
Bringing the Beneficiary Closer: Explanations for Volunteering Time in Dutch Private Development Initiatives

Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly
42(1) 59–83
© The Author(s) 2013
Reprints and permission:
sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav
DOI: 10.1177/0899764011431610
<http://nvsq.sagepub.com>



Sara Kinsbergen¹, Jochem Tolsma¹,
and Stijn Ruiter²

Abstract

In the Netherlands, charitable behavior for international development purposes is subject to important changes. Whereas established development organizations suffer from a declining support base, private development initiatives (PDIs) that execute concrete, small-scale projects within direct personalized aid networks can count on increasing enthusiasm from individual donors of money and time. We investigate to what extent cost-benefit evaluations of volunteers (supply side) and characteristics of PDIs (demand side) affect the time allocation for volunteering in these organizations. The study is based on a survey among 661 volunteers active in Dutch PDIs. PDI volunteers face time and budget restrictions, partly due to their position on the (paid) labor market. Volunteers who are skeptical toward established development organizations increase voluntary time investment in PDIs. Corroborating the proximity hypothesis, volunteers perceiving a smaller distance to beneficiaries, spend more volunteering hours in PDIs. Volunteers also spend more hours volunteering for PDIs with larger budgets and more staff.

Keywords

charitable behavior, international development cooperation, volunteering hours, PDIs, distance to beneficiaries

¹Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen, Netherlands

²Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR), Amsterdam, Netherlands

Corresponding Author:

Sara Kinsbergen, Radboud University Nijmegen, Centre for International Development Issues Nijmegen (CIDIN), P.O. Box 9104, Nijmegen 6500 HE, Netherlands
Email: s.kinsbergen@maw.ru.nl

Introduction

Various studies are intended to explain charitable behavior of individuals (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Sargeant & Woodliffe, 2007 for a recent review of the literature).¹ Most evidence is gathered on questions regarding who gives money to charitable causes and why people donate money. Other research has analyzed the motivations and the time investment of volunteers (Allison, Okun, & Dutridge, 2002; Bekkers, 2004; Hayghe, 1991; Okun, 1994; Okun, Barr, & Herzog, 1998; Rotolo & Wilson, 2004). Even though time investment can be regarded just as important for voluntary organizations and their beneficiaries as simply the number of volunteers that are involved or the amount of money donated, the question how much time people actually donate is still understudied (Van Ingen & Dekker, 2011). In this study we aim to explain differences in the time people spend on volunteering work. We focus attention on the particular segment of volunteering in small-scale PDIs, which have been growing in number in recent years both in the Netherlands (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2011) and in surrounding countries such as Belgium (Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009).

In the Netherlands, established international development organizations can count on a relatively wide support from Dutch citizens. In 2007, this group of organizations received in total 298 million euros from Dutch households making it—next to faith-based organizations—the second largest charitable cause in the Netherlands (Bekkers, Wiepking, & Boonstoppel, 2009). Dutch citizens not only express their concern about developing countries through financial donations. In 2008, 1.4% of the population said to volunteer in a development-related organization (Schuyt & Gouwenberg, 2009). However, in recent years, traditional development organizations experienced a declining public support in the Netherlands because of emerging distrust regarding their effectiveness and efficiency (Gijsbers & van der Lelij, 2010; PQR, 2010; Ravelli & Verhoeven, 2008).

At the same time, an increasing number of citizens voluntarily participate in—or even initiate—small-scale voluntary development initiatives (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2011). This development is part of a larger international trend: Worldwide a growing diversity of actors is taking up an active role in the field of international development cooperation. Companies, philanthropists, famous stars—referred to as celebrity humanitarians—and ordinary individuals feel urged to actively contribute to the global fights against poverty (Bishop & Green, 2008; Cameron & Haanstra, 2008; Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009; Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2011; Samman, McAuliffe, & MacLachlan, 2009; Yrjölä, 2009).

In contrast to traditional development organizations, PDIs can count on growing support and represent concrete opportunities for greater identification and active involvement with development activities (Lampert, van der Lelij, de Kamps, & van Duijn, 2006; Ravelli & Verhoeven, 2008; Bekkers, Stam, van Rooij, & Meyaard, 2011). In 2007, 10% of Dutch households donated to these small-scale development organizations with an average amount of 72 euro, resulting in a total amount donated of approximately 52 million euros (Bekkers et al., 2009; Kinsbergen & Schulpen,

2011). However, it is unknown how many people in the Netherlands are actually active as volunteers in PDIs.

PDIs can be distinguished from other, traditional, development organizations by their small scale (i.e., limited number of staff and budget) and their voluntary character (i.e., low percentages of paid staff).² The majority of these initiatives are initiated and entirely run by volunteers and have an average annual budget of less than 50,000 euro (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2011). PDI volunteers are actively involved in fundraising, public awareness raising and the implementation of development projects.

In this contribution, we investigate how financial and time restrictions of PDI volunteers influence their time investment. In addition, we examine aspects that possibly affect the benefits of volunteering, such as the perceived distance between volunteers and beneficiaries and attitudes of volunteers toward development organizations. A novelty of this study is that we aim to explain time investment by looking not only at the supply side (i.e., considerations by the volunteer) but also at the demand side; the extent to which characteristics of PDIs (e.g., budget) affect time investment considerations of volunteers.

This study also distinguishes itself from earlier studies as we focus on a specific group of volunteers, namely people that are active in small-scale PDIs with distant beneficiaries. We test our hypotheses using unique primary data on 661 volunteers—with 316 of them being the founder of the PDI—working in a similar number of small-scale PDIs with projects in 101 developing countries. We acknowledge that this hampers the generalization of findings to a more general volunteer population. However, using this data set enables us to test hypotheses derived from a cost-benefit framework on the impact of a wide array of characteristics of volunteers and of voluntary organizations on time-investment decisions.

Voluntary Time Investment in PDIs: Supply and Demand

Previous studies on charitable behavior point to the strong influence of a donor's cost-benefit analysis in decisions regarding time and money donations (Allison et al., 2002; Bekkers, 2004; Okun, 1994; Unger, 1991; Wiepking, 2008; Wilson, 2000). As Bekkers (2004) argues, the first thing people will do when considering whether or not to help is weighing the immediate material costs for them compared with the social or psychological benefits involved. When the costs increase, higher benefits have to persuade a donor. However, it can be argued that when benefits of donating are low, the willingness to donate decreases.

Constraints

The costs of volunteering depend on the value of people's time. This value is determined by the availability and the price of time (Bekkers, 2001, 2004; Van Ingen & Dekker, 2011; Wilson, 2000). When people have less leisure time available, it becomes more

precious to them, making it more costly to engage in volunteering (Bekkers, 2004). The role overload theory predicts that people with a full-time occupation are more restricted in their time, and therefore, they will be more reluctant to donate time compared with people working part-time or without any job (Markham & Bonjean, 1996). Being employed is indeed found to negatively affect both the decision to volunteer (Bekkers, 2001; Hayghe, 1991) and—for people who do volunteer—the number of hours spent on volunteering work (Van Ingen & Dekker, 2011; Wilson, 2000). In line with findings from earlier studies, we expect therefore that volunteers who have a paid job spend less time on voluntary PDI activities compared with volunteers who do not have a paid job.

