



Center for Social Development

GEORGE WARREN BROWN SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK

# Volunteerism and NGOs in Latin America: Elements that Enhanced Long-Term Volunteer Retention

A Case Study of  
Habitat for Humanity International in Latin America and the Caribbean

Terrence Jantzi  
Eastern Mennonite University

In collaboration with:

Fiorella Rojas  
Staff from the Department of Community Mobilization  
Habitat for Humanity International–Latin America and the  
Caribbean

Caroline Kroeker-Falconi  
Habitat for Humanity International–Caribbean Region

2008

CSD Research Report  
No. 08-01

Campus Box 1196 One Brookings Drive St. Louis, MO 63130-9906 • (314) 935.7433 • [www.gwbweb.wustl.edu/csd](http://www.gwbweb.wustl.edu/csd)



Washington University in St. Louis

# Volunteerism and NGOs in Latin America: Elements that Enhanced Long-Term Volunteer Retention

*Non-governmental organizations frequently rely on volunteer labor for institutional survival ranging from assisting with a specific initiative or short-term internships to long-term organizational maintenance and strategic planning. While the dynamics of volunteerism are relatively well-researched in North America and Europe, considerably less research has been done on volunteerism within the developing world. This research utilized a qualitative methodology involving facilitated focus groups to identify organizational factors which sustained long-term volunteerism in Latin America in five selected national programs of Habitat for Humanity International in Latin America and the Caribbean. Elements which discouraged long-term local volunteerism included contradictory organizational assumptions about the nature of the volunteer, relying on guilt as a motivation for service, and an over-reliance on technology. Factors which sustained long-term local volunteerism included face-to-face communication and a strong inter-connection between the voluntary service and other sectors of an individual's life.*

**Key words:** *community development, Latin America, non-governmental organizations, volunteering, volunteerism*

## Introduction

### Volunteerism and NGOs

The existence of un-remunerated, generalized reciprocity is considered an integral component of high social capital in societies and an important pre-cursor to improving the quality of life in communities, not just in the United States, but around the world. For this reason, many social service organizations and social development programs rely heavily on the existence of long-term volunteers for organizational maintenance, manpower, and program implementation.

The purpose of the research project was to analyze factors that promoted long-term volunteerism with Habitat for Humanity International (HFHI), a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) with

---

Dr. Terrence Jantzi is Associate Professor at Eastern Mennonite University in Harrisonburg, Virginia. He can be contacted at [jantzit@emu.edu](mailto:jantzit@emu.edu).

Acknowledgements: The researchers would like to thank Habitat for Humanity International and The Area Office of Habitat for Humanity International in Latin America and the Caribbean for its willingness to host this research project. We would also like to express our gratitude to the department of community mobilization in HFHI LAC in San Jose, Costa Rica and to those members of the department who participated in the focus group data collection phase and the data analysis exercises in Costa Rica. Without their efforts, this work would not have been possible. We would also like to thank the participating national organizations for their enthusiastic support and their helpfulness in coordinating logistics with current and former volunteers. These national organizations included Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guyana, Ecuador, and the Dominican Republic. Finally, all of this work would not have occurred were it not for the support and encouragement of the Center for Social Development at Washington University of St. Louis, Missouri.

programs throughout the world. The research collaboration was also intended to provide an understanding of action steps that NGOs such as HFHI and related volunteer-driven organizations can take to increase long-term volunteer recruitment and maintenance in Latin America and the Caribbean.

### **NGO Description**

Habitat for Humanity International is a nonprofit, ecumenical Christian housing organization that seeks to eliminate poverty housing around the world. Founded in 1976, the organization's mission is to provide simple, decent, and affordable housing to low-income families, to eliminate poverty housing and homelessness from the world, and to make decent shelter a matter of conscience and action. HFHI works primarily through national organizations (registered non-profit entities) and local affiliate chapters—community-based organizations with local volunteer leadership—that bring together low-income families with volunteers from all walks of life, effectively changing lives around the world. As of 2006, HFHI and its worldwide national organizations and affiliates have completed more than 175,000 homes, providing affordable homes for nearly 900,000 individuals. HFHI has programs in more than 100 countries around the world. In Latin America and the Caribbean alone, there are 27 countries with HFHI programs whose total budgets comprise more than US\$35 million. While best known for providing volunteers to help with the construction of affordable housing for low-income families, HFHI's organizational existence and precursor for success depends on long-term volunteers recruited to serve on local, national, and international committees and boards. In addition, volunteers are involved at all levels of HFHI's work including long-term board members of local affiliates and national organizations, weekend or week-long volunteer builders, homeowner families, support partners, and fund-raisers. This study was carried out in five countries where HFHI had programs: Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, and Guyana.

### **Literature Review**

Generalized reciprocity—the contribution of an individual's time, labor, energy, or resources in efforts that improve the general social, economic, or physical environment but which does not result in the direct remuneration of the individual—is found in regions of high social capital (Putnam, 2003; Flora, 2001). Volunteerism—the non-remuneration of an individual's time and labor—is one form of generalized reciprocity (Flora, 1995).

A complex interplay exists between social development organizations and social capital. Social development organizations will be more successful in regions of high social capital (Putnam, 2003; Flora, 2001). At the same time, the presence of social development organizations can enhance or destroy a region's social capital depending on the way they work such as hierarchical or horizontal structures, relying on significant external resources, or participation (Jantzi & Jantzi, 2002; Vergara, 1994).

