. It is about this and this target group, just think about it already. If you have any questions about it [new prospective volunteers], we will answer them.' This way the [receiving-]organization know what's coming."

One respondent highlighted that their sending-organization does not allow the receiving-organizations to deny individuals who applied to volunteer. Other respondents recommended negotiations between the sending- and receiving-organizations to clarify and cement their commitment to volunteering.

Enforcing

A third, perhaps contested, strategy is mandated volunteering. Several respondents mention that mandated volunteering opportunities can enhance the inclusion. The goal of inclusion is enhanced by making participation in corporate or community service volunteering programs mandatory for all employees or students. All respondents agree that enforcing volunteering will help enhance volunteer inclusion. Yet, respondents question the durability and effectiveness of these measures. Our data indicate that most respondents indicate that obligated volunteering might have negative consequences on the volunteer organization, its regular volunteers, and/or its beneficiaries. Respondents note that negative consequences arise if "the volunteer does not really want to be there". Although enforcement strategies could be practiced by gatekeepers of sending-organizations to pursue more inclusion, respondents raise caution that receiving-gatekeepers may remain wary.

On the other hand, some respondents could recall instances in which mandated volunteering transformed into a positive and sustainable relationship between the volunteer and the receiving organizations and their beneficiaries. For example, a respondent notes: "One time two girls volunteered at a monastery. I was called by their school asking me where the girls were…They were not at school and not at home, so I thought maybe I should call the monastery. It turned out the girls were there again even after their community service ended…They were like: So what?! This is important, I'm not just going to stop helping". Another respondent recalled an example of a boy who continued visiting an elderly man, because the boy said; "If I quit no one will visit this man. That would be very bad, so I am just going to continue visiting."

4.5 Discussion

Despite increasing importance of volunteering for individuals, organizations, and society (Sachar et al., 2019), the lack of inclusion and representation of certain groups in volunteering is troublesome (Hustinx et al., 2010; Meyer & Rameder, 2021). Research shows certain individuals tend to be excluded from volunteer opportunities based on their own perceptions about non-volunteering antecedents, and perceptions by receiving-organizations. Non-volunteering antecedents include a lack of economic, social and cultural resources needed to engage in volunteering (e.g., Hustinx et al., 2010; Smith, 1994). The dominant status theory of volunteering (Hustinx et al., 2010; Smith, 1994) suggest that individuals who belong to the dominant status group of volunteering possess more socio-cultural and socio-economic recourses (e.g. high levels of education, income). These individuals are more likely to find volunteering opportunities on their own. Our study affirms this view and finds similar results highlighting that individuals with non-volunteering antecedents are not being asked.

In this research we argue that sending-gatekeepers in third-party models can be part of the solution in creating a more inclusive volunteer workforce. Grounded in the experiences of the gatekeepers we interviewed, our data provide a more nuanced picture of volunteer inclusion than currently portrayed in the scholarly literature. The strategies point to the role played by third parties and receiving-organizations in attracting, or overlooking, certain individuals in volunteering. Our results indicate that sending-gatekeepers can use three overarching strategies to include more individuals with non-volunteering antecedents: encouraging, enabling, and enforcing.

Our three strategies suggest that the sending-gatekeeper at schools, companies, and volunteer centers for instance can broaden their pools of potential or prospective volunteers for receiving-organizations by shifting attention to those less likely to volunteer, i.e., those with non-volunteering antecedents. This connects well with the concept of volunteerability introduced by Meijs and colleagues (2006), as research shows that with the right methods individuals with non-volunteering antecedents could be more inclined to volunteer with the right barriers removed (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2018).

An individual's willingness to volunteer is based on their perceptions of, attitudes toward, and motivations to start volunteering. Willingness can be increased by strategies aimed at encouraging, for example changing terminology or explaining what volunteering is. Capability refers to the (perceived) skills and competences a volunteer has (Haski-Leventhal et al., 2010). Enabling strategies, such as workshops on personal development, can help increase the capability within volunteerability. Availability is the perception of time an individual has to volunteer; it can be increased by all three strategies. Enabling and encouraging can change perceptions of availability. The most

powerful strategy is enforcing as it influences willingness and availability almost in a binary way. For instance, corporate social team building activities during worktime are accepted as obligatory by the employees.

Haski-Leventhal and colleagues (2018, p. 1152) state that "countering the barriers that prevent people from volunteering may, in fact, be more effective than merely appealing for individuals to volunteer more often". This view is corroborated by our data as our three strategies of encouraging, enabling, and enforcing will help both individuals and organizations to overcome those barriers. We show that especially sending-gatekeepers can be very powerful in removing these barriers.

Some of the excluded individuals do volunteer informally, as less human capital is needed for this (Hustinx et al., 2010; Wilson & Musick, 1997). The encouraging and enabling strategies aim at deformalizing volunteering, minimizing the distance between informal and formal volunteering.

The third strategy for enhanced inclusion, enforcing, is however a contested one. Like Bridges Karr (2007) and Kampen and colleagues (2019), our data show that obligatory forms of volunteering can introduce new individuals to volunteering. Similar to Eliasoph (2009; 2011) and Lichterman (2006) our respondents do question whether this form of volunteering is effective, as volunteering without intrinsic motivation could be seen as not pure. Respondents also doubt the sustainability of mandated volunteering, though they do present positive stories of individuals continuing their volunteer service after obligations are lifted. Ultimately, enforcing is contested on a normative level, but can seemingly enhance volunteer inclusion.

Dunn and colleagues report that studies find several barriers to recruitment, one of which is resource constraints (2020). This leads to the question why nonprofit organizations would use limited resources to focus on recruiting individuals with non-volunteering antecedents. In dual management models, the sending-gatekeepers is responsible for the recruitment tasks and also carry the cost. This means that third-party gatekeepers are, in fact, a very cost-efficient and effective way for nonprofit organizations to include volunteers with non-volunteering antecedents.

Although we hope that our findings may lend new insight into understanding the organizational sources and possible remedies of volunteer exclusion, we must be cautious in generalizing our findings to other locations and contexts. Our qualitative data emanate from the Netherlands, a country that boasts a strong volunteering tradition where almost fifty percent of the adult population volunteers at least a few times a year (Arends & Smeeds, 2018). We are cautious in extending our findings to countries with different volunteer histories or traditions. In addition, as the secondary and intermediary volunteer models are still quite new in the Netherlands, our sample

was limited (12 unique respondents), with the respondents often identifying similar issues and expressing convergent approaches. Respondents also noted that the subject of our study, inclusion in volunteering, is a sensitive matter. This could have limited openness in their responses and evoked socially desirable responses.

We encourage further research to deepen our understanding of non-volunteering antecedents. As Haski-Leventhal and colleagues (2018) explain, most knowledge regarding who does not volunteer, and knowledge on policies to convert non-volunteers into volunteers is based on (former) volunteers who have not volunteered in the past year. In many cases these individuals have volunteered before and are not part of those perennially excluded. Yet, based on our interviews and recent statistics in the Netherlands, even in a country with half of the population volunteering, large groups of people consistently do not volunteer.

Our strategies focus on what sending-gatekeepers can do to enhance inclusion in volunteering. In this scenario, receiving organizations would need to start thinking more proactively about how to manage the new workforce diversity. This merits attention as previous research shows that volunteer inclusion is associated with improved need-satisfaction, competence, productivity, and retention (Boezeman & Ellemers, 2009). Future research might explore how to effectively manage volunteer workforce diversity in receiving-organizations.

As our research suggests three strategies for gatekeepers in sending-organizations to enhance volunteer inclusion, future research might also explore whether these strategies should be applied separately or together. Another question for research is whether these strategies should be tailored to specific target groups and how to identify those. Future research could also expand knowledge on the potential negative effects on strategies for enhanced volunteer inclusion. Some literature highlights the negative effects of obligating volunteering. Volunteer obligation might thus not lead to sustainable volunteer energy, and it might affect adversely the organization, other volunteers, as well as beneficiaries. While strategies for volunteer inclusion may open organizations to this activity, unintended dilemmas can also result (Eliasoph 2009, 2011; Lichterman 2006), warranting further research.

Nevertheless, failure to attract and renew potential sources of volunteer energy, particularly from excluded individuals, may threaten the new reproductive capacity of the volunteering commons (Brudney & Meijs, 2009). No source of volunteer energy can -- or should -- be overlooked. Volunteer gatekeepers at sending-organizations in third-party models of volunteering have a unique vantage point in enhancing volunteer inclusion.

Chapter 5

The value of diasporic cross-border philanthropy and voluntourism

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5.1 Introduction

The concept of the "global civil society" is now fairly commonplace—within academia, in the mass media, and amongst a broader public (Taylor, 2002). Waterman (1996) remarked that the provenance of the term is not well grounded and that "global civil society" has not yet passed "through the forge of theoretical clarification or the sieve of public debate" (p.170). Indeed, when employed, the term has generally served as a kind of catchall term for nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) or social movements, of all shapes and sizes, operating in the international realm. In addition, what is required to interpret global civil society further, is what existing approaches have failed to offer: a global approach for, and to, studying a global phenomenon. An approach that—more than has hitherto been the case—embraces interpretative and contextual research methods to probe people's subjective experiences, perceptions, and feelings. First and foremost, this requires moving beyond state-centric perspectives to view the domain of global civil society as a complex and highly dynamic multiorganizational field in which the intrinsic meaning of what is experienced by actors within this field forms a central part of analysis. This multiorganizational field encompasses both those organizations that tend to work within the INGO and nation-state system and are involved in complex multilateralism, and those movements—anti-neoliberal and anticorporate alike—committed to street protest and other forms of direct action (Taylor, 2002).

One of the forms of direct action committed in the global civil field is volunteering. Volunteering means any activity in which time is given freely to benefit another person,

group, or organization. This definition does not preclude volunteers from benefiting from their work. Whether these benefits can include material rewards is open for debate (Wilson, 2000), and immaterial rewards, for both the giving and receiving end of volunteering. In this chapter, we will specifically be focusing on the latter, combined with the concept of tourism that goes hand-in-hand through the concept of voluntourism (Bakker & Lamoureux, 2008).

In between her two masters degrees, Malika decided to spend a year abroad. While seeking to better understand her ethnic Moroccan roots, she decided to combine her search with her desire to mean something for this world. Malika moved to Morocco and spent her spare time teaching English and French in an orphanage. Besides her own luggage, Malika also brought 50 boxes filled with pens, pencils, papers sorts, schoolbooks, and everything else a child may possibly need when attending primary school. Along with these boxes, there were 50 more filled with empty schoolbags, socks and shoes of all sizes, small hats, and winter coats. As Malika shared her planned adventure to her country of origin with her social media contacts, she added that she didn't only want to go and take something from the country. She also wanted to give something in return. Returning to Morocco on an annual base for several years in a row, did not only result in a solid network within the country's human aid organizations, but it also led Malika to build a data set from which she gained and created many professional possibilities. One of those being her current PhD project.

Malika is not the typical ´white saviour´ you might think of when reading about volunteer tourism. Indeed, "the voluntourist who typically features in popular and academic articles is a young, white, single woman from the Global North who is either in college or recently graduated from college" (Germann Molz, 2016, p. 806). This is not to say that only young, white women voluntour, in fact people of all genders, ages and ethnicities do, however the stories described in most academic articles are more likely to be similar to that of Philine:

Philine is a white, university-educated, woman in her thirties who grew up in a well-off family. When she was 17 years old, freshly graduated with her VWO (university preparatory education) diploma, she was not quite sure about the next steps in her life, so she decided to do a gap-year. She worked in hospitality and sales for a few months while saving up and planning a three-month trip to South-East Asia. This being her first intercontinental travel, Philine consulted a booking agency to explore their options. A few minutes into the conversation, the option to volunteer in Thailand came up and got her very excited. After some considerations, she decided on a six-week program with Activity International for which she paid around 1200 Euros. After two "cultural" weeks, a trekking week and a beach week, it was time to volunteer for two weeks. Philine was quite confused and annoyed at the time: She initially signed up to help with the construction of clay houses but was not allowed to do this as it was "a

man's job." Accordingly, she went with her second choice, volunteering with young children at an orphanage. She soon learned that the "orphans" were not there, because they were with their parents in the mountains. She was so confused – how do orphans have parents? The group ended up renovating the "orphanage", they spent two weeks painting walls, gardening, and sanding & painting school benches. Plenty of pictures were taken and shared on social media and the volunteer activity was proudly presented on Philine's CV for several years after.

In this chapter we explore our current knowledge about experiences like Philine's while we also wonder: do we need to ask the same questions when diaspora like Malika participate in volunteer tourism? And if we do, do we expect different answers? Are there any questions that have not been explored for traditional voluntourists, that might be necessary to ask from this diaspora perspective? And would those questions also need to be explored for traditional volunteer tourists? Lastly, does giving money create a different set of questions than giving time cross-border?

5.2 Volunteer tourism, the traditional questions

The most commonly used definition for volunteer tourism is Wearing's (2001) original: "people who for various reasons, volunteer in an organized way to undertake holidays that might involve the aiding or alleviating the material poverty of some groups in society, the restoration of certain environments, or research into aspects of society or environment" (p. 1). However, since voluntourism can take many shapes and forms, ranging from so called ´orphanage volunteering´ to assisting in ecological projects, we stick to a more neutral and broad description similar to that of Guttentag (2009): Voluntourism describes the act of individuals participating in volunteering while travelling.

To capture the diversity and complexity in the field Kinsbergen and colleagues created a taxonomy of international volunteering providers (Kinsbergen et al., 2021), which in our view distinguishes volunteer tourism from other types of international volunteering clearly. In the taxonomy, distinctions are made on two dimensions, orientation (tourism vs development) and volunteer strategy (primary or secondary), resulting in four types of international volunteering.