The availability of time is not only determined by the employment status of people. Being engaged in numerous organizations implies that people have to distribute their time and have on average less time available to invest in each of these organizations, compared with people that are affiliated with only one organization. In line with the role overload theory, we expect therefore that people who are members of several civic organizations are more limited in their time and hence that the number of memberships negatively affects voluntary time investment.

The price of people's time is also of influence on the value of their time. Opportunity cost theory poses that higher income groups are usually more willing to donate money than lower income groups (Bekkers, 2004). The contribution of a certain monetary amount represents a smaller share of income for higher income groups in comparison with lower income groups, making the marginal costs of a similar financial contribution relatively lower for high income earners, as confirmed by findings from Wiepking (2008). However, for people with higher hourly wages, the costs of donating time are higher than for low-income groups, making it less evident for them to engage in volunteering (Bekkers, 2004) and to volunteer a large number of hours (Freeman, 1997; Wolff, Weisbrod & Bird, 1993). Although the results of earlier studies on the effect of income on voluntary time investment are ambiguous (Wilson, 2000), we anticipate that the income level determines the cost of volunteering and expect that higher income groups will spend less time volunteering compared with lower income groups. In summary, our constraint hypothesis reads as follows:

Hypothesis 1: Volunteers (a) with a paid job, (b) who are members of multiple civic organizations, and (c) with higher hourly wages spend fewer hours on PDI volunteering.

Benefits and Distant Beneficiaries

An important benefit of donating is often referred to as “the warm glow” (Andreoni, 1989). This psychological reward implies that donors feel that their contribution can make a real difference in the lives of beneficiaries (Bekkers, 2003). The reward—the

warm glow—resulting out of donating to international development organizations is usually judged to be rather low, because these organizations are commonly dealing with geographical and psychological distant beneficiaries (Micklewright & Wright, 2004; Schuyt, Gouwenberg, Bekkers, Meijer, & Wiepking, 2007).

When there is a geographical distance between the donor and the beneficiaries it becomes more difficult to be aware of their needs and, most importantly, to observe the positive effect of a donation (Bekkers, 2004). In addition, the anthropological literature shows that people are more inclined to prosocial behavior when it concerns their own kin, tribe or community, with whom one can identify (Eberhard, 1975). Similarly, potential donors try to identify with the beneficiaries and find this harder when the psychological distance is larger, for example, when beneficiaries are inhabitants of an “exotic” country with unfamiliar social and cultural norms and practices. Results of previous studies on charitable behavior empirically showed that both geographical and psychological distance have a negative influence on people’s willingness to donate time or money (Bekkers, 2004; Micklewright & Wright, 2004; Schuyt et al., 2007; Wiepking, 2008).

(Mass) media coverage is one way to inform people on the needs of beneficiaries and to bridge (geographical and psychological) distance through indirect contact. Media coverage increases the money raised for victims of disasters (Adams, 1986; Bennett & Kottasz, 2000; Simon, 1997; Wiepking, 2008). Direct contact between potential donors and distant beneficiaries is expected to have an even larger impact. Encounters with the local population and confrontation with their needs will decrease the distance between the donors and the beneficiaries. No longer are inhabitants of developing countries unknown and far away. They have a face and a name now. A possible obstruction to donate will be removed. In line with this rationale, Kinsbergen and Schulpen (2011) showed that the most important trigger for setting up or participating in PDIs is a visit to a developing country. We expect the reduction of distance not only to influence the decision to volunteer *per se* but also to affect the intensity of volunteering. We therefore expect that volunteers who visited one or more developing countries spend more hours on PDI volunteering.

Volunteers with a non-Western background engaged with an organization supporting beneficiaries in their or their parents’ home country tend to experience a smaller (psychological) distance to the beneficiaries and are hence expected to invest more hours than native counterparts.

Volunteers already active for some years in an organization will get to know the country, the region, and the beneficiaries they are supporting. This will increase the involvement of volunteers in the lives of the beneficiaries and decrease the inhibiting—perceived—distance between the volunteers and the beneficiaries over the years. Following this line of reasoning, we expect that the number of years volunteers are active in a PDI positively affects time investment. We now formulate a proximity hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2: (a) Volunteers who visited (more) developing countries, (b) non-Western volunteers supporting projects in their (parents') home country, and (c) volunteers who are active for a longer period will spend more hours on PDI volunteering.

Benefits and Volunteers' Attitudes and Motives

The warm glow people receive from volunteering is not only affected by the perceived distance to the beneficiaries. Previous studies demonstrated that the reward of a donation is negatively affected when people are uncertain that donations will make a valuable contribution (Bekkers, 2004; Micklewright & Wright, 2004). This can be the case when donors are uncertain that an organization is capable of spending the money well (Bekkers, 2004) or when the problems at hand are so large that donors do not expect that contributions will make a (substantial) difference (Micklewright & Wright, 2004). The psychological reward of volunteering increases when volunteers believe that development organizations can make a genuine difference in the livelihood of beneficiaries. Volunteers who have trust in the efficacy and efficiency of development organizations will gain greater benefits out of volunteering and experience a stronger "warm glow". They are therefore expected to spend more hours in volunteering.

In addition to the warm glow, donors receive from volunteering activities, the fulfillment of certain personal motives is commonly referred to as a key benefit of volunteering, outweighing the costs involved in donating (Clary et al., 1998). The Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI), designed by Clary and Snyder (1991), takes a functional approach to motives for volunteering, arguing that these motives represent functions served by volunteering (Allison et al., 2002; Clary et al., 1998). According to the model of Clary and Snyder, becoming a volunteer may serve six possible functions. People may volunteer (a) to express or act on important values (values), (b) to gain a better understanding of the world (understanding), (c) to strengthen social relationships (social), (d) to improve one's career opportunities (career), (e) to protect oneself from negative feelings such as guilt (protective), and finally (f) to feel better about oneself (enhancement) (Allison et al., 2002; Clary et al., 1998; Clary & Snyder, 1999).

Previous research on time investment shows that motives influence not only the decision to volunteer but also the extent of volunteering (Allison et al., 2002; Okun et al., 1998). Volunteers who want to feel useful spend considerably more hours volunteering than volunteers not driven by the usefulness motive (Okun, 1994). However, people volunteering for social reasons, that is, to strengthen social relationships, spend less time on their voluntary activities (Allison et al., 2002). The study of Allison et al. (2002) also demonstrated that the values and understanding motives are positively related to time investment. Given the considerations above, we formulate the attitude and motives hypothesis as follows:

Hypothesis 3: (a) The higher the belief in development organizations, (b) the stronger the motivations to volunteer (i) to give expression to important values and (ii) to get a better understanding of the world, and (c) the weaker the motive to strengthen social relationships, the more hours volunteers will spend on PDI volunteering.