A single organization such as HFHI will have relatively little influence on shaping the amount of a region's social capital (and thus the amount of volunteerism to be found in the population). However, a social development organization will have some control over whether it will be able to attract and maintain the long-term volunteerism extant in a community.

Exchange theory suggests that while long-term volunteers may not necessarily receive direct monetary remuneration for their time and labor, nevertheless they receive other forms of indirect, non-monetary remuneration that can keep them motivated and involved with a particular effort. For example, in exchange for their time and labor, a volunteer may experience increased social network diversity (Jantzi, 2000), increased status (Grube & Pavilion, 2000), skills training (Surdyk & Diddams, 1999), or increased internalized locus of control through participation in leadership roles or having a voice in policy formation (Jantzi, 2000; Cuskelly, 1998). This suggests that social development organizations that enhance the indirect, non-monetary remuneration most desired by their volunteer constituencies will be able to maintain sustained volunteerism.

Considerable research exists identifying demographic factors that initially motivate people to volunteer. Although there is some variation between studies on the strength of correlations, some characteristics that appear to be correlated with high volunteerism include: female (e.g., Fletcher, 2004; Wilson, 2000), college graduates (e.g., Boraas, 2003; Rossi, 2001), professional or managerial occupations (e.g., Wilson & Musik, 1997; Wuthnow, 1998), older aged (e.g., Zappala & Burrell, 2003), coming from married, two-parent households (e.g., Lichter et al., 2002), or strongly religious (e.g., Penner, 2002, Hughes & Black, 2002).

There is also considerable research data on organizational or environmental factors that can motivate sustained volunteerism. These include volunteer efficacy (e.g., Martinez & McMullin, 2004), the relative prestige of the organization (e.g., Grube & Piliavin, 2000), open communication within the organization (e.g., Reglin et. al., 2003), an environment of positive feedback and affirmation (e.g., Paull, 2000), opportunities for self-improvement (e.g., Surdyk & Diddams, 1999), recruitment networks (e.g., Hughes & Black, 2002), establishing interpersonal relationships in the community (e.g., Hobbs, 2001), and an organizational environment that embraces open decision-making, conflict resolution, and attention to group process (e.g., Cuskelly, 1998).

In addition, there is recognition that different types of volunteer activity (such as directly helping people, generalized contributions to the wider community, or involvement in volunteer organizations as board or committee members) will attract different demographic sets (e.g., Penner, 2002; Safrit & Merrill, 2002). The organizational operating framework—charity, activist, welfare state, and market—will also attract or deter sustained volunteerism from different groups (e.g., Kenny, 2003; Zappala, 2001). Furthermore, the motivations for sustained participation will differ depending on the demographic element involved (e.g., Rotolo & Wilson, 2004; Metz et al., 2003; White & Arnold, 2003; Penner, 2002). Consequently, it has been suggested that one way to retain long-term volunteers in an organization is through identifying the things that would attract a certain target group of volunteers and then to structure volunteer experiences to highlight these elements (e.g., Safrit et al., 2001, Clary et al., 1998).

However, the vast majority of the research has focused on patterns and processes within the developed world. Even the relatively few cross-cultural studies that do exist tend to be focused on minority cultures found within North America or other sections of the developed world (e.g., Cheung et. al., 2003; Reglin et. al., 2003; Cash, 2001; Kerr et. al., 2001; Lopez & Safrit, 2001; Hobbs, 2001; Martin, 1999).

## Research Questions

### *Primary Question*

What are the factors that promote sustained volunteerism with HFHI programs in Latin America and the Caribbean?

### *Secondary Questions*

- a. What aspects of the volunteer experience have the most effect on the volunteer and on his/her motivation to continue volunteering?
- b. What volunteer development activities (incentives, acknowledgements, volunteer promotion, recruitment) positively influence people to become motivated, committed and continuous volunteers?

## Methodology

Habitat for Humanity International (HFHI) expressed interest in participating in a research project funded by the Center for Social Development that examined factors which enhanced or inhibited long-term volunteerism in the Latin American and Caribbean contexts. HFHI collaborated with a scholar from Eastern Mennonite University to carry out this research. The lead scholars for this project were Dr. Terrence Jantzi (Eastern Mennonite University), Dr. Fiorella Rojas, and Dr. Caroline Kroeker-Falconi (HFHI). To protect participant confidentiality within the organization, Drs. Rojas and Kroeker-Falconi served as organizational sponsors who participated in project planning and follow-up, facilitated logistics, communications, and departmental permissions for the research project. Dr. Jantzi served as an outside researcher and facilitated the focus group interviews, survey administration, and handling of respondent data. The implications and recommendations of the research outcomes were developed by selected HFHI volunteers and staff in collaboration with Dr. Jantzi.

This project contained two phases—a primary phase drawing on qualitative focus group interviews and a secondary phase using a quantitative survey for triangulation. In the main phase the principle data gathering technique involved facilitated focus group sessions. However, the research also drew on individual interviews as complementary information. The research population of interest was national-citizen volunteers (as opposed to North American volunteers serving outside of their country). Two particular groups of interest are volunteers who have remained associated with HFHI for a number of years and those who initially volunteered but then shortly withdrew or ceased to be actively involved.