First, development-oriented providers with international volunteering as a primary strategy are nonprofit organizations that provide international volunteer with goals connected to the host communities' interests, they see volunteering as both a goal itself and as a means to reach development goals and are more dependent (financially) on the demand for their service. Second, development-oriented providers with international volunteering as a secondary strategy are nonprofit organizations that provide international volunteering on the side. Their goals also align with the host community needs, however they only see volunteering as a means to achieve

development goals and they are less depended on the market. Third, tourism-oriented providers with international volunteering as a primary strategy are the commercial international volunteering organizations. They focus on the goals and interests on the travelers, see volunteering as a goal itself, and are quite dependent on the demand for their service. Fourth are the commercial tourist companies that also offer options to volunteer, they also go by the preferences of the travelers and see volunteering as a goal itself, however they are fairly independent from the trends in volunteering (Kinsbergen et al., 2021). Despite the difference, most of these organizations work with models of shared volunteer management (Brudney et al., 2019), which offer the advantage of higher volunteer inclusion (van Overbeeke et al., 2021).

Following this taxonomy, international volunteering providers and participants with an orientation that is tourism-based are considered volunteer tourists or voluntourists. Development oriented organizations and volunteer, such as UN Volunteers, are not considered as volunteer tourists, as their main objective is volunteering and development, not leisure (United National Volunteers, 2015).

Although the first notions of voluntourism already stem from the early 1900s, there has been an explosive rise in the market in the last decades due to growth in opportunities for both volunteering and international tourism (Wearing, 2004; Callanan & Thomas, 2005). As definitions differ, it is difficult to calculate the size of the market. However, McGehee (2014) estimates that close to 1.5 billion dollars is being spend by about 10 million volunteer tourists every year[4]. It is worth noting, that this billion-dollar market has been highly commercialized over the years, and much of this money stays in the hands of large for-profit third party sending-organizations (Guttentag, 2009**)**.

With the market for voluntourism growing, so has academic interest. The topic has been researched widely over the past years (Dolezal & Miezelyte, 2020). Research on voluntourism was overwhelmingly positive in the early 2000s, mostly focusing on the voluntourists – their motivations, benefits and positive impact. Scholars over the years have pointed at for example the work achieved by the volunteer tourists, the revenue created by sending organizations, the intercultural experiences between volunteers and host communities, and the personal growth of the volunteer (see Wearing & McGehee, 2013 for an elaborate review). Overall, this positive value created through volutourism seems to mostly benefit the volunteer tourists themselves.

More recently scholars have started publishing more critical research on the phenomenon as the focus is shifting from the value for the voluntourists themselves towards the other players in the field, the host communities. While some researchers find positive values for host communities as well, Guttentag's (2009) review of the

[4] The COVID-19 pandemic has had a massive impact on these numbers in 2020, a big player (Projects Abroad) mentioned numbers went down by 98% in April 2020 (Tomazos & Murdy, 2020)

literature on volunteer tourism highlights several ways in which negative value may be created. This review informed many others on the possible negative effects of volunteer tourism (e.g., Wearing & McGehee, 2013; Dolezal & Miezelyte, 2020; Jakubiak, 2020). In this section, we propose how these negative values might be different when the volunteer tourism is performed by diaspora rather than traditional voluntourists.[5]

Local Community Involvement

Guttentag (2009) first points at the disregard of the local community's involvement and wishes. His review shows the focus of voluntourism organizations on the motivations, desires and needs of the voluntourist over that of the local community. Arguments for this focus stem from wanting to keep voluntourists involved, possibly because otherwise no "development" will happen or because of a profit-mindset. The views of the Global North are seen as superior to those of the Global South, this show of paternalism and white saviorism is why there is usually a lack of consultation with the local community when it comes to "solutions" to "problems". What the sending-organization thinks is good for the local community, but the latter does not experience this in the same way.

However, diasporic volunteer tourists who have roots in the country they visit, might be able to create a closer connection to the local community. Perhaps they organize their voluntourism in a different way, for example by using their personal connections instead of a big organization to find a project to voluntour at. Similarly, it would be interesting to explore in which ways diasporic volunteer tourists research the local community and the project before travelling. Is different value created when the organization and pre-research is performed differently?

Knowledge and Skills

Guttentag (2009) also critiques volunteer tourism because, voluntourists often seem to have a sense of superiority when it comes to knowledge and skills. Almost no skills are required to participate in a voluntourism activity. While some would say that small things can make a difference, it is questioned by several authors what actual value is created by voluntourists without the necessary skills, language and cultural knowledge (Simpson, 2004; Callanan & Thomas, 2005). Some claim negative value is created because of this with voluntourist even hindering work progress and leaving unsatisfactory work.

While we do not want to make the claim that diasporic volunteer tourists might have a different skillset from the average volunteer tourist, having their roots in the travel destination might have an influence on the language and cultural knowledge this specific group of voluntourists possess. It would be interesting to find out if a different

[5] We realize that not all diaspora have a close relation with the country in question, this will be discussed in section 3.

kind of value is created when volunteer tourists understand the culture and language better.

Labor Demand and Dependency

Guttentag's (2009) third point of critique is that volunteer tourism can results in "a decreased labour demand and promotion of dependency" (p. 544). Several researchers find that financial value for local communities can be low and limited. More strikingly, many jobs performed by (unskilled) voluntourists, could be performed (paid) by locals instead. Guttentag claims that volunteer tourism may even have a negative impact on local communities by establishing dependency on the organizations providing it (2009).

Translating such critique to the different value of diaspora leads to questioning the long-term vision diasporic voluntourists may have or lack. As the aim to help their country of origin often comes from the shared ambition and therefore value with their parents, or the first migrant voluntourists. However, de Haas (2003) explains that the latter did so with a possible scenario of going back and leaving the country to where one is migrated. Ouacha argues that the act is done from a present desire. Namely, providing their country of origin with support through local contexts (Ouacha, 2021). Immigrant communities in many different parts of the world have formed home-town associations of various kinds over the last two centuries. But today we are seeing a very specific type of home-town association, one directly concerned with socio-economic development in its communities of origin and increasingly engaging both governmental and civic entities in sending and receiving countries in these projects. These home-town associations are becoming micro-level building blocks of global civil society (Saassen, 2002: 226).

Reinforced stereotyping and Poverty Rationalization

Guttentag (2009) also recognizes volunteer tourism can results in reinforced stereotyping and the rationalization of poverty, mostly due to a lack of intercultural experiences. While many researchers express the positive value of the cultural exchange between the voluntourist and the local community, these research results stem from the personal statements of the volunteer tourists themselves – not the local community members. Multiple researchers, such as Lockstone-Binney & Ong (2021), have even found that these statements might have been made to rationalize the cost of the trip, or because they thought them to be socially desirable (Ver Beek 2006; Brown, 2005; McGhee & Santos, 2005). More importantly, scholars, e.g. Simpson (2004), McGloin & Georgeou (2016), Swan (2012), and Jakubiak & Smagorinsky (2016) show that volunteer tourism can even increase othering (Simpson, 2004; Raymond & Hall, 2008), often started by messages of the sending-organization themselves already. Voluntourists often make remarks along the lines of "they have so little, but they are

so happy" which in cases resulted in poverty being romanticized by the volunteer tourists (Simpson, 2004).

Since a lack of intercultural experience is the root for stereotyping and poverty rationalization (Guttentag, 2009), diasporic volunteer tourist could again create a different type of value here. It would be valuable to research whether their connection to the local culture and similarities to the people living in it could possibly limit othering.

Instigation of cultural changes

Another way in which volunteer tourism can cause negative value creation according to Guttentag (2009) is the instigation of cultural changes in local community. This is deeply rooted in for example mission trips, where change is a primary goal. However, it can also happen unconsciously, when the local communities take note of how the affluent, white volunteer tourists act, what they eat and how they dress. Or how the diasporic voluntour eats and dresses. According to Piper, 'remittances' done by diaspora, should be viewed from a political view. As it shifts the lens from the victimization of the receiving party by structural factors to give weight to the aspect of their (actual and potential) agency via political activism within the transnational sphere. In other words, remittances in the political context can be defined as 'the activities, actions, and ideas aimed at the democratization of the migration process (ranging from pre- to post-migration) via political mobilization in the form of collective organizations operating in the transnational sphere. These ideas and political practices are embedded in the social contexts of origin and destination countries' structural and agential histories, shaped by the migration experience and characterized by multiple directions of flow' (Piper 2009: 238).

To summarize, we believe that future research should focus more on the behavior of diasporic volunteer tourists when they are abroad specifically compared to non-diasporic volunteer tourists. Cheung Judge (2016) shows a case where it is at times easier for the first to adjust to local customs compared to the latter. For example, to eat local meals (because they are used to eating this way at home) and even dress similarly. However, in that case from the viewpoint of the local community, these voluntourists where still seen as "Westerners" in some case. It is in this specific comparison where our research agenda found its main existence.

5.3 Volunteer tourism value: new questions for diasporic voluntourism

In the previous section we discussed literature on volunteer tourism and proposed to specifically research the questions asked about traditional volunteer tourist for

diasporic volunteer tourists. In this section we focus on specific questions that should be explored for diasporic voluntourism.

Motivations

As briefly explained earlier, diasporic voluntourists come forth from the act of financial support done by pioneer migrants in the West. Such act is also known as providing remittances. Resources, such as money and clothes, sent back to families from migrant-sending communities increased the feeling of relative deprivation among non-migrants. This subsequently increases aspirations to migrate to achieve upward socio-economic mobility (de Haas 2005; Quinn 2006). Besides this, remittances were also provided to finance the migration of other family and community members (Van Dalen et al., 2005) or to help improve their livelihoods in the country of origin.

Over the last two decades, the focus of diasporic aid has expanded which resulted in the act of remittances to help improve the livelihoods of others, besides family and community-members in the countries of origin. These immigrants and first generations widely distributed "zakat", Islamic faith-based giving, to extended family members, 'neighbors' and people in need in the towns and villages of the 'homeland'. This is similar to the earlier mentioned act of remittances. Much of zakat finances are therefore subsumed under general 'remittances' (May 2019:8). However, the philanthropical acts we are pointing to, are not anymore committed by pioneer migrants, but by the diaspora that found its existence in the meantime. Meaning, second and third generation migrants who are born and raised in (an often) Western context, but before their philanthropy in their country of origin. Though the migrants settled in Europe for over more than four decades, the same act of voluntourism seemed taken over by their descendants. As such, the act of giving and volunteering, as whole their philanthropy, differ in the way diaspora does it compared to original migrants. Therefore, we are automatically challenged to raise questions such as: why do diaspora really voluntour? Why did they decide to recreate another type of support than the way their forebears did? What could their motivations be (connecting to heritage, faith-based)? And what does that mean for the value they create?

Acceptance by Local Community

Coming from a completely different geographical context, according to Sadiqi (2013), acceptance by local communities could be a challenge that diasporic voluntourists may not have to deal with. She refers to local, indigenous, communities where language is the leading tool to build the essential bridge. El Aissati (2001) refers to language in Morocco's indigenous Amazigh societies as the base of their identity. El Aissati states that "speaking the Amazigh language is interpretable as holding the Amazigh identity" (2001, p.59). He addresses Fishman who describes language as "a recorder of paternity and an expresser of patrimony" (p.27).

Referring this to the ethnic indigenous identity of diasporic voluntourists, and the lack of including this specific identity by the countries own civil society (see Sadiqi, 2013), leads to the following questions we aim to further investigate: could it be that diaspora are differently accepted by local communities? Do they stay longer? Are they more involved? What does that mean for created value?

Diaspora in "Third" Countries

Similarities to beneficiaries of volunteering are usually seen as positive in terms of value creation (Metz et al., 2016). Another point of interest for future research is that of diaspora participating in volunteer tourism in a country similar to that of their heritage (e.g. same continent), yet not exactly it. For example, Chinese citizens voluntouring in Thailand or Black British students travelling to Zimbabwe to volunteer. Will this enhance voluntourism value, or could it create similar negative values as traditional volunteer tourism? Li (2016) points out multiple issues in South-South voluntouring (China-Thailand), such as the commodification of vulnerable children, the focus on volunteer whishes over community needs, and being unqualified/unskilled to perform volunteer jobs. Cheung Judge (2016) shows complex dynamics with young Black UK students travelling to Zimbabwe to voluntour. On the one hand they felt the benefits of 'blending in' and feeling connected to the country, while on the other hand had the idea that this had negative effects on their experience (for example when the town kids only ran up and hugged the white kids in the group.

Future research should focus on what aspect creates the positive value when it comes to diasporic voluntourists. Is it simply the similarities (skin-color), value-systems (cultural, religious) or perhaps based on certain skills (language)? This could, in turn, also open up the discourse to extra questions to be asked about traditional volunteer tourists.

5.4 Value: what changes when giving money instead of time

The previous sections described cross-border philanthropy in terms of giving time. When we consider the possible differences in giving time in the context of regular voluntourism, it also opens up the discussion on giving money. Cross-border giving can occur when an individual or corporation donates to an entity in another jurisdiction ('direct philanthropy') and when a domestic entity operates in another jurisdiction or a foreign entity operates domestically ('indirect philanthropy') (OECD 2020, p.108). Though such forms of giving can provide receiving ends with support (e.g. materialistic in the form of financial support), similar to volunteer tourism it can create negative value. For example, the overrepresentation of the donors' interests and the lack of professional teams with appropriate knowledge and skills to address certain social and cultural issues (Indiana University Lilly Family School of Philanthropy, 2019). In line with earlier topics, we open up the discussion towards cross-border giving by second

and third generations migrants. Are there differences in value-creation when one gives time instead of money or financial recourses (like they are taught to do)?

Throughout the twentieth century, literature has shown that forms of cross-border giving were either established by the colonial forces themselves, or by the diaspora that found its existence within the migration from the colonies to the country of the colonizer (May, 2019). It is important to mention that, in this chapter, we make no difference between diaspora-groups with or without a colonial past. Money sent back to families from migrant-sending communities increased the feeling of relative deprivation among non-migrants. This subsequently increases aspirations to migrate as a way to achieve upward socio-economic mobility (de Haas, 2005; Quinn, 2006). However, further debate has led us to assume that diasporic volunteered inspired aspirations to live where rights are respected can lead to agitations for such similarity back home. In addition, taking this along in future research agenda would definitely be fair, we believe.