The Demand Side

A novelty of our study is that we assume that time investment is not only a result of characteristics of volunteers affecting cost-benefit considerations but is also related to the demand side, that is, characteristics of PDIs. So far the effect of organizational features on donations remains understudied (Sargeant, Ford, & Hudson, 2008). PDIs with more small-scale development programs—determined by the number of countries in which a PDI is active and by the budget of the organization—can be run with less (total) time investments of their volunteers. In line with this, it is anticipated that organizations supporting development projects in numerous countries and with larger budgets offer more opportunities for volunteers to spend more hours volunteering and that volunteers in such organization are more likely to be asked to volunteer more. In addition, we expect that organizations with more staff are better able to divide the tasks among their volunteers. Our last, demand side, hypothesis reads as follows:

Hypothesis 4: (a) The larger the budget of a PDI, (b) the more countries where a PDI is active, and (c) the fewer staff a PDI has, the more hours volunteers will spend on PDI volunteering.

We are of course aware that the number of hours volunteered can as well affect the size of the development program. Unfortunately, our data do not allow to make unambiguous statements on the direction of the effects of the demand side.

Controls

In this contribution, we will take into account several individual characteristics known to influence volunteering decisions such as educational attainment, age, religiosity, and gender. In most studies, higher educated, younger and married people turn out to be more willing, or more frequently asked, to volunteer (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Rossi, 2001; Smith, 1994; Wilson, 2000). Protestants and frequent church attendees are generally more inclined to donate time and money and do so not only to religious causes (Bekkers & Schuyt, 2008; Ruiters & de Graaf, 2006). Both the religious context, including prosocial values, and the likelihood of being asked have a positive influence on their giving behavior (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011). The results of earlier studies on the effect of gender on volunteering are not consistent (Wilson, 2000). We will also control for the position of volunteers within the PDI, as we expect that founders of the PDI spend more hours volunteering than regular volunteers.

Data, Measurements, and Method

Data

To address the research question, primary data were collected by conducting a standardized electronic survey in 2008 and 2009. There is no national database in the Netherlands in which PDI volunteers are registered. We, therefore, made a list of 5,805 valid e-mail addresses of potential PDI volunteers through an extensive web search and based on information provided by Dutch established large-scale development agencies (e.g., Oxfam Novib). These large-scale development agencies are involved in cofunding of PDIs. 1,956 respondents started the web survey and of these respondents 1,238 completed the survey. We thereby reached a response of approximately 21% ($100 \times [1,238 / 5,805]$). This is considered a fair response rate given that response rates for web surveys are in general between 20% and 30% (Bernard, 2002). After excluding respondents who did not fit our PDI volunteer definition ($N = 556$), we started with a working sample of 682 respondents.³ We excluded respondents who did not provide information on the dependent variable (volunteer working hours; $N = 10$) and for whom we could not construct our VFI scales ($N = 11$). Our final sample hence consisted of 661 respondents. In the results section, we discuss the representativeness of the sample.

Characteristics of Volunteers

Time investment, the key dependent variable in this study, is measured with a single item. Respondents were asked how many hours per month on average they spend volunteering in the PDI. Two variables are included to assess the time restrictions of volunteers. First of all, the *occupational status* of respondents is registered in six categories: (a) employed; (b) unemployed; (c) disabled; (d) student; (e) homework/self-employed; (f) pensioned. The variable *membership* refers to the number of organizations in which the respondent is engaged. Respondents were asked to indicate whether or not they are a member of organizations other than PDIs.⁴

The variable *monthly net income* is constructed using both an open-ended question and a question measuring income in categories for those respondents unwilling to give their exact income. The income categories have been recoded into interval values by assigning the mean of each category to respondents. We subsequently substituted reported incomes of 0 euro with 20 euro and corrected for skewness of this variable by taking the natural logarithm. Three variables were constructed to qualify the distance between the volunteer and the beneficiaries. *Countries visited* refers to the number of developing countries visited at least once. *Remittances* indicates whether respondents have a non-Western background and if they are supporting projects in their country of origin. This latter variable is divided into three categories: (1) Western; (2) non-Western, no remittances; (3) non-Western, remittances. The interval variable *volunteering years* refers to the number of years the respondent is active as a volunteer in a specific PDI.

We also constructed a scale-variable *belief in development organizations* which measures respondents' attitudes toward development organizations. It consists of nine statements such as "Development organizations spend too much money on staff and organization" and "Most projects of development organizations fail". The Cronbach's alpha of the belief in development organizations scale is .74 where higher scores indicate a more positive attitude toward development organizations.

Our survey also included information on the VFI as outlined by Clary et al. (1998). The VFI consists of six different functions for engaging in voluntary activities: (a) values, (b) social, (c) career, (d) enhancement, (e) understanding, (f) protective. Each function is measured with three specific items, following the practice of previous research. All scales show sufficient reliability (Cronbach's alpha range from .70 to .86).

PDI Characteristics

Information on the organizational characteristics *budget*, *number of staff*, and *number of project countries* are collected among the members of the PDIs themselves. A large majority of the PDIs in this study ($N = 661$, 96%) are entirely managed by volunteers, implying that PDI volunteers are involved in or even responsible for the (financial) management of the PDIs. Hence, we assume that PDI volunteers are well informed concerning the budget, number of staff and the number of project countries. *Budget* refers to the annual budget of the PDI. Our questionnaire collected information on the budget in the year 2006 and 2007. For organizations founded before 2008 we calculated the mean budget across 2006 and 2007. If only information was available for 1 year, we used this information. We constructed the following categories: (a) first quintile (0-5,850 euro); (b) second quintile (5,856-15,000 euro); (c) third quintile (15,001-28,636 euro); (d) fourth quintile (28,637-59,000 euro); (e) fifth quintile (>59,000 euro); (f) PDI founded after 2007. For PDIs founded after this period ($N = 22$, 3.3%) we have no information on their budget.

In addition, the *number of staff* active in the organization is taken into account. Given the skewed distribution of this variable, we took the natural logarithm. The variable *project countries* refers to the number of developing countries where the organization is supporting projects.