To minimize expense and maximize coverage, HFHI created a *volunteerism team* drawn from Latin American HFHI personnel (both volunteers and staff) connected with the Area Office based in San Jose, Costa Rica. This team received training in qualitative interviews and focus group facilitation from the lead researcher. Facilitated by the lead researcher, this group developed the interview guide, developed the research timetable and participated in the analysis phase.

Throughout following months, HFHI volunteerism team members facilitated focus group interviews supplemented by individual interviews. HFHI focus group facilitators worked in pairs.

The team usually tried to arrange that HFHI interview facilitators were not ones who had previous relationships with the country program so as to minimize possible response bias. There were two focus groups per country. Facilitators were encouraged to hold the numbers of participants in the focus groups to less than 12 people (the average size of the focus groups for the entire study was generally between 7-8 people). In each country, one group consisted of long-term volunteers and a second group consisted of persons who had initially volunteered but quickly dropped out. Group participants were identified through the cooperation of the HFHI national program executive director.

Conversations were recorded with the permission of the focus groups. Research assistants in Costa Rica transcribed the tapes to produce a written version. The lead researcher then facilitated a three-day workshop in San Jose, Costa Rica where selected HFHI staff and volunteers familiar with the project analyzed transcripts, identified emergent themes and developed categories of trends. By combining an outside researcher with NGO staff and volunteers, the data analysis was able to draw on both emic and etic perspectives to balance and verify emergent themes.

In the second quantitative phase, Drs. Jantzi and Rojas, in collaboration with staff from the department of Community Mobilization at HFHI, developed a quantitative questionnaire drawing on the emergent themes identified during the first phase of inquiry. The purpose of the questionnaire was to provide some element of triangulation of the first phase themes and to measure their relative importance for long-term volunteer retention. A copy of the survey is found in Appendix A. Due to logistical and budgetary constraints, the steering committee felt that an internet-based survey would have the best combination of accessibility and speed. It was recognized, though, that internet surveys would not be able to reach those volunteers who did not use the internet regularly, but other options were not considered feasible due to budget issues.

After the survey was developed and placed on the internet, the community mobilization department contacted the National Office coordinators in all HFHI LAC countries and requested that the coordinators send announcements to all their volunteers, both current and former still on their contact sheets, about this survey and provide the link by which the volunteers could access the survey. After a three-week period, responses were collected by Drs. Jantzi and Rojas and analyzed for comparisons with the emergent themes from phase one.

### **Advantages and Limitations of Methodology**

Most previous research on volunteerism has been limited to the developed world; by using qualitative focus groups in the initial phase, this method allowed unanticipated elements that are important in the Latin American and Caribbean nations to emerge. Validity and reliability issues were addressed through member-checks during the focus group conversation, audit trails during information analysis, and peer response to initial findings.

Since the focus group phase relied on identification and recruitment of participants by the National Coordinator, an unintentional bias could develop around who is willing to cooperate with the National Coordinator. While any selection of a qualitative study will be subject to the potential for bias, this was partially mitigated by checking the group compositions with HFHI peers who had local expertise, deliberately seeking out both long-term and drop-out respondents, and by recruiting a relatively large number of participants in each group.

The general recommendation in focus group theory is to maintain relatively homogenous groups because otherwise participants who are too different from the majority may feel more constrained to share their opinions if they differ from the majority. Consequently, for this study the facilitators convened two relatively homogenous groups of short-term and long-term volunteers. Finally, after themes were identified during the analysis phase, the general thrust of the findings was shared with HFHI peers familiar with the context of each region. These individuals could draw on their own knowledge and experiences to help check whether there might have been bias (other through omission or commission) concerning conversational topics.

In all phases, there is the danger of respondent bias due to cultural reasons surrounding specific issues, or because of a desire to avoid confrontation or unpleasantness with HFHI. These issues can be mitigated partly through the use of an outsider researcher who is not related to HFHI so that respondents may feel freer to speak on organizational issues. The outside researcher also possessed expertise in Latin American culture, which helped identify possible issues that may cause response bias.

### Emergent Themes

During the analysis phase in Costa Rica, a variety of different themes began to emerge as participants pored over the interview transcripts. These themes could be roughly categorized into four categories: type of volunteer activity, conflicting assumptions concerning volunteers, cultural dynamics, and organizational structures.

#### **Type of Volunteer Activity: Complicating the *Volunteerism* Concept**

It soon became apparent during the interview and analysis sessions that the term *volunteer* was used within Habitat to cover a wide variety of roles, expectations, and relationships to the organization. This factor both complicated and simplified the analysis of volunteerism in Latin America/Caribbean. Three frameworks emerged from the analysis for understanding the complexity of volunteering in the HFHI context: governance vs. helping out, institutionalized and community, and organizational evolution in national structures.