Besides the motivational effect mentioned earlier, remittances may also be directly used to finance the migration of other family and community members (Van Dalen et al., 2005) or to help improve their livelihoods in the country of origin. Over the last two decades, this motivational effect has expanded which resulted in the act of remittances to help improve the livelihoods of others, besides family and community-members in the countries of origin.

We have noticed such philanthropical acts are not only driven by personal cultural heritage, but also by personal motives. Ouacha (2021) argues that personal motives based on faith, spirituality and religion, differ from societal and political context. Drawing back the link to the voluntourists who don't share such personal motives, we are automatically drawn to raising question such as: what difference in value creation does it make if money is given instead of time by regular voluntourists? How would this be the case (for both the giving and receiving end) if diasporic voluntourists give time instead of financial resources? And what if both voluntourists (the diasporic and the non-diasporic) would do that, would this as a whole make a difference? As demonstrated before, we are convinced that significant difference can be made when diasporic backgrounds are found in the giving party. However, we do not demonstrate that this could mean the end of the negative value impact of non-diasporic voluntourism. As we assume that there is a down-side to everything. How that specially relates to our comparison, requires further research.

5.5 Going Forward

In this book chapter, we have described the value of volunteer tourism from the traditional volunteer tourist (Philine) perspective and aim to open the discourse towards a new research agenda on value-creation trough volunteer tourism from a

different perspective – that of diaspora (Malika). Volunteer tourism has been a widely researched topic for decades and only recently the dark sides of the phenomenon have been discussed more in-depth in academic and popular literature. The recent and ongoing COVID-19 crisis seems like a natural juncture to change the discourse and practices around volunteer tourism and its positive and negative value creation. We argue that volunteers, organizations, and researchers a like should grab this opportunity to move away from volunteer tourism practices that are creating negative value and towards those that generate positive value for all parties involved.

We propose three pathways of research on the further examination of value creation amongst traditional voluntourists and diasporic voluntourists. As stated earlier, we believe that both similarities as differences should be recognized. First, we think it is important to examine whether the value creation by traditional volunteer tourists is similar or different than for diasporic volunteer tourist. This should be researched throughout the process of volunteer tourism: the preparations phase, the trip itself, the reflection afterwards. Following two groups of volunteer tourists in their process of voluntouring could create far more interesting and practical results than the constant comparison from several different geographical contexts, which is often done in general academic work.

Second, we argue the importance of exploring possible new values created by diasporic volunteer tourists and considering whether these values might apply to traditional volunteer tourists as well. Such explorations are important to shift the debate from focusing on traditional volunteer tourists towards those in the diaspora. Asking new questions, connected to the roots of the volunteer tourist can open a new debate on possible positive and negative values of volunteer tourism. The positive values can then be extrapolated to best practices for both traditional and diasporic voluntourists.

And finally, as a third pathway for further research, we argue the importance of studying the possible differences in values when replacing giving time with giving money (cross-border). Such examination of differences in value lead to increasing knowledge on cross-border giving of time and money and how to enhance value in the future. This pathway for further research is best studied in communities, both in the diasporic context in the West and the those in the country of origin to where the diaspora performs their voluntouring. It is in these communities where we could also further research how diasporic voluntourists could increase values. The demonstrated literature in our chapter, focusing on voluntourism, often demonstrates the value of the voluntourists alone, and leaves out that of the community, both the one it is from (in Western context) and the one it is serving. In most cases of diasporic voluntourists, the voluntourists belong to both. Overall, the main important question that covers all the questions above, is: what does it mean if voluntourism is done by a voluntourists

who is from the community it is serving, both the one in the country of origin and the country of residence in terms of value created for all stakeholders?

Chapter 6

Concluding remarks

Volunteering is broadly embedded within our communities. Academics, practitioners, and media often speak of the value that volunteers add to society. In most cases, however, such value is expressed in financial terms (e.g., by calculating cost savings), based on the argument that volunteers can replace paid staff within an organization. At the same time, volunteers are often described as "the glue that holds our society together," thereby suggesting that their value goes beyond such numeric estimations. One of my main goals in writing this dissertation was to challenge the simplistic financial take on volunteers and to explore, with a great deal of nuance, the various ways in which volunteers create value (in comparison to paid staff), and thus become influential beyond simply being a less expensive replacement for paid staff. Each of the chapters in this dissertation showcases this in a different way and, together, they explore how to move away from a cost-saving approach and toward a value-based framework for making staffing decisions within nonprofit organizations.

The studies in this dissertation demonstrate that volunteers and paid staff are usually not interchangeable. In addition, they expose a need to conceptualize the value created by volunteering in ways other ways than simply calculating the hours they spend volunteering and how much money they save nonprofit organizations or governments. In this dissertation, I investigate this issue through four studies relating to the topic of volunteer value, proceeding from a variety of contexts, research questions, and methodology, thereby adding breadth to the existing body of knowledge on the phenomenon. Previous studies have pointed out the differences between paid staff and volunteers and investigated how these differences can result in volunteers being perceived differently by beneficiaries, donors, and nonprofit organizations. They have also considered how these perceptions affect their interactions. My research extends such nascent insights and explores the overarching research question: *How do volunteers create value?* In answering this question, the dissertation explores volunteer value that extends beyond quantitative proxies (e.g., numbers and hours). Moreover, it presents solutions for making volunteering more inclusive, thereby tapping into the added volunteer value of groups of people that are often excluded from volunteering (or research on the topic).

In this final chapter, I share my interpretation of the key points of my dissertation and their relevance for academia and practice. I also express my thoughts concerning how my research could be developed in the future.

6.1 Synopsis of Findings

Research on volunteer value has made me more aware of the importance and embeddedness of volunteering in society. The changes taking place in our society (e.g., growing care demands, labor shortages in many sectors, budgetary challenges) are increasingly raising questions about replacing paid staff with volunteers in a variety of sectors (e.g., healthcare, sports, education). My dissertation makes several specific contributions to these societal and academic debates.

Chapter 2 explores the many ways in which volunteers create value. By situating them at the micro, meso, and macro levels, I provide a new structure that could help both academics and practitioners to view, analyze, and develop volunteer value. In this chapter, I demonstrate how various ways of creating value have been researched before. The literature addressed in the review provides evidence that volunteering creates value at the micro level for the volunteers themselves, as well as for beneficiaries and paid staff. At the meso level, it creates value for sending and host organizations and, and at the macro level, for specific communities and society at large (see Table 2.8 in Chapter 2). This chapter also reveals blind spots in the existing body of knowledge, some of which are particularly interesting, and they are thus investigated further in subsequent chapters.

Chapter 3 provides a deeper examination of volunteer value at the meso level, specifically within a context that has been under-researched (as pointed out in Chapter 2). My co-authors and I explore how indirect-service volunteers create value for a nonprofit organization within a campaigning context. The results point to three overarching themes of volunteer value: the supplementary value of volunteers, the complementary value of volunteering, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering. In the supplementary scenario, volunteers and paid staff are indeed interchangeable, and their added value stems mainly from the larger number of people working for the organization. In the complementary scenario however, volunteers create unique value that would be lost if they were to be replaced with paid staff. The ambidextrous scenario is characterized by a leveraged combination of a large number of people (supplementary) with unique propositions (complementary) working for the nonprofit organization. The study also identifies six drivers of volunteer-added value. These findings provide the foundation for a conceptual model on the creation of volunteer value (see Table 3.4 in Chapter 3).

Chapter 4 focuses on volunteer diversity and inclusion. Focusing on the meso and macro levels, the results point to the crucial role that gatekeepers in sending

organizations can play in the inclusion and exclusion of volunteers in receiving/host organizations. Such exclusion can reduce diversity in the volunteer pool, thereby decreasing value creation. All respondents recognized patterns of volunteer exclusion and acknowledged activities that promote inclusion. We identify three strategies that gatekeepers in sending organizations can use to enhance volunteer inclusion: encouraging, enabling, and enforcing. This chapter builds on key insights emerging from Chapters 2 and 3, which demonstrate the importance of volunteer diversity at multiple levels, as well as from previous studies indicating that certain groups are often excluded from formal volunteering, due to individual and organizational decisions.

Chapter 5 builds on the previous results and adds depth to the diversity perspective within the specific context of volunteer tourism and diasporic volunteering. Exploration at the micro and macro levels reveals differences in value creation by diasporic and non-diasporic volunteers within this context. The focus is mainly on commercial third-party organizations that are providers of volunteer tourism. These organizations often focus on the goals and interests of volunteer tourists, such that volunteering is seen as an end in itself, rather than as a means to another end. The purpose of these organizations is often to satisfy the volunteer tourist, who is the paying customer in this scenario. In this chapter, we explore current knowledge on volunteer tourism (based primarily on traditional volunteer tourists) and consider the necessity of asking the same or different questions and expecting the same answers when diasporans participate in volunteer tourism. We propose how certain critiques of volunteer tourism may or may not change when diasporans perform the volunteering. These insights were used to develop a future research agenda on these topics.

6.2 Academic Relevance & Informing Policy

The relevance of each specific chapter, as well as their combined relevance, can be identified in multiple layers.

A shift away from replacement costs toward an added-value framework.

Three levels of volunteer value. The results of this dissertation provide an extensive overview of volunteer-created value, situating it at three levels—micro (individual), meso (organizational), and macro (societal)—with multiple beneficiaries. More specifically, they demonstrate that volunteers create many types of value for a variety of recipients. This overview provides a wealth of current knowledge on the topic of value of volunteering, including regular or traditional volunteering, agency-based program volunteering, and direct-service volunteering. Positioning the value and value recipients at three levels opens new routes for approaching research on the creation of volunteer value, as it draws a clear distinction between the variety of value recipients and the broad range of value created. Understanding the complexity of volunteer-value creation

supports the notion that, in some cases, volunteers create value that cannot be created by paid staff.

Toward a value-based framework. In this dissertation, I advance a shift away from the cost-saving framework of volunteering toward a value-based framework, building on work that explains fundamental differences between paid staff and volunteers (e.g., Brudney & Gazley, 2002; Metz et al., 2017). In the value-based framework, decisions to have certain activities performed by either paid staff or volunteers depend on who will create the most value for society, the organization, or the beneficiary. Such decisions subsequently influence the effectiveness and efficiency of nonprofit organizations. The findings reported in Chapter 3 help establish a conceptual framework of volunteer-added value, in addition to differentiating between the complementary value of volunteers, the supplementary value of volunteering, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering, along with underlying drivers. This conceptual framework opens the black box of substitution and interchangeability between volunteers and paid staff. It therefore supports the theoretical claim that volunteers and paid staff are usually not interchangeable. The model draws particular focus to factors that drive the creation of volunteer value. This is done by replicating drivers that create volunteer value within direct-service settings and extending them to indirect-service settings. We further show that indirect-service settings present additional unique factors that create volunteer value. The results thus reveal differences between drivers and value in direct-service settings and those in indirect-service settings, thus showing that not all drivers apply to both situations. The new value-based framework extends the existing literature on volunteer value for the beneficiaries of direct-service organizations to the context of indirect-service volunteering.

Taken together, the results reported in this dissertation indicate that volunteer value is far too complex to be measured by a replacement-cost approach alone. The more complex added-value framework can be used to generate more and deeper research questions, in addition to informing better policies that are capable of taking the complex reality into account.

Attention to neglected areas and recipients of volunteer value

This dissertation also contributes to the academic literature by drawing attention to neglected areas and recipients of volunteer value. The literature review presented in Chapter 2 reiterates what is already known, while also highlighting areas of research that have been neglected. It thus contributes to the literature by addressing some of these neglected areas and recipients in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. Chapter 3 contributes to the current knowledge on volunteer value for nonprofit organizations, and specifically to the under-represented body of research on indirect-service and support volunteers. As indicated in this chapter, volunteers in these scenarios can create value that is similar

to and different from that created by direct-service volunteers. Chapter 4 focuses on an under-researched topic and recipient by investigating how sending organizations in third-party scenarios can enhance volunteer inclusion. It thus contributes to the academic literature by advancing knowledge on inclusion and exclusion in volunteering. The results demonstrate that various gatekeepers constitute a central actor in the attainment of volunteer inclusion. We theorize a new, more complex and dynamic process that can activate and access potential volunteers within the dual volunteer-management models presented by Brudney and colleagues, which heretofore "have not received serious treatment" (2019, p. 75). In doing so, we also contribute by focusing on a different level of volunteering, given that most knowledge on volunteer exclusion is based on research at the individual level. By contrast, we generate uncommon insight into the organizational side of volunteer inclusion and exclusion, as suggested by Sachar and colleagues (2019). We argue that current practices of volunteer management socialize volunteer managers to focus their recruitment efforts on individuals and communities that have "volunteer antecedents" (Studer & Von Schnurbein, 2013).

As also revealed in Chapter 2, certain recipients (or groups thereof) have been under-represented in both research and practice. I identify a skewed distribution in research in favor of the micro level and, more specifically, value that is created for individual volunteers themselves. I argue that more attention should be paid to the other value recipients at the micro level (e.g., beneficiaries and paid co-workers), as well as at the meso and macro levels. Attention is also needed with regard to multi-level value and the interconnectedness of the levels and recipients. I address these issues in Chapters 4 and 5. In Chapter 4, I present three solutions to volunteer exclusion (encouraging, enabling, enforcing). Chapter 5 compares diasporic and non-diasporic volunteer tourists to outline why different types of volunteers could potentially produce both different and similar value for themselves and their communities.

Taken together, the studies in this dissertation draw attention to link between contexts of volunteering and the volunteer value created within them. These broader insights can subsequently be used to generate new research questions and inform better policies by considering diversity within contexts.

6.3 Practical implications

The findings and conclusions of this dissertation can be used to inform a wide range of practitioners, including nonprofit boards and managers, volunteer coordinators, and policy-makers.