Controls, Missing Values, and Estimation Method

Age is included as an interval variable and the dummy variable *sex* refers to the gender of a volunteer. *Marital status* of respondents consists of five categories: (a) single; (b) couple; (c) married; (d) divorced; (e) widow/widower. *Education* is measured in years, covering seven categories: primary education (6 years); lower secondary vocational education (Lager Beroeps Onderwijs [LBO]; 8 years); lower general secondary education (Middelbaar Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs [MAVO]; 10 years); upper secondary vocational education (Middelbaar Beroeps Onderwijs [MBO]; 10.5 years); higher

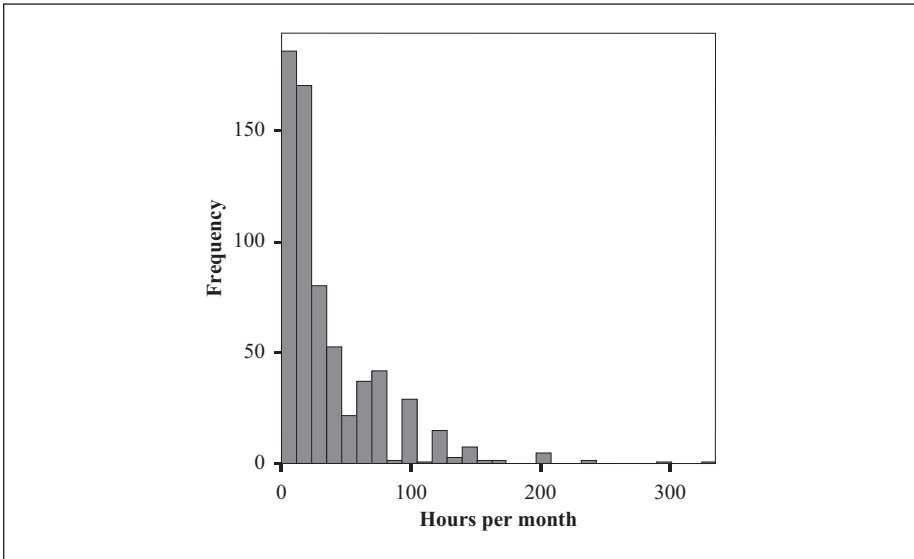


Figure 1. Distribution number of volunteering hours

secondary education (Hoger Algemeen Voortgezet Onderwijs [HAVO], Voorbereidend Wetenschappelijk Onderwijs [VWO]; 11.5 years); higher professional education (Hoger Beroeps Onderwijs [HBO]; 15 years); university (16.5 years). *Denomination* of the respondents is measured with four categories: (1) nonreligious; (2) Catholic; (3) Protestant; (4) other. *Church attendance* is measured in times per year, with nonreligious respondents set to zero times a year. The dummy variable *founder* indicates if the respondent is the initial founder of the organization.

Missing values on interval variables were replaced by the average score. We included dummy variables in the explanatory model indicating whether or not missing values were replaced for respondents. For categorical variables, an additional category “missing” was included if necessary. Interval variables were centered on their mean value to facilitate interpretation (i.e., $X' = X - \bar{X}$). Our dependent variable, time investment, is a count variable, and not normally distributed (see Figure 1). The mean and variance are approximately equal; we therefore opted for log-linear Poisson regression analyses (Land, McCall, & Nagin, 1996).

Results

Descriptives

Descriptive statistics of the variables are summarized in Table 1. Nearly 60% of the volunteers are men. Half of the volunteers consider themselves to be religious, almost one fourth of them being Catholic, close to 20% Protestant and a nearly 10% consider

Table I. Descriptive Statistics (*N* = 661)

<i>N</i> = 661	<i>M</i>	%	<i>SD</i>
Dependent variable			
Time investment (1-336 hr)	37.23		41.37
Independent variables			
Time and financial restrictions			
Membership (0-8 types of organizations)	2.44		1.68
Occupational status			
Employed		59.60	
Unemployed		0.80	
Disabled		3.00	
Student		1.80	
Homework/self-employed		4.70	
Pensioned		29.00	
Monthly net income (€ 0-50,000)	1,534.78		3,581.03
Distance to beneficiaries			
Countries visited (0-100)	4.47		5.72
Remittances			
Western		93.50	
Non-Western, no remittances		2.10	
Non-Western, remittances		4.40	
Volunteering years	11.03		8.76
Attitude			
Belief in development organizations (1.41-4.65)	3.07		0.50
Motives (VFI)			
Values	3.69		0.80
Social	3.22		0.75
Career	2.28		0.90
Enhancement	3.08		0.90
Understanding	3.97		0.63
Protective	2.56		0.80
Organizational characteristics			
Budget			
Budget < 5,850		15.6	
Budget < 15,000		18	
Budget < 28,636		17.9	
Budget < 59,000		18.3	
Budget > 59,000		18.3	
PDI founded after 2007		3.3	
Project countries (2-56)	2.51		5.05
Number of staff (2-100)	10.10		11.03

(continued)

Table 1. (continued)

N = 661	M	%	SD
Control variables			
Age (22-82 years)	55.12		11.25
Sex			
Male		59.80	
Female		39.90	
Denomination			
No religion		50.00	
Catholic		23.00	
Protestant		18.30	
Other		8.50	
Church attendance (0-75 p.a.)	17.72		26.00
Marital status			
Single		14.20	
Couple		8.90	
Married		70.30	
Divorced		3.30	
Widow/widower		2.70	
Education (6-16.5 years)	14.17		2.43
Founder		47.8	

Source: CIDIN Private development initiatives database 2008-2009.

themselves as belonging to a different denomination. On average, the volunteers earn slightly more than modal income. In general, the volunteers can be considered as higher educated with more than 40% having a higher vocational education degree (BA) and nearly 30% having a university degree. Seventy percentage of the volunteers are married. More than 60% of the respondents have a paid job. They volunteer specifically to obtain a better understanding of the world around them or to express important values.

PDI volunteers spend on average 37 hours per month but some volunteers reach up to 190 hours per month. We find a significant difference (t -value = -5.48) between average time spending of nonfounders ($M = 28$ hours per month) and PDI founders ($M = 46$ hours per month).

Compared with other studies on volunteering in the Netherlands, PDI volunteers (both founders and nonfounders) spend relatively high number of hours per month on volunteering (Schuyt & Gouwenberg, 2009; Van Hertem, 2009, Van Ingen & Dekker, 2011). The average age of 55 years could explain the relatively high average time spending, as it is known that volunteering reaches its peak after middle age (i.e., >40 years) when external obligations related to family and work decrease. The high

average level of education could be another explanation for the comparatively high average number of volunteering hours of PDI volunteers (Smith, 1994; Van Ingen & Dekker, 2011; Wilson, 2000; Wilson & Musick, 1997).

The characteristics of our sample of PDI volunteers are comparable to previous PDI volunteer samples from other studies (Brok & Bouzoubaa, 2005; Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009; Develtere & Stessens, 2006). It is hence likely that our results can be generalized to the entire population of PDI volunteers. Just as the characteristics of PDI volunteers do not deviate from those reported in previous studies, the organizational characteristics of the PDIs are highly comparable across our and other studies (Brok & Bouzoubaa, 2005; Develtere & De Bruyn, 2009; Develtere & Stessens, 2006). As PDI volunteers differ from volunteers in general we should be cautious to generalize results of our study to all volunteers. However, the hypotheses derived from the charitable behavior literature should also hold among subgroup of volunteers.

Bivariate Relationships

Table 2 presents the bivariate relationships between time investment and the independent variables. Results show that there is a significant negative relationship between both financial and time restrictions and time investment. The available material resources (e.g., income) of the volunteer are clearly negatively related to volunteers' engagement in PDI activities.

When the distance to beneficiaries is larger, volunteers devote significantly less time to their voluntary job; the more countries volunteers have visited the more hours they volunteer ($r = .09$), and particularly non-Western volunteers active in their home country volunteer more hours.