#### *Governance versus "Helping out" volunteerism*

An initial analysis of interview descriptions of volunteer activities led to the development of a two-category taxonomy: Governance vs. "Helping Out" volunteers (See Table 1). Governance volunteers are considered to be those volunteers involved in organizational governance issues. In HFHI this would include national or local boards and their various sub-committees (such as family selection, finance, construction, etc). These volunteers are expected to provide oversight to the program and to set policies. Ideally, these types of volunteers govern the organization's staff. In contrast, "Helping Out" volunteers include all those volunteers whose work is directed by the organization's staff. These could include volunteers helping out with construction, volunteers recruiting others (such as in churches), interns serving in the offices, or other experts and specialists who provide services to Habitat free of charge such as financial auditors, information systems specialists, lawyers, etc. This study chose to focus primarily on governance volunteers rather than "helping out" volunteers because the experiences of these governance volunteers in the HFHI context were the most problematic. Almost all helping out volunteers interviewed were extremely

positive and had little disincentive for volunteering, whereas governance volunteers were difficult to recruit and had many complaints and high turnover.

Table 1: What types of volunteerism exist in the context?

Governance volunteers	“Helping out” volunteers
Provide oversight to programs and set policies. Supervise paid staff.	Active in carrying out programs, but in a support capacity to paid staff. Supervised by paid staff.
<i>Quality of Experience More Problematic</i>	<i>Quality of Experience More Rewarding</i>

*Institutionalized and community dimensions*

As further analysis continued, another more nuanced framework for understanding volunteerism opportunities within HFHI emerged. This comprised a four-category taxonomy across two different dimensions (See Table 2). One axis described the degree of institutional structure in the volunteerism, with highly structured roles closely connected to the HFHI organization on one end versus highly unstructured roles unrelated to HFHI on the other. The other axis described whether the volunteerism was part of one’s daily life (internal) or whether it was an exceptional event outside of one’s normal rhythms of life (external). The resulting quadrants describe four different categories of volunteers. The Institutionalized/Internal quadrant contains the various boards, committees, and other community groups dedicated to the continual institutional functioning of HFHI within a community, region or nation. The Institutionalized/External quadrant contains volunteerism opportunities such as the work brigades who come to a community construction site to help out for a specific construction event (such as the Jimmy Carter Work Projects or Blitz Builds). The Informal/Internal quadrant contains spontaneous community organizing efforts for enhanced community well-being that are not directed by HFHI program structures. (Interestingly, HFHI recently created a new experimental initiative to encourage these types of volunteerism interactions called “*protagonismo comunitario*.”) The fourth quadrant—Informal/External—consisted of unstructured volunteering activities outside of one’s community context such as giving out tracts at street corners as some evangelical groups might do, or distributing hot drinks or used clothing to poor or homeless persons.

Table 2: What types of volunteerism exist in the context?

	Internal	External
Institutionalized	Governance Boards Committees  <i>Most Frustrating Sector</i>	Work Brigades Fund Raising Campaigns Dinners Walk-a-thons  <i>Most Rewarding Sector</i>
Informal	Spontaneous community organizing efforts Building soccer fields Church participation Informal Mentoring	Visiting a neighborhood to distribute used clothing or tracts

The analysts felt that this model helped convey some of the nuances regarding volunteerism in HFHI structures. Interestingly, they noted that in the International structure, the term “volunteer” was usually used to denote the Institutional/External type of activities—mostly work brigades or internships. However, analysts felt that the sector most of interest to them in this study was the maintenance of long-term volunteers within the Institutional/Internal quadrant (committees, boards) as this was the sector that was most problematic for the organization. They noted that it was interesting that the new initiative “*protagonismo comunitario*” was centered on volunteerism in the Informal/Internal quadrant, which created the odd tension of an institution attempting to create informal, non-institutionalized forms of volunteerism. Further, it seemed evident that there were few, if any volunteerism opportunities related to Habitat in the External/Informal quadrant, which would make sense given this was a case study of a formal organization and its volunteerism connections. For the purposes of this study, the form of volunteerism targeted was primarily the Institutionalized/Internal quadrant.

### *Organizational evolution*

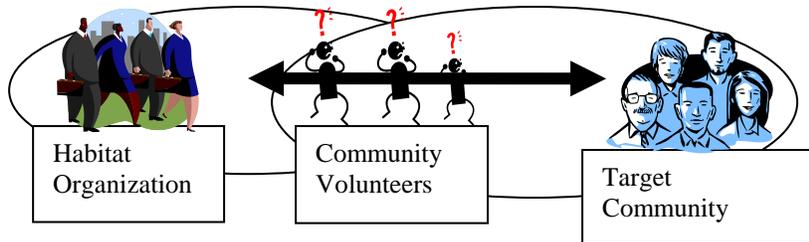
It was also recognized by the analysts that HFHI organizations tended to evolve through different phases over time. Each phase required different expectations and skill sets and used volunteers differently. Consequently, it wasn’t enough to assume in the analysis that all HFHI programs were the same, but to recognize how the differences in organizational phases affected the volunteer dynamic. For example, when an HFHI program was opened in a new country, almost all of the work was volunteer driven and most of it involved governance volunteers. These volunteers would develop structures, set policies and provide frameworks for the new HFHI program. Interviews characterized this period as being a time when volunteers were relatively autonomous (separated from HFHI International) and the organizational structure as loose, with a flattened hierarchy. Over time though, the HFHI country program would become increasingly populated by paid staff as policies and functions became routinized. Governance volunteers became increasingly marginal to the program while national program staff became increasingly central HFHI’s communication and policy setting. Not surprisingly, governance volunteers were more likely to express satisfaction, maintain energy, and serve for a longer period of time when the HFHI organization was in the initial “high volunteer/low staff” phases of development. Governance volunteers became more disenchanted and disengaged as the organization evolved into “low volunteer/high staff” phases. While there were still supervisory and oversight functions for volunteers to carry out, many governance volunteers felt these efforts were less meaningful than during the initial phases.