First, these insights could help nonprofit organizations in their quest to optimize effectiveness and efficiency with mixed staff by determining when to activate

volunteers and when to rely on paid staff. More specifically, Chapters 2 and 3 can highlight the added value that volunteers can have for the organization. For certain tasks, mobilizing volunteers instead of paid staff could produce better outcomes (e.g., in terms of fundraising or the organization of local events). Moreover, for volunteer coordinators who must defend their positions, this dissertation demonstrates the necessity of volunteers within the organization. It also provides arguments that policymakers could use to show the importance of volunteers to society, thus potentially making the case for certain types of third-party volunteering as well. Furthermore, by showcasing the difference between added and unique volunteer value, this dissertation advances discussion on volunteer-paid staff displacement.

Multiple chapters of this dissertation could be used to influence and strengthen the debate about inclusion in volunteering. We highlight the importance of this and present strategies to help practitioners (specifically those acting as first gatekeepers in third-party volunteering) take first steps toward making volunteering more inclusive. The dissertation could also help practitioners and policymakers reflect on volunteer tourism by describing how it can create negative value and by presenting ideas for potentially mitigating this issue.

Finally, this dissertation could increase the value of volunteering for individuals, organizations, and society. By explaining what the value is and how it is created, we take an important step toward balancing volunteers and paid staff to optimize the efficiency of nonprofit organizations. Moreover, by presenting strategies to make volunteering more inclusive, we take a first step toward allowing more people the opportunity to create value.

6.4 Future research on volunteer value

This dissertation provides new insights on the creation of volunteer value, and it can be used as a springboard for further research on this important topic.

First, while the second chapter of this dissertation shows the broad range of volunteer value creation, the other chapters focus largely on highly specific volunteering scenarios (indirect-service, third-party, volunteer tourism). Future research should focus on volunteer value within other contexts as well. The results of this dissertation highlight a need for research on a variety of sectors (e.g., education, religion) and types of nonprofit organizations, and particularly on those that received relatively little scholarly attention. Examples include mutual-support or membership organizations, as well as charitable or campaigning organizations (including broader social movements). Future studies on these topics should focus on the types of value created for different types of organizations, as well as on how to leverage such value effectively and efficiently in practice. Similarly, future studies should investigate different organizational purposes or missions (e.g., environmental protection, alleviating poverty) and different tasks

(direct, indirect) within organizations to determine how they affect value creation. It would also be interesting to examine whether beneficiaries and donors (actual or potential) are aware that they are in contact with a volunteer or paid staff, and how such awareness might influence value creation. Furthermore, future research should focus on the difference between value creation for formal and informal volunteering, given that the organizational (meso) level apparently disappears in this scenario.

A second avenue for future research concerns dual-management volunteering in third-party scenarios. Based on the results reported in Chapter 4, I am convinced that the role of third parties involves more than simply encouraging more volunteer hours. Third parties could also encourage new people to volunteer, thereby adding more value and creating new types of value. Research is needed on this newer perspective and the role that third parties can play in this regard. Future studies could address service learning and corporate volunteering—two forms of third-party volunteering that are gaining popularity worldwide and that have the potential to create substantial value for multiple recipients. Given their potential to introduce additional players into the field, these forms of volunteering also warrant new research on value appropriation and related concepts. The field should pay attention to the equal, equitable, or fair distribution of value between all parties involved in the volunteering scenarios. Eliminating the value that volunteers create for themselves could be detrimental to common volunteer resources in the future.

Third, researchers should pay more attention to the various types of volunteers. Existing studies tend to focus on a general group of volunteers. Future research should focus on differences in value created by volunteers with different backgrounds and goals. For example, future studies should examine people with different volunteering antecedents (traditional or non-traditional) or backgrounds (Chapter 5) and how this influences the individual creation of volunteer value. Researchers could also consider various volunteer resources (Koolen-Maas et al., 2022) and how they create different types of value that could be manifested at different levels and for different recipients.

6.5 Reflections

This dissertation is quite different from the initial proposal I wrote to enter the PhD program in 2019 and the revised full proposal I presented in 2020. This is partly due to the COVID-19 pandemic, which limited opportunities for data collection as described in these proposals (e.g., because few companies retained their corporate-volunteer programs during the pandemic). Most of the differences, however, testify to my changing interests within this field of research, as well as to my growth as a scholar and to the learning paradox in action.

While I have been interested in the topic of volunteer value since writing my MSc thesis about it, my passion for volunteer inclusion and learning through volunteering has

grown throughout the process of conducting the research for this dissertation. I am fascinated by the sort of paradox that emerges when considering volunteer value and volunteer inclusion. As I demonstrate in Chapters 2 and 3, volunteer inclusion is important for multiple reasons, including to foster more creativity and to maximize the feeling of similarity between volunteers and their beneficiaries/donors. This easily leads to the conclusion that more diversity is needed in volunteer pools, thus pointing to a need to focus on inclusion within nonprofit organizations. As reported in Chapter 4 (following a small preview in Chapter 2), however, this is generally not the case. As observed in both research and practice, the same groups of people tend to volunteer, partly due to a lack of inclusion on the part of volunteer-involving organizations. I am hopeful that the strategies presented in Chapter 4 could help organizations to become more inclusive, thereby allowing them to benefit from the increasing diversity within their organizations, thus improving their ability to help their communities (see also Chapter 5 on how similarity might enhance value for beneficiaries and communities). Moreover, I am excited to continue working on this topic in the future, in addition to addressing third-party volunteering and learning through volunteering.

Over the course of writing this dissertation, I have frequently had the opportunity to engage in reflection with prominent scholars, peers, and students on what the concepts of *volunteering* and *value* actually mean. Such reflection has inspired many interesting and frustrating conversations over the years. As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, there are many interpretations of what is to be considered volunteering, and some of my partners in discussion regard the notion that volunteering can be mandatory as paradoxical. I agree with this view to a certain extent, and I look forward to exploring what these different interpretations might mean for the value that volunteers create (whether actual or perceived).

Similarly, questions concerning what value is have emerged several times. This always amazed me to some extent, as the meaning always seemed quite clear to my supervisor and me. To be fair, the meaning of value is almost never brought into question in articles that my colleagues have published in management journals. For this reason, I had no clear answer the first time someone asked me, "What exactly do you mean with value (creation)?" Although it has been frustrating at times, I have truly enjoyed talking about this with scholars, students, family, and random people I have just met. The ways in which people with different backgrounds are wired to think about value and its meaning are fascinating. For example, during the first few lectures, almost all of my students at the Erasmus School of Economics would not be able to consider anything other than financial value: "Why can't we just find a proxy and calculate how much personal development is worth in euros?" The reason I think we should not is that, in a world where more and more aspects of our lives are being driven by numbers, social actions like volunteering absolutely call for other perspectives. Instead of looking at

monetary value and asking what volunteering is worth, I hope to shift the perspective to how we value volunteering and what it means to us. The meaning to which I allude in Chapter 1 and the definition of value that I propose in Chapter 2 are only partially satisfying. In the future, I hope to continue these fruitful debates about the meaning of volunteering, value, and how everything is ultimately a social construct.

My initial PhD proposal contained ideas for research almost exclusively at the meso (organizational) level. While this makes sense for someone pursuing a PhD in management, I am glad I was able to explore volunteer value at multiple levels throughout the different studies that ultimately made up my project. The integrative literature review (Chapter 2) clearly revealed how much of the research on volunteer value takes place at the individual level. I have also observed how, even when researchers claim to be investigating volunteer value at the macro level, they often do so by aggregating individual value. This approach is understandable, given the difficulty of finding the right participants or questions to ask when considering the meso and macro levels. I am pleased that, throughout this dissertation project, my colleagues and I were able to explore how to ask the right questions. I look forward to continuing to construct ways to deepen this line of research at and across these levels.

The chapters of this dissertation are varied in terms of research design, data collection, and data analysis. I learned early on that, as a scholar, I truly value being connected to practice. The chapters I had most fun writing were the ones in which the initial question came from a nonprofit organization and those that allowed me to talk to many practitioners in the form of focus groups or interviews. Although systematic literature reviews and conceptual papers are important to accumulating knowledge and progress in the academic field, I received the most energy from the empirical studies, as they allowed me to create more value for the sector and society. My experience with interviewing practitioners has also helped me develop as a scholar in the sense that every question I asked taught me more about the alignment of theory and practice. Moreover, speaking to practitioners and giving masterclasses on my topic has shown me how we can learn from practice in order to identify the best broader questions to ask in our academic research.

Data analysis is a major part of qualitative research and, during the course of my doctoral program, I became aware of several debates concerning the quality and trustworthiness of such methods. It was wonderful to teach a course in qualitative methods, as students can often offer very refreshing views on this. I truly enjoyed the process of analyzing data for my empirical chapters. Even though the descriptive findings reported in Chapter 2 might seem a bit dry, they do reveal important information on the current state of our knowledge. The data analyses for each of my two qualitative studies (Chapters 3 and 4) were interesting and challenging in their own way. Through Chapter 4, which focuses on third parties in volunteering, I learned how

to work with a small target group. The relative novelty of the concept of third-party volunteering in the Netherlands made it difficult to find participants for this research. The difficulty of finding cases to illustrate best practices was exacerbated by the fact that the investigation devoted particular attention to volunteer inclusion—a practice that is not explicitly common in the Netherlands. I was pleased that, as a research team, we were nevertheless able to devise a creative way to investigate the topic (two rounds of interviews: semi-structured and vignette-based). Despite these efforts, however, we had only limited data to work with. The fact that I was able to analyze this information in a constructive manner that led to three plausible strategies is a clear sign of my scholarly development.

Similarly, for Chapter 3, I worked with data had I collected before I became truly immersed in the world of academia. In the years after collecting the data, I had learned much more about volunteer value. With this knowledge, I noticed that, in my initial coding (by then, about five years before) I had missed quite a lot of aspects that are explicitly mentioned in the literature. I am convinced that this is due to growth in the body of literature on volunteer value since 2016/2017, in addition to reflecting my own growth in my personal academic journey. The conceptual model that has resulted from this study is much more valuable than the contributions I would have made had I written this chapter immediately after completing my Master's degree.

My two main reasons for pursuing this PhD research were my passion for teaching and my desire to discover how far I could stretch myself and my brain. I am happy to report that, at the end of this journey, my passion for teaching has not decreased and that this topic has definitely allowed me to stretch myself even beyond what I thought was possible. My first clear experience of the learning paradox was quite uncomfortable. After completing my Master's thesis, I was under the impression that it was quite clear what volunteer value is and how it could be described. Quite soon after starting my doctoral program, however, I (along with my supervisor) learned that the topic is much broader and deeper than we had previously imagined. With this dissertation, I was able to move beyond the relatively naive sense that we already understood the concept in its entirety. In doing so, I hope that I have created space and curiosity for myself and other scholars to break open and further explore the concept of volunteer value in the future.

Table 6.1

Overview of dissertations chapters

	Chapter 2	**Chapter 3**	**Chapter 4**	**Chapter 5**	**Overarching reflections /looking back**	**Future interests/ Looking forward**
Research question/topic	How do volunteers create value for different recipients?	How do indirect-service volunteers create value for nonprofit organizations?	How can third parties make volunteering more inclusive?	Differences in value creation by diasporans and non-diasporans in volunteer tourism.	Shift of interest from broader volunteer-value research toward specific contexts and types of volunteering. Ideas on what volunteering is. Ideas on what value is.	Volunteer value in social movements Enhancing volunteer inclusion from early childhood Volunteer value in third-party scenarios (opportunities and threats)
Level	Micro Meso Macro	Micro Meso	Meso Macro	Micro Macro	Overwhelming majority of research at the micro level (individual volunteers) Difficulty of conducting true research at the meso and macro level	Meso Macro Multi-level
Design	Empirical	Empirical Conceptual	Empirical	Conceptual	Empirical studies are fun; conceptual studies are challenging	Empirical studies Action research

	Chapter 2	Chapter 3	Chapter 4	Chapter 5	Overarching reflections /looking back	Future interests/ Looking forward
Data collection	Integrative literature review PRISMA 145 articles	Participatory focus groups 8 groups 70 participants	Semi-structured and vignette interviews 18 interviews 15 participants	N/A	Qualitative data collection is fun; interviewing made me a better researcher. Less (e.g., fewer participants) can be more when researching a new phenomenon. Systemic literature reviews are important and informative, but extremely boring.	Qualitative (new contexts, other forms of data collection) Quantitative (testing frameworks)
Data **analysis**	Quantitative, deductive, and inductive analysis	Inductive thematic analysis	Deductive and inductive analysis	N/A	Analysis of older data is challenging, which is an indication of growth. Sometimes, it is necessary to see the bigger picture first.	Whatever fits, as long as I am not restricted to data I collected myself six years ago.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Reviewed articles for chapter 2

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Appendix 2: Overview tables (chapter 2)

1a: Micro level – Value for individual volunteers

Value Theme	Value created	References
Individual development	Teamwork/cooperation	Afkhami et al., 2019; Rego et al., 2016; Ortega Carpio et al., 2018
	Communication (intercultural, languages)	Afkhami et al., 2019; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Classens, 2015; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Lough et al., 2014; Okabe et al., 2019; Rego et al., 2016; Serrat et al., 2017
	Learning (self-learning, social learning, new perspectives)	Alam & Campbell, 2017; Boz & Palaz, 2007; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Cousineau & Misener, 2019; Gage & Thapa, 2012; Goudeau & Baker, 2021; Handy et al., 2010; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Jiang et al., 2018; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2017; Lasker, 2016; Loiseau et al., 2016; Manetti et al., 2015; Meneghini, 2016; Okabe et al., 2019; Ortega Carpio et al., 2018; Ramsden, 2020; Rego et al., 2016; Scheiber, 2020; Serrat et al., 2017; Townsend, 2014; Welty Peachey et al., 2014
	Shaping/choosing/sustaining personal identity	Chen et al., 2020; Cousineau & Misener, 2019; Khvorostianov& Remennick, 2017; Marzana et al., 2020; Nichols & Ralston, 2016; Thoits, 2021; Weng & Lee, 2016; Yanay-Ventura, 2019; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Growth/maturity/change/personal improvement	Ceresola, 2018; Jackson & Adarlo, 2016; Okabe et al., 2019; Ortega Carpio et al., 2018; Rego et al., 2016; Wang & Wu, 2014; Welty Peachey et al., 2014; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Adapting to retirement	Chen et al., 2020; Cousineau & Misener, 2019; O'Dwyer & Timonen, 2009; Thoits, 2021