A stronger belief in development organizations is negatively related to PDI volunteers' time investment. Of the six functions related to volunteering benefits, only the function "understanding" has a significant (positive) relation with time investment. Not only characteristics of the volunteer, but also features of the PDI are related to time investment. The number of volunteering hours relates significantly positively to both the budget ($F = 1.45$) and the number of staff ($r = .90$) of the organization.

Poisson Regression Analyses

We now turn to the multivariate model to test our hypotheses. Table 3 shows the results of the Poisson regression of time investment of volunteers in Dutch PDIs.

First, we briefly discuss the impact of our control variables. Contrary to findings of earlier studies, education negatively affects PDI voluntary time investment. In line with results of previous research, men volunteer more frequently than women, married people spend more hours volunteering than singles, and older people spend a larger number of voluntary hours than younger volunteers. Whereas in other studies on charitable behavior religious people often turn out to be more generous (both in financial

Table 2. Determinants of Time Investment in Dutch PDIs: Bivariate Relationships

N = 661	Mean time investment	F	Spearman correlation
Time and financial restrictions			
Membership			-0.12***
Occupational status		2.00***	
Employed	31.41		
Unemployed	76.40		
Disabled	53.15		
Student	32.75		
Homework/self-employed	47.55		
Pensioned	42.71		
Monthly net income (Ln)			-0.18**
Distance to beneficiaries			
Countries visited			0.09**
Remittances		2.13***	
Western	35.62		
Non-Western, no remittances	46.10		
Non-Western, remittances	67.34		
Volunteering years			-0.55
Attitude			
Belief in development organizations			-0.14***
Motives (VFI)			
Values			-0.04
Social			0.02
Career			-0.02
Enhancement			-0.01
Understanding			0.12***
Protective			0.05
Organizational characteristics			
Budget		1.45**	
Budget < 5,850	28.77		
Budget < 15,000	29.10		
Budget < 28,636	40.33		
Budget ≤ 59,000	38.70		
Budget > 59,000	47.44		
PDI founded after 2007	37.72		
Project countries			-0.06
Number of staff (Ln)			0.90**

Source: CIDIN Private development initiatives database 2008-2009.

* $p < 0.1$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$ (two-sided test of significance).

and time donations), we find that in comparison with nonreligious volunteers, religious volunteers spend fewer hours PDI volunteering. Although church attendance is often referred to as an important, if not, the most important, determinant for charitable behavior, in this study the effect is insignificant. A recent study of Van Ingen and Dekker (2011) finds that church attendance positively affects voluntary participation, but it has no effect on voluntary time investment. The results of our study are thus in line with the results of this study and seem to affirm the suggestion of Van Ingen and Dekker (2011) that the recruitment function of religious communities is stronger than their function as stimulators of prosocial values.

Table 3 shows that being a member of other civic organizations has a clear negative effect on the time volunteers spend in the PDIs in which they are actively engaged. Every additional organization where a volunteer is joining, decreases PDI time investment with a factor 0.94 ($e^{-0.05}$), thus indicating that there is a clear trade-off between volunteering in different organizations. The negative effect of having a paid job on time investment is even stronger. In general, volunteers who also have a paid job volunteer 22% less hours compared with volunteers without a paid job ($[1 - e^{-0.25}] \times 100$). Time investment is negatively affected by financial restrictions too. The higher the income, the fewer hours are spent on volunteering; the parameter estimate is -0.18 and significant. We can thus conclude that both time and financial restrictions have the expected negative influence on time investment for PDI volunteering.

Next, we analyze the effect of distance to the beneficiary on PDI time investment. In our proximity hypothesis, we stated that the number of developing countries visited by a volunteer, the duration of volunteering, whether the volunteer has a non-Western background and if they support projects in their country of origin will positively influence time investment. Our results largely corroborate this hypothesis. Visits to developing countries influence time investment, with the number of volunteering hours increasing with the number of developing countries visited, although effects are small, as indicated by the parameter estimate of 0.01. To the best of our knowledge we are the first to demonstrate that visits to development countries decrease the perceived distance between volunteers and beneficiaries and positively affect voluntary time investment. Non-Western volunteers spend more hours volunteering than volunteers with a Western ethnic background. Especially non-Western volunteers supporting projects in their (parents') country of origin spend more volunteering hours compared with Western volunteers, namely twice as much ($e^{0.76} = 2.14$). Surprisingly, in contradiction to our proximity hypothesis, the longer people volunteer, the fewer hours they spend ($e^{-0.01} = 0.99$).

Opposite to what we expected—as formulated in our attitude and motives hypothesis—volunteers with less beliefs in development organizations (i.e., stronger doubts) invest more time in PDIs, as indicated by the parameter estimate -0.15 . The more skeptical people are regarding the work of development organizations, the more they seem motivated to bring change with small-scale PDIs.

Contrary to earlier studies (e.g., Allison et al., 2002) and hence to our expectation, we find a significant negative effect for volunteering to express important values

Table 3. Coefficients From Poisson Regression: Time Investment of PDI Volunteers ($N = 661$)

Intercept	β	SE
Time and financial restrictions	4.59***	0.09
Membership	-0.05***	0.00
Occupational status (unemployed = ref)		
Employed	-0.25***	0.08
Disabled	-0.51***	0.06
Student	-0.81***	0.08
Homework/self-employed	-0.58***	0.06
Pensioned	-0.64***	0.06
LN (monthly net income)	-0.18***	0.02
Distance to beneficiary		
Countries visited	0.01***	0.00
Remittances (Western = ref)		
Non-Western, no remittances	0.21***	0.04
Non-Western, remittances	0.76***	0.03
Volunteering years	-0.01***	0.00
Attitude		
Belief in development organizations	-0.15***	0.02
Motives (VFI)		
Values	-0.04***	0.01
Social	0.02**	0.01
Career	-0.06***	0.01
Enhancement	-0.02***	0.01
Understanding	0.22***	0.01
Protective	0.10***	0.01
Organizational characteristics		
Budget (>59,000 = ref)		
Budget < 5,850	-0.57***	0.02
Budget < 15,000	-0.48***	0.02
Budget < 28,636	-0.24***	0.02
Budget \leq 59,000	-0.20***	0.02
PDI founded after 2007	-0.53***	0.04
Project countries	0.00	0.00
LN (number of staff)	0.22***	0.01
Control variables		
Sex (male = ref)	-0.12***	0.02
Age	0.01***	0.00
Denomination (nonreligious = ref)		
Catholic	-0.25***	0.02
Protestant	-0.29***	0.03
Other	0.03	0.03
Church attendance	-0.00	0.00

(continued)

Table 3. (continued)

Intercept	β	SE
Marital status (married = ref)		
Single	-0.02	0.02
Couple	0.04	0.03
Divorced	0.20***	0.03
Widow/widower	0.11***	0.04
Education	-0.01***	0.00
Founder (no = ref)	0.45***	0.01
Δ deviance	21,424.29	
Δ df	30 ^a	

Source: CIDIN Private development initiatives database 2008-2009.

Note: Dummies for missing values are included but not shown.

^aCompared with empty model.