### **Conflicting Assumptions about Volunteers: Double Paradigm Tensions**

Clear expectations and consistency appeared to play a heavy role in volunteer retention. Analysis suggested that the source of unclear expectations was not only in a lack of articulation of one set of expectations, but rather that volunteers in certain roles were often exposed to conflicting messages based upon two separate paradigms. Analysts identified four pairs of paradigm tensions that resulted in volunteers receiving mixed messages and unclear understandings of their roles and expectations.

*Community or Habitat?*

Figure 1: To Whom do Community Volunteers Belong?



Are community volunteers members of the community who are participating in a Habitat program, or are community volunteers organizational extensions of Habitat in the community? Figure 1 portrays this tension visually. Imagine a circle that encompasses Habitat as an organization. Within this organization, volunteers play a role in the maintenance of the organization, representing Habitat and carrying out Habitat directives. At the same time, there is a circle that encompasses a target community that contains a Habitat project. Habitat’s mission includes an understanding that Habitat is reinforcing a community by combating poverty housing within particular communities. Consequently, in the “community circle” exists all the individuals in the community who may be either targets of Habitat programs, or people who are involved in working together to improve their community life. Within Habitat there exists then two types of “volunteer” circles—1) those who are part of the organization of Habitat and represent Habitat and carry out Habitat roles and functions and 2) those who are community members who are collaborating with Habitat to improve their community life. During the analysis of interviews, it appeared that a certain sub-set of community volunteers—those who made up local affiliate committees—found themselves located in both circles. This caused a certain amount of tension in the way they interacted with the national and international levels of Habitat and also with the way that they interacted with their own communities. Expressed crudely, it appeared that volunteers in this sub-set sometimes felt they were “doing unto”—meaning that they were direct implementers of HFHI programs in communities—and other times “being done unto”—meaning they themselves were the targets of HFHI programs. These competing paradigms contributed to unclear expectations and subsequent volunteer frustration.

*Grassroots development versus elite development*

Does Habitat have a program that encourages grassroots participation for empowerment, or does it have a program to engage the powerful in meeting human needs? A decided tension emerged within interviews regarding these two questions. On the one hand, part of Habitat’s mission is to foment grassroots empowerment and sustainable development through a program structure that brings in the poor and needy and gives them a voice and a say in the process (and in so doing creates empowerment, community organization, and capacity building). At the same time, there is a push to recruit powerful and prominent individuals to be part of the Habitat mission in order to affect policy, gain access to resources, and broadly promote Habitat’s mission. Both orientations are present in Habitat national structures, which created some tension both within the national

organization with respect to merging governance volunteers from very different class and cultural backgrounds and within the way that HFHI interacted with and treated national volunteers. An international organization will treat national volunteers quite differently if they are seen as needing capacity building for empowerment versus if they are seen as powerful and competent elites. While these goals don't have to be mutually exclusive, one source of tension occurred when volunteers from one paradigm were treated as if they were from the other. This caused volunteer dropout. Elites would complain about being belittled or lacking respect if they were treated as if they were in need of capacity building, and grassroots community volunteers would complain of being overwhelmed and intimidated if they were treated as if they were elites.

*Volunteers as experts versus volunteers in need of training*

Related to the tension cited above between a vision of grassroots-driven development versus elite-driven development is the tension between perceiving volunteers as experts who can offer their skills to Habitat and volunteers as under-trained workers who need to be constantly educated, trained, or developed in order to sustain the institution. Again this tension was particularly strong in the subset of volunteers who were located on local and national boards.

*Being a social movement vs. Being an institution*

Finally, a paradigmatic tension existed between the vision of Habitat as a social movement drawing solidarity and support from Christians around Latin America and the Caribbean concerned about poverty housing, and the vision of Habitat as a multi-national organization with more hierarchical policies, structures, and programs. These two paradigms would have very different implications for perceiving the role of the volunteer and the level of expected autonomy and voice. The social movement paradigm would have high solidarity and a flattened or diffuse hierarchy with considerable local autonomy and considerable context variation. The organization paradigm emphasizes standardization, a more defined hierarchy, and the elaboration of general policies. In a social movement paradigm, volunteers are important because their allegiance to the movement is what causes it to exist. In an organization paradigm, volunteers are peripheral to the organization (paid staff are the key components) and while volunteers' allegiance to an organization may be of service to that organization, their presence is not needed for the organization's continued existence. HFHI's vision and mission make it amenable to a social movement paradigm, but at the same time, the flow of resources and funds create the need for a more formal organization paradigm. In different countries and different times, this tension between HFHI as a social movement and HFHI as an organization was played out in various degrees. Volunteers were most likely to express frustration when HFHI was in transition from one paradigm to the other. Many times, in volunteer accounts, HFHI's initial foray into a national program would have considerable overtones of a social movement; however, as time went by this understanding would become transformed into a more organizational structure. Volunteers energized by the social movement messages would become disenchanted with the organizational elements of the transition. (This paradigm tension is related to the organizational evolution dynamic described under "Complicating Volunteerism").