	Ethical judgement and decision-making; ethical behavior	Christensen & Woodland, 2018; Demir et al., 2020
	Skill development	Classens, 2015; Cousineau & Misener, 2019; Curtis et al., 2014; Gevorgyan & Galstyan, 2016; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; ; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Jackson & Adarlo, 2016; Jiang et al., 2018; Lasker, 2016; Manetti et al., 2015; Nichols & Ojala, 2009; O'Brien et al., 2010; Ramsden, 2020; Rego et al., 2016; Schech, 2020; Serrat et al., 2017; Shah, 2006; Townsend, 2014; Wang & Wu, 2014; Welty Peachey, 2014; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Autonomy	Armour & Barton, 2019; De Wit et al., 2019; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Morawski et al., 2020 (depending on country); Yanay-Ventura, 2019; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Global citizenship/international awareness	Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Lasker, 2016; McBride et al., 2012; Meneghini, 2016; Okabe et al., 2019
	Self-realization	Morawski et al., 2020 (depending on country)
	Empowerment	Slootje & Kampen, 2017; Yanay-Ventura, 2019; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
Professional development	New/additional work experience	Campbell & Warner, 2016; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014 Gevorgyan & Galstyan, 2016; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Jackson & Adarlo, 2016; Lasker, 2016; Okabe et al., 2019; Schech, 2020; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Challenges (new or enhanced)	Campbell & Warner, 2016; Cousineau & Misener, 2019
	Résumé enhancement	Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Gage & Thapa, 2012; Handy et al., 2010; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Nichols & Ojala, 2009; Nichols & Ralston, 2016; Ortega Carpio et al., 2018

	Improved job/career opportunities	Boz & Palaz, 2007; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Ceresola, 2018; Gage & Thapa, 2012; Handy et al., 2010; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Khvorostianov& Remennick, 2017; Manetti et al., 2015; Okabe et al., 2019; Shah, 2006; Slootje & Kampen, 2017; Wang & Wu, 2014; Yanay-Ventura, 2019
	Discovering career paths (e.g., in NPOs)	Green & Waluwski, 2020; Nelson, 2018; Scheiber, 2020
	Knowledge development	Boz & Palaz, 2007; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Classens, 2015; Gevorgyan & Galstyan, 2016; Rego et al., 2016; Shah, 2006; Thoits, 2021; Townsend, 2014; Wang & Wu, 2014; Welty Peachey, 2014; Zanbar, 2019
	Expansion of customer base	Handy & Greenspan, 2009
	Educational credit	Compion et al., 2022; Nichols & Ralston, 2016
Social capital	Kinship	Alam & Campbell, 2017; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Goudeau & Baker, 2021; Grönlund, 2011; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Thoits, 2021; Weng & Lee, 2016
	Trust (generalized or specific)	Alam & Campbell, 2017; Meyer et al., 2019
	Integration	Khvorostianov& Remennick, 2017; Marzana et al., 2020; Ruiz Sportmann & Greenspan, 2019
	Building relationships/meeting new people/social connections/making friends	Boz & Palaz, 2007; Campbell & Warner, 2016; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Compion et al., 2022; Cousineau & Misener, 2019; Gage & Thapa, 2012; Gevorgyan & Galstyan, 2016; Goudeau & Baker, 2021; Grönlund, 2011; Handy et al., 2010; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; ; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Isham et al., 2006; Jiang et al., 2018; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Khvorostianov& Remennick, 2017; Lough et al., 2014; Manetti et al., 2015; McBride et al., 2011; O'Brien et al., 2010; O'Dwyer & Timonen, 2009; Ortega Carpio et al., 2018; Welty Peachey, 2014; Peloza &

		Hassay, 2014; Perold et al., 2013; Ramsden, 2020; Serrat et al., 2017; Shannon, 2009; Thoits, 2021; Weng & Lee, 2016; Yanay-Ventura, 2019; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Social adjustment	Ortega et al., 2018
	(no specific details)	Gagnon et al., 2021; Isham et al., 2006
Improving personality traits & characteristics	Generosity	Afkhami et al., 2019
	Modesty	Afkhami et al., 2019
	Contentment/ happiness/ fulfillment/enjoyment	Afkhami et al., 2019; Boz & Palaz, 2007; Compion et al., 2022; Matsushima & Matsunaga, 2015; Ramsden, 2020; Welty Peachey, 2014
	Patience	Afkhami et al., 2019
	Resilience	Rego et al., 2016
	Self-confidence	Afkhami et al., 2019; Boz & Palaz, 2007; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Welty Peachey, 2014; Ramsden, 2020; Townsend, 2014; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Control	Morawski et al., 2020 (depending on country); O'Brien et al., 2010; Rego et al., 2016
	Self-deception (-)	Demir et al., 2020
	Self-efficacy	Ma & Tschirhart, 2021; Meyer et al., 2019
	Self-esteem	Gage & Thapa, 2012; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Kulik, 2019; Kulik, 2020; Ortega Carpio et al., 2018; Russell, 2019
	Self-worth	Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Sheptak & Menaker, 2016 (-); Townsend, 2014; Yanay-Ventura, 2019
	Self-reliance	Ramsden, 2020
	Social competence	Zanbar, 2019
	Locus of control (internal)	Demir et al., 2020
	Compassion/empathy	Ortega Carpio et al., 2018; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Gage & Thapa, 2012; Serrat et al., 2017; Yanay-Ventura, 2019; Meyer et al., 2019

	Psychological development	Gagnon et al., 2021; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014
	Interest	O'Brien et al., 2010
Well-being: Quality of life	Physical, social, environmental	Krageloh & Shepherd, 2015;
	Improved life	McBride et al., 2011
Well-being: Psychological	No specific details	Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Manetti et al., 2015
	Belonging	Armour & Barton, 2019; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Chen et al., 2020; Classens, 2015; Russell, 2019; Townsend, 2014; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Competence	Armour & Barton, 2019
	Purpose	Armour & Barton, 2019; Curtis et al., 2014; Taghian et al., 2019
Well-being: Subjective	Life satisfaction	Afkhami et al., 2019; Appau & Churchill, 2019; Haski-Leventhal, 2009; Kim & Feldman, 2000; O'Dwyer & Timonen, 2009; Russell, 2019
	More positive affect/less negative affect	Afkhami et al., 2019
Well-being: Physical	Perceived health status	Capecchi et al., 2021*; Cousineau & Misener, 2019; Haski-Leventhal, 2009; Woodyard & Grable, 2014
	Healthier diet	Classens, 2015; Ramsden, 2020
	Self-life expectancy	Haski-Leventhal, 2009
	Better sleep	O'Brien et al., 2010
	Staying agile and fit/physical activity	O'Brien et al., 2010; Ramsden, 2020
Well-being: Mental	Reduced loneliness/isolation	Katz & Sasson, 2019; Ramsden, 2020
	Less mental fatigue/stress/burnout/depression	Haski-Leventhal, 2009; O'Brien et al., 2010; Ramos et al., 2016
	Feeling overwhelmed/distressed/burned out	Ceresola, 2018; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Molina et al., 2017; Talbot, 2015; Townsend, 2014
	Ego defense/protection/fewer negative feelings/respite from boring day job	Ortega Carpio et al., 2018; Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Gage & Thapa, 2012; Gevorgyan & Galstyan, 2016; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Khvorostianov& Remennick, 2017; Peloza & Hassay, 2014

	Emotional strain/frustration/sadness	Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Sheptak & Menaker, 2016
	PTSD/secondary trauma	Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Jaffe et al., 2012
Affective outcomes	Enjoyment/pleasure	Alam & Campbell, 2017; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Gevorgyan & Galstyan, 2016; Morawski et al., 2020 (depending on country); Ramsden, 2020; Shah, 2006; Townsend, 2014
	Personal interest/passion	Alam & Campbell, 2017; Goudeau & Baker, 2021
	Fun	Alam & Campbell, 2017; Compion et al., 2022; Goudeau & Baker, 2021; Welty Peachey, 2014; Peloza & Hassay, 2014; Shah, 2006; Shannon, 2009
	Sense of satisfaction/job satisfaction	Butcher, 2010; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Goudeau & Baker, 2021; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Jackson & Adarlo, 2016; Manetti et al., 2015; O'Brien et al., 2010; O'Dwyer & Timonen, 2009; Thoits, 2021
	Meaningfulness (both in volunteer and paid jobs)	Butcher, 2010; Cousineau & Misener, 2019; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Kulik, 2019; O'Brien et al., 2010; O'Dwyer & Timonen, 2009; Welty Peachey et al., 2014; Ramsden, 2020; Rodell, 2013; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Warm glow	Boz & Palaz, 2007; Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Gage & Thapa, 2012; Goudeau & Baker, 2021; Handy et al., 2010; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Jackson & Adarlo, 2016; Katz & Sasson, 2019; McBride et al., 2011; Shannon, 2009; Thoits, 2021
	Pride	Casselden & Dawson, 2019; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; O'Dwyer & Timonen, 2009; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
Reputational outcomes	Reputation-based rewards	Alam & Campbell, 2017; Peloza & Hassay, 2014; Shah, 2006
	Recognition/praise	Alam & Campbell, 2017; Compion et al., 2022; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Peloza & Hassay, 2014; Shannon, 2009; Tooley & Hooks, 2020
	Social adjustment	Ortega Carpio et al., 2018

Experiencing barriers	Language	Campbell & Warner, 2016; Ceresola, 2018
	Cultural	Campbell & Warner, 2016; Ceresola, 2018; Jackson & Adarlo, 2016; Loiseau et al., 2016
	Culture shock (direct and reverse)	Campbell & Warner, 2016
Expressing individual norms and values	Identification with NGO mission/target group	Gage & Thapa, 2012; Goudeau & Baker, 2021; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Nichols & Ralston, 2016; Ortega Carpio et al., 2018 Welty Peachey, 2014; Wang & Wu, 2014
	Social transformation motivation (need for change/helping others/making a difference)	Boz & Palaz, 2007; Ortega Carpio et al., 2018; Curtis et al., 2014; Gage & Thapa, 2012; Grönlund, 2011; Handy et al., 2010; Haski-Leventhal & Bargal, 2008; Horvath, 2020; Jackson & Adarlo, 2016; Katz & Sasson, 2019; Okabe et al., 2019; Peloza & Hassay, 2014; Ramsden, 2020; Schech, 2020; Shannon, 2009
	Religious values	Ortega Carpio et al., 2018; Compion et al., 2022; Curtis et al., 2014; Gevorgyan & Galstyan, 2016; Grönlund, 2011
	Civic/humanitarian values (personal duty/ civic responsibility/the right thing to do)	Compion et al., 2022; Gevorgyan & Galstyan, 2016; Green & Walkuski, 2020; Grönlund, 2011; Handy et al., 2010; Horvath, 2020; Jiang et al., 2018; Meneghini, 2016; Nichols & Ralston, 2016; Peloza & Hassay, 2014; Thoits, 2021; Weng & Lee, 2016
	Giving back	Goudeau & Baker, 2021; Horvath, 2020; O'Dwyer & Timonen, 2009; Welty Peachey, 2014; Ramsden, 2020; Shah, 2006; Thoits, 2021; Weng & Lee, 2016
Financial value	Stipend	Ceresola, 2018; Vos et al., 2012; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Wage premium (+ or –)	Duerrenberger & Warning, 2019; Shantz et al., 2019
Tangible outcomes/rewards	Trips/travelling/living abroad	Jackson & Adarlo, 2016; Okabe et al., 2019; Schech, 2020; Shannon, 2009; Yanay-Ventura et al., 2021
	Parties	Shannon, 2009
	Ice cream	Shannon, 2009

1b: Micro level – Value for beneficiaries

Value Theme	Value created	References
Beneficiary–volunteer relationship	No specific details	Gazley et al., 2012; Nichols & Ojala, 2009
	Support (unconditional)	Meyer et al., 2012; Ronel, 2006
	Role model	Yanay-Ventura, 2019
	Affect-based (or other) trust	Hoogervorst et al., 2016; Perold et al., 2013
	Perceived sincerity	Hoogervorst et al., 2016; Ronel, 2006
	Perceived altruism	Hoogervorst et al., 2016; Townsend, 2014; Ronel, 2006
	Enthusiasm	Nichols & Ojala, 2009
	Empathy/similarity	Nichols & Ojala, 2009; Yanay-Ventura, 2019
	Close/genuine relationships	Ronel, 2006
Beneficiary outcomes	Satisfaction	Rogers et al., 2016; Samuel et al., 2016
	Comfort	Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; O'Dwyer & Timonen, 2009
	Happiness	Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Townsend, 2014
	Reduced anxiety	Handy & Srinivasan, 2004
	Reduced vulnerability/loneliness	Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; O'Dwyer & Timonen, 2009; Samuel et al., 2016
	Societal rehabilitation	Yanay-Ventura, 2019; Ronel, 2006
	Positive impact on beneficiary	McBride et al., 2011; Samuel et al., 2016; Ronel, 2006; Thoits, 2021; Townsend, 2014
	Broadened worldview	Ronel, 2006

1c: Micro level – Value for paid co-workers

Value Theme	Value created	References
Financial value	Wages (+ and -)	Pennerstorfer & Trukeschitz, 2012; Prouteau & Tchernonog, 2021
Work outcomes	Workload (+ and -)	Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Rogelberg et al, 2010; Thomsen & Jensen, 2020
	Additional support	Handy & Srinivasan, 2004
Employee outcomes	Intention to quit (+ and -)	Rogelberg et al, 2010
	Organizational commitment (+ and -)	Rogelberg et al, 2010
	Stress (+ and -) and negative emotions	Rogelberg et al, 2010; Ward & Greene, 2018
Paid staff–volunteer relationship	Lack of trust	Einarsdóttir, 2020; Thomsen & Jensen, 2020
	Perceived threat to job security	Einarsdóttir, 2020; Thomsen & Jensen, 2020
	Perception of unreliability	Einarsdóttir, 2020