* $p < 0.1$, ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$ (two-sided test of significance).

(i.e., values function). Also not in line with our expectation, volunteering for social motives is (significantly) positively related to volunteering. We only find evidence for our attitude and motives hypothesis with regard to the volunteering function “understanding”; volunteering to gain a better understanding of the world increases voluntary hours (the parameter estimate is 0.22 and significant).

As we described above, 47% of our respondents are not merely volunteers of PDIs but also founder of the PDI. PDI founders are more active than general PDI volunteers (the parameter estimate is 0.45 and significant). In additional analyses, we investigated whether the motives for volunteering, as expressed by the VFI, are conditional on being the founder of the organization. This proved to be the case (see Table 4). For nonfounders the effect of the VFI functions “values” and “social” are in line with results of earlier studies (i.e., respectively significant positive [parameter estimate is -0.13] and negative [parameter estimate is 0.07]). We hence conclude that the deviating results of Table 3 are due to a relative large number of PDI founders in our sample.

Finally, we included the organizational characteristics. Our expectation formulated in the demand side hypothesis that the budget of the organization is positively related to PDI time investment is affirmed. But in contrast to this hypothesis, we did not find a significant effect for the number of countries in which a PDI implements development projects. This could imply that PDI volunteers are mainly involved in fundraising activities, taking care of increasing the PDI budget, and to a lesser extent in the implementation of the actual development program. Also opposite to what we expected, organizations with more staff are better capable of mobilizing volunteering hours.

Table 4. Coefficients From Poisson Regression: Differential Effects of Personal Motives (VFI) for Founders and Nonfounders of PDI on Time Investment

	Founders		Nonfounders	
	β	SE	β	SE
Intercept	3.78	0.14	3.83	0.16
Motives (VFI)				
Values	-0.13***	0.01	0.09***	0.02
Social	0.07***	0.01	-0.04**	0.02
Career	-0.04***	0.01	0.02	0.01
Enhancement	0.03***	0.01	-0.07***	0.01
Understanding	0.12***	0.01	0.44***	0.02
Protective	0.05***	0.01	0.04***	0.02
N	316		345	

Source: CIDIN Private development initiatives database 2008-2009.

Note: Models were run separately for founders and nonfounders, controlled for all other variables included in Table 3.

* $p < .1$. ** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$ (two-sided test of significance).

Discussion and Conclusions

International development cooperation as a charitable sector is characterized by features known to have a discouraging effect on (potential) individual donors. It is first of all more difficult for potential donors to be aware of the needs of the beneficiaries from international development organizations compared with local charitable causes (Bekkers, 2004; Chueng & Chan, 2000; Macaulay, 1975; Unger, 1991; Wiepking, 2008). Secondly, the psychological and geographical distance to beneficiaries hampers the possibility for donors to identify with beneficiaries and to observe the effect of a donation (Bekkers, 2004). Finally, the size and the complexity of the problems dealt with by most international development organizations make it difficult for donors to be convinced that their donation will make a substantial contribution (Micklewright & Wright, 2004). Because all of this, donations to local charitable causes are more attractive to (potential) donors than to international development organizations (Bekkers, 2004).

In the Netherlands, charitable behavior for international development purposes is subject to important changes. Established development organizations suffer from a declining support base. In contrast, new PDIs, that execute concrete, small-scale development projects, can count on an increasing support of money and time. This study investigates determinants of voluntary time investment among a sample of 661 Dutch PDI volunteers. We aimed to understand which factors make donating time

beneficial and interesting for engagement into PDI volunteering work. We derived four hypotheses from cost-benefit considerations and took into account both the supply side (i.e., characteristics of the volunteer) and the demand side (i.e., characteristics of the organization) of volunteering work

Both financial and time restrictions are found to affect the time spend on volunteering. When volunteers are restricted in their time, because they have a paid job or due to membership of other civic organizations, they tend to spend significantly less time on volunteering. Also when free time is more costly, that is, when volunteers receive a higher income for their paid job, volunteers spend less hours on their voluntary work. We thereby find corroborative evidence for our constraint hypothesis.

Frequent visits to developing countries are related to more voluntary PDI work. Previous research on PDIs demonstrated that encounters with people in developing countries represent the most important trigger to initiate or become actively engaged in PDIs (Kinsbergen & Schulpen, 2011). This study shows that the involvement in the lives of people in developing countries makes the distance to beneficiaries smaller and not only positively affects the willingness to volunteer in a PDI, but also increases time investment of PDI volunteers. The distance to beneficiaries is also mediated through the ethnic background of the volunteer. Volunteers with a non-Western ethnic background implementing development projects in their country of origin—maybe even in their town or village of origin—are more strongly engaged in PDIs. In comparison with Western volunteers, the psychological distance between non-Western PDI volunteers and the beneficiaries is smaller, increasing the motivation to devote more voluntary hours. Contrary to our expectations, the number of years volunteering negatively relates to voluntary time investment. This could indicate that motivation levels decline with years resulting in a lower number of volunteering hours. Still, our proximity hypothesis met strong corroborative evidence.

However, our attitudes & motives hypothesis is only partly confirmed. Contrary to our expectations, we observed that volunteers with a stronger belief in development organizations volunteer fewer hours. PDI volunteers that do have doubts about the effectiveness and efficiency of development organizations may perceive their voluntary time investment in PDIs as a more successful alternative way to give expression to their involvement with the lives of people in developing countries and to contribute to poverty reduction than supporting established development organizations. The results of the VFI functions (motives for volunteering) demonstrate that volunteers' engagement in PDIs is seen as a way for volunteers to buy off negative feelings such as guilt, and to enlarge their understanding of the world around them. The impact of the VFI functions "social" and "values" on voluntary time spending deviates between PDI founders and nonfounders. The results for founders are not in agreement with results of earlier studies; we find a positive effect for volunteering for social reasons and a negative effect for volunteering to express important values for founders. As we expect PDI founders to recruit volunteers mainly from their own network, it might be that—compared with general PDI volunteers—PDI volunteering is a way to spend

time with their friends, family, acquaintances (“social” function) for PDI founders. Further research is required to explain how and why the impacts of the VFI functions for PDI founders diverge from general (PDI) volunteers.

Next to characteristics of volunteers, organizational characteristics influence voluntary time investment in PDIs as well. Volunteers in organizations with larger budgets spend more hours on voluntary work. Even though we did not expect this, the same can be said for volunteers in PDIs with more staff. Contradicting our hypothesis, the number of project countries does not relate to the number of voluntary hours. Although our demand side hypothesis is only partly confirmed, our study does demonstrate the importance of organizational characteristics for voluntary time investment. Future research—preferably with data allowing to control for problems of endogeneity—is necessary to further extend our knowledge on how the demand side (i.e., organization characteristics) effects voluntary time investment.