## Cultural Dynamics

### *Challenging volunteering culture assumptions in LAC*

One comment often heard among NGOs operating in Latin America is that Latin Americans do not volunteer as much as North Americans do. This is sometimes expressed as the lack of a volunteering culture in Latin America. However, during the analysis phase of this study, this contention came under some scrutiny and challenge by the analysts. Based on the interviews and their own experiences, their perception was that there was considerable volunteering occurring in Latin America, but that most Latin Americans would not have defined what they were doing as volunteering. As one of the focus group facilitators noted about his conversations in the Dominican Republic, “If you ask someone if they volunteer [in Latin America] they would probably say ‘no I don’t,’ but then if you start to talk to them about what all they are involved in, you would discover that they may be on several community organizations [such as the local parents’ organization, a local homeowners association], they may be mentoring a friend’s or relative’s child, or they may be volunteering at their church, helping to sell things at a soccer game for their local soccer club, and so forth and so on.” Referring to the two-dimensional quadrant, analysts suggested that most volunteering in North America occurs in the Institutionalized/External quadrant, while most of the volunteering in Latin America occurs in the Informal/Internal quadrant. One implication for HFHI is that perhaps one barrier to volunteer recruitment is simply their use of the wrong terminology or contexts for presenting their mission.

### *Volunteerism for others versus for oneself*

One of the tensions that often arose from volunteer transcripts revolved around internal conflicts with other volunteers involved in governance or even in helping out roles. Volunteers would refer to some individuals who “did not understand Habitat’s mission was to help others” or who “seemed to be looking to promote their own interests.” While this dynamic can also be found in North America, there may be a cultural reason for its prevalence within HFHI structures in Latin America and the Caribbean. One of the Costa Rican analysts during the analysis phase of the project noted that he perceived North American volunteerism to be largely something done in one’s “free time” and geared towards “doing something for someone else.” However, he commented that much of the volunteerism that seemed to occur in Latin America was not seen as part of one’s “extra time,” but rather as part of the gestalt of activities oriented to improving themselves or their community (and hence themselves). In countries with high levels of unemployment or under-employment, this type of “informal” work plays a large role in a person’s daily career and some commented that they perceived their volunteer work with HFHI as their principal employment or job. In some countries, volunteers commented that people may volunteer (work for free) for an organization for a while in order to establish connections that will help them acquire a salaried job when one of those becomes available. In addition, volunteer organizing may occur in order to gain something for one’s community—such as petitioning a municipal government for more parks, or to petition a donor to fund a water project. Since these things are ultimately done to benefit the people who volunteer, it can run counter to the North American ideal that one volunteers in order to do something on behalf of someone else with no thought to personal benefit. Volunteers are often seen as “sacrificing” in North America (that word was actually used in some of the interviews in this study as well). The difference, though, is that North American sacrificing is to be done without expectation of

compensation, whereas many of the volunteers in this study seemed to assume that there would be some form of compensation (not necessarily monetary) coming to them for their efforts.

Consequently then, the lines between volunteering in order to do something for someone else, and volunteering in order to improve one's own community or individual circumstances can become quite blurred. HFHI, as an organization that originated in North America is more likely to have North American assumptions about how volunteers are to behave embedded in the nature of the organizational structure and policies. These may not always be consistent with the way that Latin American and Caribbean volunteers may perceive their participation in governance volunteer roles. While volunteers are almost always well intentioned, these differences in expectations for volunteerism can create tensions within a program, particularly if these tensions and expectations are not clearly articulated from the outset (more on that later). This is, again, complicated within Habitat because of the double paradigm tensions between grassroots volunteering (where it is assumed that the people volunteering are trying to better their own lot) and elite volunteering (where it is assumed that the people volunteering already "have it made" and are giving a hand to someone else with no thought of personal gain).

#### *Lack of guilt as motivation*

Analysts noted the curious absence in all volunteer transcripts of volunteering because of a feeling of guilt. One Costa Rican analyst noted that with the North American delegations that come to his country, he would often hear people say that they are volunteering because they wanted to give something back to the community, or because they felt guilty about all that they had, almost as if they were doing some sort of penance to absolve themselves of this guilt of wealth. In contrast, it was noted that among the Latin American volunteer transcripts, nowhere did anyone mention such sentiments as the motivating factor for their choosing to volunteer. Instead, what was most often cited was feeling good about being able to help someone else—especially seeing the faces of needy people when being presented with their new house. Volunteers relished the face-to-face contact and relationships. While they were often moved by compassion, they did not seem to express this as a subset of guilt for their own good fortune.

This lack of guilt as a motivating factor has some important implications for how an organization treats volunteers. An organization can demand more of a volunteer who is motivated by guilt and thank him less. This is important for HFHI because two factors that arose consistently in all focus group interviews was the need for HFHI to be more explicit in recognizing volunteer efforts and the need for HFHI to reduce expectations on the volunteers about what they ought to be able to accomplish. These two factors will be covered in greater detail later.