1d: Meso level – Value for host organizations

Value Theme	Value created	References
Financial value	Positive (cost-savings)	Bowman, 2009; Brudney & Kellough, 2000; Brudney & Russel, 2016; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Manetti et al., 2015; Meyer et al., 2012; Mook et al., 2007; Nichols & Ojala, 2009; Orlowski & Wicker, 2015; Ortiz et al., 2021
	Negative (costs; e.g., for recruitment, hiring, training, management, and compensation)	Brudney & Duncombe, 1992; Dunn et al., 2022; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Mook et al., 2007; Samuel et al., 2013
	More donations (monetary and in-kind)/funds raised	Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Hrafnsdóttir & Kristmundsson, 2017; Loiseau et al., 2016; Lough et al., 2014; Meyer et al., 2012; Samuel et al., 2013
Organizational outcomes	Performance	Brudney & Kellough, 2000; Kang, 2019*; Rodell, 2013
	Organizational growth	Anderson et al., 2021
	Resource efficiency	Brudney & Kellough, 2000; Gagnon et al., 2021; Hrafnsdóttir & Kristmundsson, 2017; Olberding & Hacker, 2016; Perold et al., 2013; Samuel et al., 2013; Schech, 2020
	Community relations	Brudney & Kellough, 2000; Dunn et al., 2022; Gazley et al., 2012; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Littlepage et al., 2012; Ortiz et al., 2021; Townsend, 2014
	Improved services/product (more output + higher quality + more reach)	Dunn et al., 2022; Edwards et al., 2001; Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Handy & Srinivasan, 2004; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Hrafnsdóttir & Kristmundsson, 2017; Lasker, 2016; Littlepage et al., 2012; Loiseau et al., 2016; Olberding & Hacker, 2016; Ortiz et al., 2021; Perold et al., 2013; Schech, 2020; Setia, 2012; Tooley & Hooks, 2020
	Public support	Dunn et al., 2022; Gagnon et al., 2021; Tooley & Hooks, 2020

	Reputation enhancement	Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Perold et al., 2013
	Brand equity (word of mouth, brand ambassadorship, advocacy)	Liang et al., 2021; Nogueira et al., 2020; Perold et al., 2013
	Credibility	Perold et al., 2013
	Legitimacy	Handy & Greenspan, 2009; Peloza & Hassay, 2014
	Achieving mission (sustainable)	Dunn et al., 2022; Olberding & Hacker, 2016; Tooley & Hooks, 2020
	Ideas for improvement	de Wit et al., 2019; Littlepage et al., 2012; Perold et al., 2013; Schech, 2020
	Initiating innovations	de Wit et al., 2019; Perold et al., 2013; Schech, 2020
	Voice/face of the organization	de Wit et al., 2019; Nichols & Ojala, 2009; Perold et al., 2013
	Increased expertise (e.g., local knowledge, specific skills)	Loiseau et al., 2016; Nichols & Ojala, 2009; Olberding & Hacker, 2016; Ortiz et al., 2021; Perold et al., 2013; Samuel et al., 2013; Schech, 2020
	Increased visibility (in community, on campus)	Gazley et al., 2012; Littlepage et al., 2012; Ortiz et al., 2021; Peloza & Hassay, 2014; Perold et al., 2013
	Goodwill	Meyer et al., 2012; Ortiz et al., 2021
	Partnerships	Schech, 2020
	Organizational inclusion	Yanay-Ventura, 2019
Disruptions	Volunteer rule-breaking	Jacobs, 2017
	Uncertainty	Jacobs, 2017
	Tension paid staff and volunteers	Einarsdóttir, 2020
	Power imbalance between sending and receiving organizations	Samuel et al., 2013

1e: Meso level – Value for sending organizations

Value Theme	Value created	References
Financial value	Fundraising	Lasker, 2016
	More donations	Lasker, 2016
	Increased organizational income	Lasker, 2016; Rodell & et al., 2020
Work behavior/ Employee work outcomes/ Student outcomes	Job performance, productivity	Afkhami et al., 2019; Knox, 2020
	Communication with colleagues	Afkhami et al., 2019; Peloza & Hassay, 2014
	Accountability	Afkhami et al., 2019
	Employee morale	Basil et al., 2009; Lasker, 2016; Peloza & Hassay, 2014
	Commitment to sending organizations	De Gilder et al., 2005; Gagnon et al., 2021; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2019; Rodell et al., 2017; Rogelberg et al, 2010
	Organizational citizenship behavior	De Gilder et al., 2005; Peloza & Hassay, 2014
	Positive attitude toward work/employer	De Gilder et al., 2005; Peloza & Hassay, 2014
	Sense of cohesion	Gagnon et al., 2021; Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Peloza & Hassay, 2014
	Achieved student learning	Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Lasker, 2016
	Workplace deviance	Loi et al., 2020
Organizational outcomes/External perceptions	Achieving CSR goals	Afkhami et al., 2019; Plewa et al., 2014
	Consumer attitudes and behavior	Afkhami et al., 2019; Rodell & et al., 2020
	Public image/reputation	Basil et al., 2009; Gagnon et al., 2021; Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Lasker, 2016; Plewa et al., 2014; Rodell & et al., 2020
	Relationship with surrounding (or other) community	Basil et al., 2009; Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Lasker, 2016
	Working climate	Gagnon et al., 2021

	Attracting new students/members/employees	Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020; Lasker, 2016
	Differentiation	Haski-Leventhal et al., 2020
	Legitimacy	Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Rodell & et al., 2020
	Credibility	Hjort & Beswick, 2021
	Employee retention	Lasker, 2016
	Goodwill	Rodell & et al., 2020

1f: Macro level – Value for the community

Value Theme	Value created	References
Financial value	More donations	Rajan et al., 2009
Meeting community needs	Safer spaces	Afkhami et al. 2019
	Healthy community	Basil et al., 2009; Lasker, 2016
	Community development	Gagnon et al., 2021; Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Zanbar, 2019
	Improved local environment	Ramsden, 2020
Community outcomes	Community engagement/belonging	Seymour et al., 2018; Zanbar, 2019
	Community commitment	Zanbar, 2019
	Awareness of needs	Gagnon et al., 2021; Green & Walkuski, 2020
	Skills/knowledge-transfer	Hjort & Beswick, 2021; Lasker, 2016; Zanbar, 2019
NPO sector outcomes	Trust in charitable institutions	Bowman, 2004
	Providing/increasing voice	Cattacin & Domenig, 2014; Gagnon et al., 2021
	Increased reach	Gagnon et al., 2021
Sustained local civil society	Continuation of service/goods provision/achieving mission	Edwards et al., 2001; Tooley & Hooks, 2020
	Sustained volunteer community	Edwards et al., 2001; Green & Walkuski, 2020; Griffith, 2010; Littlepage et al., 2012; Loiseau et al., 2016; Rodell et al., 2017

1g: Macro level – Value to the community

Value Theme	Value created	References
Financial value	Methods to calculate value in money	Brown, 1999; Butcher, 2010; Sajardo & Serra, 2011
	Shadow economy	Vos et al., 2012
Societal behaviors	Solidarity	Afkhami et al. 2019; Serrat et al., 2017
	Social trust	Dahl & Abdelzadeh, 2017
	Political interest/local decision-making	Dahl & Abdelzadeh, 2017; Seymour et al., 2018
	Breaking stereotypes	Yanay-Ventura, 2019
	Pro-environmental behaviors (less travel, sustainable shopping, food growing, reduced energy consumption, reduced waste)	Afkhami et al., 2019; Ramsden, 2020; Seymour et al., 2018
Social change	Identification of social needs	de Wit et al., 2019
	Improved services	Edwards et al., 2001; Tooley & Hooks, 2020
	Civic engagement	Isham et al., 2006; Serrat et al., 2017
Increased inequalities	Self-segregation	Green & Walkuski, 2020; Khvorostianov & Remennick, 2017
	Increased "othering"	Horvath, 2020; Perold et al., 2013
	Power imbalance and risk of exploitation	Perold et al., 2013
	Reinforced mentality of dependence on the part of individuals in the host community	Perold et al., 2013

Summary

Academics, practitioners, and media often speak of the value that volunteers add to society. In most cases, however, this is expressed in financial terms (e.g., by calculating cost savings), based on the argument that volunteers can replace paid staff within an organization. At the same time, volunteers are often described as "the glue that holds our society together," thereby suggesting that their value goes beyond such numeric estimations. This dissertation challenges the simplistic financial take on volunteer value and explores various ways in which volunteers create value, thus having influence beyond simply offering a less expensive alternative to paid staff. The dissertation reveals several dimensions of volunteer-value creation, spanning the individual, organizational, and societal levels. It also explores how to move away from a cost-saving approach and toward a value-based framework of volunteering.

The studies in this dissertation demonstrate that volunteers and paid staff are usually not interchangeable at all. In addition, they expose a need to conceptualize the value created by volunteering in ways other than simply calculating the hours they spend volunteering and how much money they save nonprofit organizations or governments. This dissertation extends nascent insights on differences between volunteers and paid staff by exploring the overarching research question: *How do volunteers create value?* It thus explores volunteer value that extends beyond quantitative proxies and suggests solutions for making volunteering more inclusive.

The first study (Chapter 2) is a broad investigation of *how volunteers create value for different value recipients* by means of an integrative literature review. The articles included in the review were coded both deductively and inductively, thus generating both quantitative and qualitative findings. The quantitative analysis indicates that research on volunteer value has gained interest in the past decade and that the data used in these articles come primarily from countries in the Global North. These results also reveal a skewed distribution of knowledge in terms of organizational type, favoring service-delivery organization, regular volunteering, direct-service settings, and volunteers in general. Inductive qualitative analysis reveals that the various types of volunteer value are manifested at the micro (individual), meso (organizational), and macro (societal) levels. The results further identify topics that have been researched thoroughly, in addition to highlighting several gaps in the current body of knowledge. These gaps were used to inform a new research agenda, which includes a call for research on specific forms of volunteering, types of volunteers, value recipients (who are currently neglected), negative volunteer value, value appropriation, inter-level volunteer value, and unique volunteer value.

The second study (Chapter 3) provides a deeper examination of the value created at the micro and meso levels. By exploring how the difference between paid staff and volunteers can give rise to differences in the type of value created, thereby addressing gaps identified in Chapter 2. The research was conducted within a specific context where volunteers and beneficiaries do not

have direct contact with each other (indirect service/support setting) based on the question: *How do indirect service volunteers create value for nonprofit organizations?* Information obtained from participative focus groups within a large charitable organization (UNICEF the Netherlands) represents a variety of views concerning how volunteers create value for the organization that extends beyond financial benefits. Inductive analysis reveals three overarching themes of volunteer value: the supplementary value of volunteers, the complementary value of volunteering, and the ambidextrous value of volunteers volunteering. In the supplementary scenario, volunteers and paid staff are indeed interchangeable, and their added value stems mainly from the larger number of people working for the organization. In the complementary scenario however, volunteers create unique value that would be lost if they were to be replaced with paid staff. The ambidextrous scenario is characterized by a leveraged combination of a large number of people (supplementary) with unique propositions (complementary) working for the nonprofit organization. The study also identifies six drivers of volunteer-added value, thereby providing the foundation for a conceptual model on the creation of volunteer value.

The third study (Chapter 4) focuses on volunteer inclusion. Although volunteering creates important value for individuals, organizations, and society (Chapter 2), and although volunteer diversity is an important driver of volunteer value at the organizational level (Chapter 3), previous studies have shown that certain groups are often excluded from formal volunteering, due to individual and organizational decisions. Such exclusion reduces diversity in the volunteer pool, thereby decreasing value creation. This chapter focuses on the meso and macro levels to explore the following question: *How can third-party organizations make volunteering more inclusive?* We identify the crucial role that gatekeepers in sending organizations can play in the inclusion and exclusion of volunteers in receiving organizations. Drawing on data collected in a two-phase process involving semi-structured and vignette-based interviews, the results reveal that all respondents recognized patterns of volunteer exclusion and activities that promote inclusion. More importantly, we identify three strategies that sending gatekeepers can use to enhance volunteer inclusion: encouraging, enabling, and enforcing. Encouraging strategies are intended to eliminate barriers and show potential volunteers that volunteering is accessible. Enabling strategies can be implemented by both sending and receiving organizations. Although enforcing, (or mandated) volunteering can enhance inclusion, and although the sustainability of such strategies could be questioned, they do indeed introduce new people to volunteering (thereby enhancing inclusion).

The final study (Chapter 5) builds on the previous results and opens the diversity perspective within the new context of volunteer tourism and diasporic volunteering. Exploration at the micro and macro levels reveals differences in value creation by diasporans and non-diasporans within this context. The focus is mainly on commercial third-party organizations that are providers of volunteer tourism. These organizations often focus on the goals and interests of volunteer tourists, such that volunteering is seen as an end in itself, rather than as a means to another end. Many of these organizations exist to satisfy the volunteer tourist, who is the paying customer in this scenario, and who traditionally is from a country in the Global North. We

propose how certain critiques of volunteer tourism may or may not change when diasporans perform the volunteering. These insights were used to develop a future research agenda and to propose other factors that might change the value created: volunteer motivation, local community acceptance, and connection to country. The chapter also presents thoughts on the value of giving money rather than time.

Taken together, the studies in this dissertation provide a deeper exploration of the creation of volunteer value. The results make three important contributions to advancing the current debate. First, I argue that the focus of research on volunteer management should shift away from cost savings and paid-staff replacement toward decision-making based on added value. Second, I draw attention to the issue of potential value loss and value appropriation in specific neglected areas. Third, I reveal new questions for volunteer research and management, specifically in mixed-staff organizations. The four studies together create space and curiosity needed to break open and further explore the concept of volunteer value in the future.