Whereas many (non-PDI) organizations mainly engage volunteers in supporting their paid staff members, for most PDIs counts that their existence is totally dependent on the efforts of volunteers. Most of them were initiated on a voluntary basis and a large majority continues to depend solely on the efforts of volunteers. Compared with general volunteers, PDI volunteers spend a much larger number of volunteering hours, but even among this specific group of volunteers time investment is the result of a deliberate decision-making process wherein both costs and benefits resulting from volunteering are included. More research is needed to explain why PDI volunteers spend more time on voluntary work than general volunteers. The specific characteristics of the PDI organizations may constitute an important part of the explanation.

Current developments in the Dutch society offer a possible growing donor potential for PDIs. Our results suggest that PDI volunteering could be considered as a substitute for official development aid, fuelled by a skeptical attitude toward established development cooperation. In a time where established development organizations are criticized for not being fully effective and efficient, PDIs can attract volunteers by presenting their organizations as an alternative way to contribute to poverty reduction.

Travelling to developing countries seems to enable Westerners to bridge the geographical and psychological gap between them and beneficiaries of development projects and hence brings the beneficiaries closer to a potential donor. The shrinking of the world through, among others, increased travel possibilities and internet, allows more and more to overcome limitations linked to donations to organizations with distant beneficiaries. Bringing the beneficiary closer could result in an increasing donor potential for organizations having distant beneficiaries, such as PDIs.

We are aware that the sample used in this study is very particular: We tested our hypotheses on a group of volunteers active in international development cooperation and even more specifically in PDIs. Hence, we should be cautious to generalizing our results and conclusions to the volunteer population in general. The fact that the impact of motives to volunteer affect time donating differently for PDI founders and non-founders illustrates that determinants of volunteering may be conditional on type of

volunteers. We showed that characteristics of PDI organizations affect time investment decisions of PDI volunteers. It is open for future research to establish which organizational characteristics are important for which type of voluntary sector and volunteers. Similarly, scholars in the field may wish to investigate how other types of voluntary organisations can bring the beneficiaries closer and to assess to what extent a smaller perceived distance to these beneficiaries positively affects donating.

Authors' Notes

The authors would like to thank the anonymous reviewers and the editor of *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* for their helpful suggestions.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: This work was supported by the Nationale Commissie voor Internationale Samenwerking en Duurzame Ontwikkeling (NCDO) [National Committee for International Cooperation and Sustainable Development].

Notes

1. When not specified, charitable behavior, donations, and donors refer both to donations and donors of time and money.
2. We define a Private Development Initiative (PDI) as a small-scale organization having fewer than 20 regular members or an annual budget of less than 1 million euro. PDIs have international development cooperation as their main purpose. PDI members have a direct relationship with the local organizations and/or individuals they support in the developing countries (hence excluding organizations focusing solely on fundraising). Not more than 20% of the staff of an organization may receive a salary to be classified as PDI. Finally, PDIs can be distinguished from traditional NGO's in the Netherlands as they do not receive direct subsidies of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who is responsible for government funded development cooperation.
3. Respondents required on average 45 min finishing the survey. The length of the survey explains the relative high number of respondents who started the web survey but did not complete it. Respondents who did not complete the survey do not differ in relevant characteristics such as volunteering hours compared with respondents who completed the questionnaire. It was impossible to define prior to conducting the survey whether or not contacts included in the database belonged to the group of PDI volunteers. This would require information on the organization in which they volunteer (e.g., budget) on which we base our PDI definition. Organizational characteristics are not publicly available and were thus collected through the survey.

4. These include trade union, political parties, religious groups, nature association, youth association, sport association, school association (such as parents' council), welfare association, and music or theatre association.

References

- Adams, W. C. (1986). Whose lives count? TV coverage of natural disasters. *Journal of Communication, 36*(2), 113-122.
- Allison, L. D., Okun, M. A., & Dutridge, K. S. (2002). Assessing volunteer motives: A comparison of an open-ended Probe and Likert Rating Scale. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology, 12*, 243-255.
- Andreoni, J. (1989). Giving with impure Altruism: Implications to charity and ricardian equivalence. *Journal of Political Economy, 97*, 1447-1458.
- Bekkers, R. (2001). En en of of of? De relatie tussen het geven van geld en tijd [And and or or or? The relation between giving time and money]. In T. N. M. Schuyt (Ed.), *Geven in Nederland 2001* (pp. 106-118). Houten, Netherlands: Bohn Stafleu van Loghum.
- Bekkers, R. (2003). De bijdragen der Kerckelijken [The contributions of the religious]. In T. N. M. Schuyt (Ed.), *Geven in Nederland: Giften, legaten, sponsoring en vrijwilligerswerk* (pp. 141-172). Houten, Netherlands: Bohn Stafleu Van Loghum.
- Bekkers, R. (2004). *Giving and volunteering in the Netherlands: Sociological and psychological perspectives*. Utrecht, Netherlands: ICS.
- Bekkers, R., & Schuyt, T. N. M. (2008). And who is your neighbor? Explaining denominational differences in charitable giving and volunteering in the Netherlands. *Review of Religious Research, 50*, 74-96.
- Bekkers, R., Stam, B., van Rooij, F., & Meyaard, R. (2011). *Donateursvertrouwen. Vijf jaar Nederlandse donateurspanel*. [Donors' trust: Five years of Dutch donor panel]. Woerden, Netherlands: WWAV.
- Bekkers, R., & Wiepking, P. (2011). A literature review of empirical studies of philanthropy. Eight mechanisms that drive charitable giving. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 40*, 924-973.
- Bekkers, R., Wiepking, P., & Boonstoppel, E. (2009). Geven door huishoudens en individuen [Giving by individuals and households]. In T. N. M. Schuyt, B. Gouwenberg, & R. Bekkers (Eds.), *Geven in Nederland 2009. Giften, nalatenschappen, sponsoring en vrijwilligerswerk* (pp. 27-50). Hague, Netherlands: Reed Business.
- Bennett, R., & Kottasz, R. (2000). Emergency fundraising for disaster relief. *Disaster prevention and management, 9*, 352-359.
- Bernard, H. R. (2002). *Research methods in anthropology: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press.
- Bishop, M., & Green, M. (2008). *Philanthrocapitalism. How the rich can save the world*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Press.
- Brok, M., & Bouzoubaa, H. (2005). *Particuliere Initiatieven op het gebied van ontwikkelings-samenwerking* [Private initiatives in the field of development cooperation] (master's thesis). Radboud University Nijmegen (CIDIN/NCDO), Nijmegen, Netherlands.