#### *Importance of face-to-face encounters*

Face-to-face communication appeared to be one element particularly important for long-term volunteerism in Latin America. Face-to-face communication has been noted as an important factor in promoting strong communities, high social capital, or functional organizations. However, interview transcripts suggested that this characteristic was especially important in the LAC context. The analysts noted five arenas where this highly relational element played a role:

*Motivation for service.* It was noted that in response to queries about initial motivation for service and about factors that positively energized the volunteers, the importance of relationships and face-to-face encounters was highlighted. For example, construction volunteers didn't emphasize the satisfaction of building a house, but rather the satisfaction of working side by side with the beneficiaries. Members of the committees and affiliates talked of the reward of getting to know the beneficiaries and being able to do something positive for them. They couched the mission of HFHI less as poverty alleviation, and more as a way to create face-to-face connections and relationships.

*Access to insecure areas.* During the analysis phase, analysts noted that non-community member volunteers (whether national or international in origin) would often remark upon the importance of the Habitat structure in allowing them to have personal contact with the beneficiaries. As the analysts remarked upon, many of the beneficiary communities would be areas that national volunteers would not normally encounter in their daily lives. Habitat's structure and programs allowed national and international outsiders relatively safe access to these communities, where they could then form personal relationships with the participating community members. Again, the emphasis was not so much in the effectiveness of the program for poverty alleviation as with the ability of the structure and program to provide opportunities for face-to-face encounters.

*Institutional communication.* Institutional communication can take a variety of forms: emails, telephone calls, letters, general notices through TV or radio, etc. However, one thread that consistently arose when volunteers reflected on elements that created positive energy (or conversely on elements that caused them to stop being involved) was the presence (or absence) of face-to-face communication within the organization. For example, when affiliate meetings were called, it was important to the volunteers that they received this information via personal contact. When volunteers were solicited, the personal contact element made a big difference in their willingness to agree to participate. This has implications for an organization or social movement that relies increasingly on email or internet communication as it formalizes. Volunteer retention seems to be adversely affected by the preferential use of non-personal forms of institutional communication with volunteers.

*Volunteering as the creation of solidarity and social connection.* When asked what elements of the HFHI volunteering experience they would miss the most, volunteers consistently cited the bonds of social connection and the feelings of solidarity they developed while in the HFHI structure. More importantly, this feeling of solidarity and social connection was in conjunction with feeling a sense of meaningfulness in their work. Short-term, observable results, whether it was building a house, developing a policy, or successfully recruiting, were extremely important for maintaining long-term volunteers. However, these short-term results, while necessary, were not sufficient. It was also important to volunteers that these results were achieved within a high social density context—whether through relationships with homeowners, interacting with other volunteers, or generally feeling connected to a larger organizational structure.

*Volunteering as a result of social connection.* The degree to which the HFHI social sphere interconnected with other elements of a volunteer's social sphere emerged as an important element for maintaining long-term volunteers. For example, some volunteers attended a church that was loudly sponsoring or promoting HFHI to the point where HFHI was considered part of the church's outreach rather than merely an external NGO (more on this element later in the mission section). Volunteers also noted that members of HFHI affiliates and committees were people they had worked with, gone to school with, or served in the army with. The way that HFHI "spider-webbed" into other social

spheres through pre-existing relationships from other areas of a volunteer's life such as church, school, the workplace, or army service seemed to play a strong role in the retention of long-term volunteers

### **Organizational Structures**

During the analysis, analysts noted certain elements in HFHI's organizational structure, mission, and policies that appeared to either help or hinder volunteer retention.

#### *Lack of institutionalized opportunities in all program areas*

According to HFHI's mission plan, there are other program areas besides governance that seek volunteers—construction, advocacy, and resource development. It was noted, however, that of these four program areas, the only area that has a strong organizational structure and concrete ways of incorporating volunteers is the construction area. If a person wishes to volunteer by helping out with construction, it is relatively easy to approach a local HFHI office and quickly get hooked into an ongoing construction project, accompanied by a list of suggestions of tasks one could do and roles that are needed to be filled. In contrast, if a person wishes to do advocacy (or it is suggested to an affiliate that their role should be increased advocacy), there is little guidance or structure within the organization of just what that means. Volunteers involved in these other program areas face ambiguity about their role, a dearth of concrete suggestions for activities they can engage in, and a lack of organizational programs that would allow face-to-face interactions. Since these elements are important to volunteer retention, their absence in these three program areas discourages long-term volunteerism. This has implications for HFHI in the near future as there is a shift within the organization to have affiliate committees do less governance (centralizing these tasks at the national level) and to do more advocacy, resource development, etc. However, there are few concrete structures, programs, or social spaces available in HFHI for volunteers to engage in these tasks.

#### *Lack of consistent recruitment and orientation processes to Habitat*

Volunteers didn't actually come out and say that they wanted a better orientation, but there were several ways in which this idea emerged from what they did say. Volunteers constantly referred to the importance of having clear expectations (implying that this wasn't well articulated at the beginning of their service), and clear understandings of the processes (again, suggesting that volunteers often were confused about the processes within Habitat). Both of these desires would seem to fit with the implication that there wasn't a strong orientation process at HFHI. In addition, volunteers obliquely made reference to some of the difficulties in working with other volunteers who "did not have a good understanding of what Habitat was about" or "who thought differently about what it meant to be a volunteer." This tension could arise because of the lack of a detailed orientation process to make explicit HFHI's vision, values, expectations, and processes.