Samenvatting (Dutch Summary)

Academici, practici en media spreken vaak over de waarde die vrijwilligers toevoegen aan de samenleving. In de meeste gevallen wordt dit uitgedrukt in financiële termen (bijvoorbeeld door kostenbesparingen te berekenen), gebaseerd op het argument dat vrijwilligers betaalde krachten binnen een organisatie kunnen vervangen. Tegelijkertijd worden vrijwilligers vaak beschreven als 'de lijm die onze samenleving bij elkaar houdt', wat suggereert dat hun waarde verder gaat dan numerieke schattingen. Dit proefschrift betwist de simplistische financiële kijk op vrijwillige inzet en onderzoekt verschillende manieren waarop vrijwilligers waarde creëren en zo effecten hebben die verder gaan dan alleen het bieden van een goedkoper alternatief voor betaalde krachten. Het proefschrift onthult verschillende dimensies van waard creatie door vrijwilligers, verdeelt over het individuele, organisatorische en maatschappelijke niveau. Het onderzoekt ook hoe we kunnen afstappen van een kostenbesparende aanpak en overstappen op een op waarden gebaseerd raamwerk van vrijwilligerswerk.

De studies in dit proefschrift laten zien dat vrijwilligers en betaalde krachten vaak helemaal niet uitwisselbaar zijn. Bovendien tonen ze de noodzaak aan om de waarde die door vrijwilligerswerk wordt gecreëerd op andere manieren te conceptualiseren dan alleen het berekenen van de uren die ze aan vrijwilligerswerk besteden en hoeveel geld ze daarmee non-profitorganisaties of overheden besparen. Dit proefschrift verdiept ontluikende inzichten over de verschillen tussen vrijwilligers en betaalde krachten door de overkoepelende vraag te onderzoeken: *Hoe creëren vrijwilligers waarde?* Het onderzoekt dus de waarde van vrijwilligerswerk die verder gaat dan kwantitatieve proxy's en stelt oplossingen voor om vrijwilligerswerk inclusiever te maken.

De eerste studie (Hoofdstuk 2) is een brede integratieve literatuurstudie onderzoek naar *hoe vrijwilligers waarde creëren voor verschillende waarde-ontvangers*. De artikelen die in de review zijn opgenomen, zijn zowel deductief als inductief gecodeerd, waardoor zowel kwantitatieve als kwalitatieve bevindingen werden gedaan. De kwantitatieve analyse geeft aan dat onderzoek naar de waarde van vrijwilligers de afgelopen tien jaar aan belangstelling heeft gewonnen en dat de data die in deze artikelen worden gebruikt, voornamelijk afkomstig zijn uit landen in het Globale Noorden. Deze resultaten onthullen ook een scheve verdeling van kennis qua organisatietype, in het voordeel van dienstverlenende non-profit organisaties, traditioneel vrijwilligerswerk, directe dienstverlening en vrijwilligers in het algemeen. De inductieve kwalitatieve analyse laat zien dat de verschillende soorten vrijwilligerswaarde zich manifesteren op micro (individueel), meso (organisatie) en macro (maatschappelijk) niveau. De resultaten identificeren verder welke onderwerpen grondig zijn onderzocht, naast het benadrukken van verschillende gaten in de huidige kennis. Deze lacunes informeren een nieuwe onderzoeksagenda, waaronder een oproep tot onderzoek naar specifieke vormen van vrijwilligerswerk, soorten vrijwilligers, waarde-ontvangers (die momenteel worden verwaarloosd), negatieve vrijwilligerswaarde, waarde toe-eigening, vrijwilligerswaarde tussen de verschillende niveaus en unieke vrijwilligerswaarde.

De tweede studie (hoofdstuk 3) gaat dieper in op de waarde die op micro- en mesoniveau wordt gecreëerd. Door na te gaan hoe het verschil tussen betaalde krachten en vrijwilligers kan leiden tot verschillen in het soort waarde dat wordt gecreëerd, en zo de in hoofdstuk 2 vastgestelde lacunes aan te pakken. Het onderzoek is uitgevoerd binnen een specifieke context waarin vrijwilligers en beneficianten geen direct contact met elkaar hebben (indirecte service/support setting) op basis van de vraag: *Hoe creëren indirecte servicevrijwilligers waarde voor non-profitorganisaties?* Informatie verkregen uit participatieve focusgroepen binnen een grote goede doelen organisatie (UNICEF Nederland) presenteert een verscheidenheid aan opvattingen over hoe vrijwilligers waarde creëren voor de organisatie die verder gaat dan financiële voordelen. Inductieve analyse onthult drie overkoepelende thema's van vrijwilligerswaarde: de supplementaire waarde van vrijwilligers, de complementaire waarde van vrijwilligerswerk en de ambidextere waarde van vrijwilligers die vrijwilligerswerk doen. In het supplementaire scenario zijn vrijwilligers en betaalde krachten inderdaad uitwisselbaar en komt hun toegevoegde waarde vooral voort uit het grotere aantal mensen dat voor de organisatie werkt. In het complementaire scenario creëren vrijwilligers echter unieke waarde die verloren zou gaan als ze zouden worden vervangen door betaald personeel. Het ambidextere scenario wordt gekenmerkt door een hefboomcombinatie van een groot aantal mensen (aanvullend) met unieke proposities (complementair) die voor de non-profitorganisatie werken. De studie identificeert ook zes drijfveren van toegevoegde waarde van vrijwilligers, waardoor de basis wordt gelegd voor een conceptueel model voor het creëren van vrijwilligerswaarde.

De derde studie (hoofdstuk 4) richt zich op de inclusie van vrijwilligers. Hoewel vrijwilligerswerk relevante waarde creëert voor individuen, organisaties en de samenleving (Hoofdstuk 2), en hoewel vrijwilligersdiversiteit een belangrijke component is van vrijwilligerswaarde op organisatieniveau (Hoofdstuk 3), tonen eerdere studies aan dat bepaalde groepen vaak worden uitgesloten van formeel vrijwilligerswerk, als gevolg van individuele en organisatorische beslissingen. Een dergelijke uitsluiting vermindert de diversiteit in de vrijwilligerspool, waardoor de waarde-creatie afneemt. Dit hoofdstuk richt zich op het meso- en macroniveau om de volgende vraag te onderzoeken: *Hoe kunnen derde-partij poortwachters vrijwilligerswerk inclusiever maken?* We identificeren de cruciale rol die poortwachters in uitzendende organisaties kunnen spelen bij het in- en uitsluiten van vrijwilligers in ontvangende organisaties. Op basis van gegevens die zijn verzameld in een proces in twee fasen met semi-gestructureerde- en vignette-interviews, blijkt uit de bevindingen dat alle respondenten patronen van uitsluiting van vrijwilligers en activiteiten die inclusie bevorderen herkenden. Bovendien identificeren we drie strategieën die poortwachters kunnen gebruiken om de inclusie van vrijwilligers te verbeteren: aanmoedigen (*encouraging)*, facilitieren (*enabling)* en verplichten (*enforcing*). Aanmoedigende strategieën zijn bedoeld om barrières weg te nemen en potentiële vrijwilligers te laten zien dat vrijwilligerswerk toegankelijk is. Faciliterende strategieën kunnen worden geïmplementeerd door zowel zendende als ontvangende organisaties. Hoewel de duurzaamheid van het verplichten van vrijwilligerswerk als strategie in twijfel kan worden getrokken, laat verplichten inderdaad nieuwe mensen kennismaken met vrijwilligerswerk (waardoor de inclusie wordt verbeterd).

De laatste studie (hoofdstuk 5) bouwt voort op de eerdere resultaten en opent het diversiteitsperspectief binnen de relatief nieuwe context van vrijwilligerstoerisme en diaspora vrijwilligerswerk. Een exploratief onderzoek op micro- en macroniveau laat verschillen zien in waarde-creatie door diaspora en niet-diaspora vrijwilligers binnen deze context. De focus ligt vooral op commerciële externe organisaties als aanbieders van vrijwilligerstoerisme. Deze organisaties richten zich vaak op de doelen en belangen van de vrijwillige toeristen, zodat vrijwilligerswerk wordt gezien als een doel voor hen , in plaats van als een middel om een ander doel te bereiken. Veel van deze organisaties bestaan om de vrijwillige toerist tevreden te stellen, die in dit scenario de betalende klant is en die traditioneel uit een land in het Noorden komt. We stellen voor hoe bepaalde kritieken op vrijwilligerstoerisme al dan niet kunnen veranderen wanneer diaspora vrijwilligerswerk doen. Deze inzichten werden gebruikt om een toekomstige onderzoeksagenda te ontwikkelen en om andere factoren voor te stellen die de gecreëerde waarde zouden kunnen veranderen: motivatie van vrijwilligers, acceptatie door de lokale gemeenschap en verbinding met het land. Het hoofdstuk presenteert ook gedachten over de waarde van het geven van geld in plaats van tijd.

Alles bij elkaar vormen de studies in dit proefschrift een bredere, diepere verkenning van het creëren van vrijwilligerswaarde. De resultaten leveren drie belangrijke bijdragen aan het huidige debat. Ten eerste pleit ik ervoor dat de focus van onderzoek naar vrijwilligersmanagement moet verschuiven van kostenbesparing en vervanging van betaald personeel naar besluitvorming op basis van toegevoegde waarde. Ten tweede vestig ik de aandacht op de kwestie van potentieel waardeverlies en waarde-toe-eigening in specifieke verwaarloosde contexten van vrijwilligerswerk. Ten derde presenteer ik nieuwe vragen voor vrijwilligersonderzoek en -management, met name in organisaties met gemengd personeel. De vier onderzoeken samen creëren de ruimte en nieuwsgierigheid die nodig is om het concept van vrijwilligerswaarde in de toekomst open te breken en verder te verkennen.

About the Author

Philine van Overbeeke was born in Leiden, the Netherlands. In 2016, she obtained her Bachelor of Science in Business Administration from Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University. During her studies she completed a minor in 'Learning by Doing: Consulting Social Entrepreneurs' which was her first academic introduction into the non-profit sector. Interested in the green and social side of business and management, Philine decided to pursue a Master of Science degree in Global Business & Sustainability at the RSM. During this year Philine started as a research assistant with Prof. Dr. Lucas Meijs, working on a project focused on researching an innovative new form of community development in Leeuwarden, which sparked an interest in academic research.

After graduating in 2017, Philine started as academic researcher and lecturer at the Business & Society Department of RSM teaching non-profit management, qualitative methods, and third sector consultancy. She also worked on research projects focused on non-profit management, volunteer management, and (European) service-learning. Two years into the job, Philine decided to start dedicating time to also pursue a PhD to further develop her research, critical thinking, and teaching skills. In 2021 Philine took a sabbatical, she travelled to Spain and the US to fully focus on her PhD research for six months. During this time, she also brushed up her Spanish skills, took many morning swims and went on several hikes – the highlight: climbing *el Pico de Teide* at sunrise.

Philine highly values sharing knowledge with and learning from students, academics, and practitioners. Throughout her career she has actively engaged with both the academic and practitioner communities. Besides publishing several book chapters and academic articles in the top non-profit journals, Philine has dedicatedly connected with her academic community at conferences all over the world. She presented her work, joined the review teams, participated in PhD colloquia, and gave numerous workshops. To make the most out of these opportunities she linked conferences with academic visits to scholars in the field, also delivering guest lectures, beyond her teaching at RSM. Philine has also shared her knowledge with practitioners through masterclasses and workshops tailored to specific organizations or fields of practice. Moreover, she has published numerous practitioner blogs to connect them with academic knowledge.

Author's Portfolio

Publications

Refereed journal articles

Koolen-Maas, S.A.**,** Meijs, L.C.P.M., **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.**, & Brudney, J.L. (2022). Rethinking Volunteering as a Natural Resource: A Conceptual Typology. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 52*(1_suppl), 353-377. https://doi.org/10.1177/08997640221127947
*ERNOP Research Note (link)

van Overbeeke, P.S.M., Koolen-Maas, S.A., Meijs, L.C.P.M., Brudney, J.L. (2021). You Shall (Not) Pass: Strategies for Third-Party Gatekeepers to Enhance Volunteer Inclusion. *Voluntas, 33*(1)**,** 33–45. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-021-00384-0
*Reviewed for Engage by Dr. Laurie Mook (link)
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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 & Leadership*, *30*(1), 69-87. https://doi.org/10.1002/nml.21358

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van Overbeeke, P. S. M. & Ouacha, M. (2022). The value of diasporic cross-border philanthropy and voluntourism. In: Fowler, A, & K. Biekart (eds.). *A Research Agenda for Civil Society* (pp.173-187). Elgar books. https://doi.org/10.4337/9781800378155.00021

Meijs, L.C.P.M., **van Overbeeke, P.S.M**., Abord-Hugon Nonet, G., Roza, L., Maas, S.A. (2020) The role of civic engagement in 'talking and walking' the SDGs. *In: El papel del Aprendizaje-Servicio en la construcción de una ciudadanía global [The role of Service-Learning in the construction of a global citizenship]* (pp.663-672). Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia–UNED. http://hdl.handle.net/10486/694140

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Grönlund, H., & **van Overbeeke, P**. (2024). Episodic Volunteering. In: List, R.A., Anheier, H.K., Toepler, S. (eds) *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*. Springer, Cham. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-99675-2_9604-1

Hoedemakers, J., de Bruin Cardoso, I., **van Overbeeke, P**., & Meijs, L. (2024). Instead of with a rowboat, search for the north star by navigating a sailboat through turbulent times. *Journal of Philanthropy and Marketing*, *29*(3). https://doi.org/10.1002/nvsm.1873

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Van Overbeeke, P.S.M., Meijs, L.C.P.M., Koolen-Maas, S. A., Brudney, J. L. (2021). Volunteering: A modern perception. In: Centre for European Volunteering / RSM collaboration articles. 3 April 2022. (link)

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van Overbeeke, P.S.M. – Jarige Job (Birthday Kid) surviving the COVID-19 crisis. Accepted for publication as chapter in *Case Studies in Nonprofit Organizational Resilience (eds Elizabeth Searing & Dennis Young).*

De Bruin Cardoso, I. & **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.** - Explaining the Dark Side of Supporting Orphanages: The NGO halo effect and child trafficking.
Under review at *Journal of Nonprofit Education & Leadership (eds Seth Meyer, Jose Irizarry & Roseanne Mirabella).*

van Overbeeke, P.S.M. - How Macro, Meso, and Micro forces shape exclusionary practices. Presented at ISTR 2024 & extended abstract accepted for book on *The Paradox of Nonprofit Discrimination: Dynamics of exclusion and inclusion in third sector organizations. (eds. Isabel de Bruin Cardoso & Stefanie Ruiz).*

Hoedemakers, J., Meijs, L.C.P.M., **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.** - Speaking truth to power: do funding foundations need a Court Jester?
Presented at ISTR 2024

Meijs, L.C.P.M., Koolen-Maas, S.A.**, van Overbeeke, P.S.M.**, Brudney, J.L. - A circular and sustainable perspective on the common pool 'volunteer resources'. Presented at Philanthropic Commons 2022.