- Cameron, J., & Haanstra, A. (2008). Development made sexy: How it happened and what it means. *Third World Quarterly*, *29*, 1475-1489.
- Cheung, C. K., & Chan, C. M. (2000). Social-cognitive factors of donating money to charity, with special attention to an international relief organisation. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, *23*, 241-253.
- Clary, E. G., & Snyder, M., (1991). A functional analysis of altruism and prosocial behavior: The case of volunteerism. *Review of Personality and Social Psychology*, *12*, 119-148.
- Clary, E. G., & Snyder, M., (1999). The motivations to volunteer: Theoretical and practical considerations. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, *8*, 156-159.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R. D., Copeland, J., Stukas, A. A., Haugen, J., & Miene, P. (1998). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: A functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *74*, 1516-1530.
- Develtere, P., & De Bruyn, T. (2009). The emergence of a fourth pillar in development aid. *Development in Practice*, *19*, 912-922.
- Develtere, P., & Stessens, J. (2006). *De vierde pijler van de ontwikkelingsamenwerking in Vlaanderen: de opmars van de levensverbeteraar* [The fourth pillar in development cooperation in Flanders: The rise of the do-gooder]. Leuven, Belgium: HIVA.
- Eberhard, M. J. W. (1975). The evolution of social behavior by kin selection. *Quarterly Review of Biology*, *50*, 1-33.
- Freeman, R. B. (1997). Working for nothing: The supply of volunteer labor. *Journal of Labor Economics*, *15*(1), 140-166.
- Gijsbers, L., & Lelij, B. van der (2010). *Barometer Internationale samenwerking 2010* [Barometer development cooperation 2010]. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Motivaction-NCDO.
- Hayghe, H. (1991). Volunteers in the United States: Who donates the time? *Monthly Labor Review February*, *114*(2), 17-23.
- Kinsbergen, S., & Schulpen, L. (2011). Taking stock of PIs: The what, why, and how of private initiatives in development. In P. Hoebink, (Ed.), *The Netherlands yearbook on international cooperation* (pp. 161-186). Assen, Netherlands: Van Gorcum.
- Lampert, M., van der Lelij, B., de Kamps, C., & van Duijn, S. (2006). *Barometer ontwikkelings-samenwerking 2006: Trends en ontwikkelingen* [Barometer development cooperation 2006: Trends and developments]. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Motivaction-NCDO.
- Land, K. C., McCall, P. L., & Nagin, D. S. (1996). A comparison of Poisson, negative binomial, and semiparametric mixed Poisson regression models: With empirical applications to criminal careers data. *Sociological Methods Research*, *24*, 387-442.
- Macaulay, J. (1975). Familiarity, attraction and charity. *Journal of Social Psychology*, *95*(1), 27-37.
- Markham, W. T., & Bonjean, C. M. (1996). Employment status and the attitudes and behavior of higher status women volunteers, 1975 and 1992: A case study. *Sex roles*, *34*, 695-716.
- Micklewright, J., & Wright, A. (2004). *Private donations for international development* (Discussion Paper Series, No. 4292). London, UK: Centre for Economic Policy Research.
- Okun, M. A. (1994). The relation between motives for organisational volunteering and frequency of volunteering by elders. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, *13*(2), 115-126.

- Okun, M. A., Barr, A., & Herzog, R. (1998). Motivation to volunteer by older adults: A test of competing measurement models. *Psychology and Aging, 13*, 608-621.
- Partners in Quality Research (PQR). (2010). "Als het zo makkelijk zou zijn, dan was het allang opgelost." Een kwalitatief onderzoek onder Nederlanders over internationale samenwerking ["If it would be that easy, it would have been solved already." A qualitative research among Dutch on international cooperation]. Amsterdam, Netherlands: PQR.
- Ravelli, M., & Verhoeven, J. (2008). *Doet u genoeg voor een betere wereld?* [Are you doing enough to improve the world?]. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Stichting Global Village Media.
- Rossi, A. S. (2001). The interplay between work and family and its impact on community service. In A. S. Rossi (Ed.), *Caring and doing for others. Social responsibility in the domains of family, work and community* (pp. 427-462). Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Rotolo, T., & Wilson, J. (2004). What happened to the "long civic generation"? Explaining cohort differences in volunteerism. *Social Forces, 82*, 1091-1121.
- Ruiter, S., & de Graaf, N. (2006). National context, religiosity, and volunteering: Results from 53 countries. *American Sociological Review, 71*, 191-210.
- Samman, E., McAuliffe, E. M., & MacLachlan, M. (2009). The role of celebrity in endorsing poverty reduction through international aid. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing, 14*(2), 137-148.
- Sargeant, A., & Woodliffe, L. (2007). Gift giving: An interdisciplinary review. *International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing, 12*, 275-307.
- Sargeant, A., Ford, J. B., & Hudson, J. (2008). Charity brand personality: The relationship with giving behavior. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 37*, 468-491.
- Schuyt, T. N. M., & Gouwenberg, B. (2009). Geven van tijd: vrijwilligerswerk [Giving of time: Volunteer work]. In T. N. M. Schuyt, B. Gouwenberg, & R. Bekkers (Eds.), *Geven in Nederland 2009. Giften, nalatenschappen, sponsoring en vrijwilligerswerk* (pp. 88-101). Hague, Netherlands: Reed Business.
- Schuyt, T. N. M., Gouwenberg, B., Bekkers, R., Meijer, M. M., & Wiepking, P. (Eds.). (2007). *Geven in Nederland 2007: Giften, legaten, sponsoring en vrijwilligerswerk* [Giving in the Netherlands 2007: Donations, bequests, sponsoring, and volunteering work]. Hague, Netherlands: Reed Business.
- Simon, A. F. (1997). Television news and international earthquake relief. *Journal of Communication, 47*, 82-93.
- Smith, D. H. (1994). Determinants of voluntary association participation and volunteering: A Literature review. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 23*, 243-263.
- Unger, L. S. (1991). Altruism as a motivation to volunteer. *Journal of Economic Psychology, 12*(1), 71-100.
- Van Hertem, M. (2009). *Vrijwillige inzet 2008* [Voluntary service 2008]. Heerlen, Netherlands: CBS.
- Van Ingen, E., & Dekker, P. (2011). Changes in the determinants of volunteering. Participation and time investment between 1975 and 2005 in the Netherlands. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly, 40*, 682-702.
- Wiepking, P. (2008). *For the love of mankind: A sociological study on charitable giving*. Amsterdam, Netherlands: Vrije Universiteit.

- Wilson, J. (2000). Volunteering. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 215-240.
- Wilson, J., & Musick, M. (1997). Who cares? Toward an integrated theory of volunteer work. *American Sociological Review*, 62, 694-713.
- Wolff, N., Weisbrod, B., & Bird, E. (1993). The supply of volunteer labor: The case of hospitals. *Nonprofit Management and Leadership*, 4(1), 23-35.
- Yrjölä, R. (2009). The invisible violence of celebrity humanitarianism: Soft images and hard words in the making and unmaking of Africa. *World Political Science Review*, 5(1), 1-23.

Bios

Sara Kinsbergen is a PhD candidate at the Centre for International Development Issues Nijmegen, at Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands. Her main research interests are the rise of private development initiatives (PDI) and the contribution of these alternative development actors to poverty reduction.

Jochem Tolsma is an assistant professor at the Department of Sociology at Radboud University Nijmegen. His main fields of interest include ethnic hostility, ethnic educational differentials, and criminology. He also studies the impact of the local living environment on ethnic hostility and residential sorting.

Stijn Ruiters is a senior researcher at the Netherlands Institute for the Study of Crime and Law Enforcement (NSCR), a research institute of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), the Netherlands. His main research interests lie in quantitative research in the fields of criminology, social capital, and the sociology of religion.