Revise and resubmit for book on *Philanthropic Commons (eds. Brenda Bushouse & Robert Christensen & Brent Never).*

Ho, M.H, & **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.** - Clients' perception of volunteers and paid employees across for-profit, and nonprofit organizations.
Under development

Meijs, L.C.P.M., **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.**, Koolen-Maas, S.A. - The role of volunteer centers: Creating a healthy volunteer resources ecosystem.
Presented at ISTR 2024 & accepted to be presented at ARNOVA 2024

Atkisson, C., Bushouse, B., Meijs, L., **van Overbeeke, P.** Improving retention: Detecting volunteer sabbaticals and reasons for taking a sabbatical.
Presented at ISTR 2024 & accepted to be presented at ARNOVA 2024

van Overbeeke, P.S.M. - An Integrative Review Exploring Value Creation by Volunteering and Volunteers. Dissertation chapter
Presented at ARNOVA 2022 & IRSPM 2023. Target journal: NVSQ

van Overbeeke, P.S.M., Meijs, L.C.P.M., Frey-Heger, C. – Beyond nonprofit staff substitution: Towards a value-based framework to assess volunteers' unique contributions to non-profit organizations.
Presented at ISTR 2018 & ARNOVA 2023. Target Journal: NML/Voluntas

Conference Presentations

International Society for Third Sector Research. Antwerp, Belgium, July 2024

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action. Orlando, FL, November 2023.

European Research Network on Philanthropy. Zagreb, Croatia, June 2023.

International Research Society on Public Management Conference. Budapest, Hungary, April 2023.

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action. Raleigh, NC, November 2022.

Understanding Our Philanthropic Commons. BYU Aspen Grove, September-October 2022.

International Society for Third Sector Research. Montreal, Canada, July 2022.

European Research Network on Philanthropy. Dublin, Ireland, December 2021.

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action. Atlanta, GA, November 2021.

European Conference on Service-Learning in Higher Education. Bucharest, Romania, September 2021.

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action ASIA. Online, 17-18 July 2021.

International Society for Third Sector Research. Online, 12-15 July 2021.

Dag van de Sociologie [Sociology Day]. Utrecht, the Netherlands, 10 June 2021.

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action. Indianapolis, IN, November 2020.

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action. San Diego, CA, November 2019.

European Research Network on Philanthropy. Basel, Switzerland, July 2019.

European Conference on Service-Learning in Higher Education. Antwerp, Belgium, September 2019.

Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action. Austin, TX, November 2018.

National & European Conference on Service-Learning in Higher Education. Madrid, Spain, September 2018.

International Society for Third Sector Research. Amsterdam, the Netherlands, July 2018.

International Research Society on Public Management Conference. Edinburgh, Scotland, April 2018

Scholarships & PDW

AOM PNP Doctoral Student Professional Development Consortium in Boston	Dr. Brad Wright	2023
EGOS Pre-Colloquium PhD Workshop in Cagliari	Dr. Frank de Bakker	2023
ISTR PhD Seminar in Montreal	Dr. Andrea Bassi & Dr. Ulla Pape	2022
Penn Doctoral Fellows Summer Program in Philadelphia	Dr. Peter Frumkin & Dr. Matthew Bennet	2022

ERNOP PhD Workshop online	Dr. Silke Boenigk	2021
ARNOVA Doctoral Fellows Seminar in Atlanta	Dr. Rebecca Nesbit & Dr. Robert Christensen	2021
ISTR PhD Seminar online	Dr. Aya Okada & Dr. Faina Diola	2021

Funded research projects

EVI-Dems: Enhancing Volunteer Impact - Developing European Management Standards *Co-funded by Erasmus+ of the European Union* Academic researcher, course developer	2022-2024
Rural 3.0: Service-Learning for the Rural Development *Co-funded by Erasmus+ of the European Union* Work package coordinator, academic researcher	2019-2021
Big Society: co-production & citizen well-being in underdeveloped neighborhoods *Funded by Private Foundation Bernard van Leer* Junior researcher, interview trainer	2017-2019
Tel Mee Met Taal [Count with Language]: Optimizing volunteer & paid staff interplays in fighting illiteracy *Funded by the Dutch National Research Council Education (NRO)* Junior researcher	2017-2019

Teaching & supervising activities

Bachelor level

- Managing & Valuing Volunteers — Developer / coordinator / lecturer
- Service-Learning: consulting social entrepreneurs — Coordinator / lecturer
- Inclusive & Emergent Leadership — Developer / coordinator / lecturer
- Academic Internships — Coordinator / supervisor
- Research Methodology — Coordinator

- Responsible Business Leadership — Lecturer
- Inclusive HRM — Teaching assistant

Master level (pre- and post-experience / executive education)

- Company Based Research Project — Developer / coordinator / coach
- Qualitative Research Methods — Developer / coordinator / lecturer
- Managing NGOs — Coordinator / co-lecturer
- Academic Business Project — Supervisor
- International Business Project — Supervisor
- MSc thesis — Supervisor / co-reader
- Corporate Social Investing — Teaching assistant
- Sustainable Business Ethics — Teaching assistant

Professional experience

Academic service

Manuscript reviewer

- Nonprofit & Voluntary Sector Quarterly (1)
- Nonprofit Management & Leadership (3)
- VOLUNTAS (2)
- BMC Psychology (1)
- The Journal of International Development (2)
- Journal of Muslim Philanthropy & Civil Society, Special Issue reviewer (1)

Academic events

- Track chair of Voluntarism and Volunteering track at ARNOVA conference (November 2024).
- Local host committee of the International Society for Third Sector Research conference (July 2024).
- Co-organizer of the 5th European Conference on Service-Learning in Higher Education (October 2022).

- Co-organizer of the 2nd UvA – VU - RSM Business & Society PhD Conference (December 2019).
- Co-organizer of the Business Society Management Alumni Day (November 2018).
- Co-organizer of the Colloquium "Impact Investing in Rotterdam" (April 2018).

Conference submission reviewer

- International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR)
- European Research Network on Philanthropy (ERNOP)
- Academy of Management (AOM)
  *__AOM PNP Best Reviewer Award 2023; 2024__
- Business & Society Seminar (BSS)

Conference session chair/discussant/moderator

- Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA)
- International Society for Third Sector Research (ISTR)
- European Research Network on Philanthropy (ERNOP)
- European Conference on Service-Learning in Higher Education (ECSLHE)

Conference buddy for first time attendee

- Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action (ARNOVA)

Academic visits

Dr. Mary Tschirhart, George Washington University Audited PA lectures, worked on research	November/December 2022
Dr. Lindsey McDougle, Rutgers University Provided guest lecture in non-profit management, presented in PhD super session	November 2022
Dr. Susan Appe, State University of New York at Albany Audited PA lectures, participated in doctoral seminar	October/November 2022
Dr. Rebecca Nesbit, University of Georgia Athens Provided guest lectures in volunteer management & non-profit management	November 2021

Additional Training

University Teaching Qualification (UTQ)	June 2021
Raising Awareness About Gender in Research	September 2020
Anti-racism in higher education	June 2020
Teaching Assistant training	May 2019
Accommodating differences in students' prior knowledge	January 2019

Invitations

Session on *value-based volunteer management in healthcare*	Conference dignity and pride for the future	July 2024
Plenary speaker on *the value of volunteers in the health sector*	The umbrella Physicians Society + Health	June 2024
Invited as expert on *the value of volunteers for cities*	City of Leiden	May 2024
Plenary speaker on *the value of non-profit organizations*	Working group club & calamity	May 2024
Masterclass on *volunteer / paid staff interchangeability*	Dutch National Volunteering Organization	March 2024
Research day on *exploring EU academics on Volunteering*	Centre for European Volunteering	March 2024
Masterclass for volunteer coordinators on *value-based volunteer management*	Vilans – healthcare branch information center	December 2023
Masterclass for volunteer coordinators on *value-based volunteer management*	IPSO – centers for living with cancer	September 2023
Workshop at conference for board members of hockey associations on *volunteer resources*	Dutch National Hockey Bond	February 2023
Expert session on volunteering and inclusion in *buddy ship for poverty alleviation*	EU-project ABPA	February 2023

Invited as expert to advice on a new training module for volunteer inclusion *fairtrade organizations*	EU-project VoW	December 2022
Expert session of volunteer management to *advice on volunteer value and scarcity*	The Hague Sports Advisory Council	May 2022
Seminar *Altruism: What's in it for me?* on the value of volunteers	Studium Generale, Tilburg University	March 2022
Webinar *Service-Learning and diversity in metropolitan settings*	Flemish Network for Service-Learning in Higher Education	March 2021
Talk show *We Make the City* on Voluntary Buddy Systems	Volunteer Academy Amsterdam	June 2019
Plenary speaker at conference *the Value of Green Volunteers*	Green Neighborhoods Associations	June 2019
Expert member of sounding board *Research Role and Position of Volunteer Engagement Coordinator*	Movisie: national knowledge institute on social issues	June 2019
Panelist at a Service-Learning panel to advice on *value & development of S-L courses*	University of Amsterdam	January 2019
Workshop about *Big Society Leeuwarden* to inform on the value of the method	Ministry of Domestic Affairs	January 2019
Presentation on Big Society research	Dutch National Volunteering Organization	November 2018

Research dissemination

Interviews

EenVandaag (Dutch news). Volunteers as solution for healthcare staffing shortage? (Radio). April 2022.

EenVandaag (Dutch news). Volunteers as solution for healthcare staffing shortage? (News article). April 2022.

De dikke blauwe (online philanthropy magazine). The Value of Volunteers (Written interview). 3 January 2018.

Blog posts / articles

Meijs, L.C.P.M., Man, W.Y. & **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.** Burn-out en bore-out bij vrijwilligers voorkomen? [Preventing volunteer burn-out and bore-out]. Sportknowhowxl. 3 March 2020.

Meijs, L.C.P.M., & **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.** Tipping tractors in het vrijwilligerswerk. [Tipping tractors in volunteering]. Managementsite. 30 July 2019.

Meijs, L.C.P.M., **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.** Beroepskrachten en vrijwilligers: communicerende vaten? [Paid staff and volunteers: communicating vessels?]. Sportknowhowxl. 2 July 2019.

Meijs, L.C.P.M., **van Overbeeke, P.S.M**, & Simons, F.J. Tipping tractors in het vrijwilligerswerk [Tipping tractors in volunteering]. De Dikke Blauwe (online philanthropy magazine). 16 May 2019.

Meijs, L.C.P.M., & **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.** De sportvereniging is nodig om goed burgerschap te oefenen. [The sport association is needed to practice good citizenship]. Sportknowhowxl. 16 October 2018.

Meijs, L.C.P.M., van Overbeeke, P.S.M, & Simons, F.J. Benader de 'nu-niet-vrijwilliger' als een fruitmachine. [Approach the 'not-now-volunteer like a slotmachine']. Sportknowhowxl. 10 July 2018.

Meijs, L.C.P.M., **van Overbeeke, P.S.M.**, & Simons, F.J. Tipping tractors in het vrijwilligerswerk [Tipping tractors in volunteering]. Sportknowhowxl. 5 June 2018.

Meijs, L.C.P.M., & **van Overbeeke, P.S.M. (2017).** Vrijwilligers maken waarde! [Volunteers create value!]. Sportknowhowxl. 12 December 2017.

Van Overbeeke, P.S.M. Doet de juiste persoon het werk wel? Waarom organisaties meer vrijwilligers in moeten zetten. [*Is the right person doing the job? Why organizations should use more volunteers*]. 26 September 2017.

ERIM PT PhD Series

The ERIM PT PhD Series contains PhD dissertations in the field of Research in Management defended at Erasmus University Rotterdam and supervised by senior researchers affiliated to the Erasmus Research Institute of Management (ERIM). Dissertations in the ERIM PT PhD Series are available in full text through: https://pure.eur.nl

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Dekker, I., *Academic Thriving: Optimising Student Development with Evidence-Based Higher Education*, Supervisor: Prof. M.C. Schippers, Co-supervisors: Dr. E. Klatter & Dr. E.J. Van Schooten

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Jakobs, K., *ICT Standardisation Management*: *A multidimensional perspective on company participation in standardization committees,* Supervisors: Prof.dr.ir. H.J. de Vries & Prof. K. Blind

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Philine van Overbeeke was born in Leiden, the Netherlands. She obtained a BSc in Business Administration and a MSc in Global Business & Sustainability at Rotterdam School of Management, Erasmus University. Philine is a committed researcher and lecturer with over 7 years of experience specializing in the non-profit sector and volunteer management. She pursued her PhD next to her full-time job at the department of Business-Society Management at RSM teaching non-profit management, qualitative methods, and third sector consultancy and working on research projects focused on non-profit management, volunteer management, and service-learning. In this dissertation, she explored volunteer value creation.

Volunteering is broadly embedded in our communities. Academics, practitioners, and media often speak to the value volunteers add to society. Most of the time they do so in financial terms calculating cost savings, based on the argument that volunteers can replace paid staff within an organization. However, volunteers are also described as 'the glue of our country', suggesting they are valuable beyond the mere financial. One of the main goals in writing this dissertation was to challenge the simplistic financial take on volunteers and to explore, in much nuance, how volunteers create value in different ways (in comparison to paid staff), and thus become influential beyond being a cheaper replacement for paid staff. The chapters in this dissertation all showcase this in different ways and explore how to move away from a cost-saving approach and towards a value-based framework to make more effective and efficient staffing decisions within volunteer-involving organizations.

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