At the same time, these oblique references, in combination with their personal stories of how they came to be involved in Habitat, reflected a certain lack of systematic approaches to recruiting volunteers. Volunteerism recruitment largely happened through word of mouth and through church social networks. One volunteer commented that he felt that he was not a good match for the program; he had been recruited because of his church position and status in society, but the responsibilities that Habitat asked of him did not match the skills that he had. As a result, this

person found himself struggling to perform unfamiliar tasks. Part of the dilemma of recruitment and orientation lies in the double paradigm tensions. Who you recruit changes depending on your vision of whether your organization supports development from the grassroots or from the elite. Recruitment dynamics also change as the organization itself shifts. Volunteers consistently commented on the constant changes in expectations that occurred because of Habitat constantly changing the way it did things. Strategic recruitment and orientation are difficult when the needs, paradigms, and organizational structures constantly change or if multiple paradigms are pursued.

Thus, the root problem may not only be a lack of explaining the organization to new volunteers but also that the organization itself is constantly changing what it expects of volunteers.

#### *Mission importance*

Almost all volunteer responses mentioned their attraction to the mission and Christian orientation of HFHI. The perceived importance and meaningfulness of HFHI's mission compensated in numerous ways for other frustrations that volunteers may have encountered while serving with HFHI. One volunteer noted that he would advise new volunteers that volunteering with HFHI is a continual series of headaches and barriers, but that the mission is worth the problems. The dynamics of mission importance played out in several ways.

*Church connection.* First, the explicit Christian focus and strong church connections were cited as important elements in staying with HFHI programs. As an aside, it should be noted that by working through churches in many country programs, HFHI was able to be connected to another aspect of a volunteer's life. Another dynamic of the explicit Christian focus was that churches would take ownership of HFHI's mission. Some volunteers reported that HFHI's mission was seen as being the church's responsibility (with HFHI providing the organizational skeleton to facilitate this mission). This shared ownership perspective became important to maintaining volunteer commitment.

*Faith into action.* Coupled with this Christian mission focus was the perceived opportunity to put one's faith into action by volunteering with HFHI. Christian rituals in HFHI such as prayer, Bible studies, or worship services also served to reinforce this overlapping connection to the volunteer's spiritual life and church circles. One interview noted that this explicit connection and shared ownership with Christian churches may prevent volunteer recruitment in non-Christian areas, but that the overlap between HFHI and spiritual structures and values was important for retaining the long-term volunteers.

*Targeting the neediest.* Volunteers also felt that HFHI's mission of attempting to meet the needs of the neediest was an important attraction for keeping them involved. This was mostly shown through the negative. When country policies or programs appeared to be shifting their focus from the neediest to some other demographics, volunteer complaints and disenchantment rose. In addition, during interviews, volunteers were asked what would have to change about HFHI before they would consider leaving and not volunteering any longer. The majority of responses focused on HFHI's potential abandonment of those in greatest need.

*Volunteer appreciation/recognition*

Feeling unappreciated emerged as a consistent complaint from almost all volunteers. In interviews, many volunteers, especially those on the affiliate committees (currently known as technical support) and boards, noted that they sacrifice time and devote considerable effort but feel that HFHI does not do very much to recognize these efforts or to express appreciation for their work. More often, they reported feeling criticized for not doing something right, rather than affirmed for doing something well. They expressed concern over the number of expectations placed on them (probably related to the double paradigm tensions mentioned earlier). They also noted the lack of institutional space for recognition; many suggested that HFHI should have an annual one-day volunteer appreciation day in each country, where all volunteers could come together for a picnic or party and mingle with each other. This suggestion connects well to the face-to-face dynamic as well as the need for affirmation or appreciation. Rarely, if ever, did these suggestions for appreciation involve money or other financial compensation. In addition, volunteers noted that they felt that HFHI, while ostensibly articulating a vision of participation and grassroots empowerment, was not receptive to hearing feedback from those participating at the grassroots. Volunteers often mentioned feeling unheard or ignored by the organization, suggesting that they perceived the organization as not particularly responsive to grassroots feedback.

During the analysis phase, a couple of elements emerged as possible sources of this feeling of lack of appreciation. First, it became apparent that wealthy volunteers were not engaged in volunteering efforts because of any feelings of guilt—which might often be the case with North American volunteers. One analyst noted that an organization can be much more demanding of guilt-motivated volunteers and provide less praise or appreciation. Since HFHI is a North American organization, its organizational culture may be more attuned to guilt-motivated volunteers and, consequently, may lack mechanisms for being appreciating volunteers.

Secondly, analysts noted that volunteers are used often as a justification for keeping organizational costs low. One doesn't need paid staff if one can rely on volunteers to carry out crucial organizational functions. Thus, there can be a tendency to treat volunteers as underpaid employees by placing institutional demands on them. If the volunteers do not perceive themselves as underpaid employees though, they may resent being treated in this way.

Thirdly, one of the paradigm tensions noted earlier in HFHI is the tension between being a social movement and being an organization. A member of a social movement has more autonomy, more voice in shaping the course of the movement and a greater sense of solidarity. Social movements by their nature are highly responsive to grassroots pressures. In contrast, a member of an organization is part of a hierarchy and a subsequent chain-of-command. In very large, sprawling institutions there is a tension between organizational consistency and flexibility to specific contexts. As an organization grows bigger, this tension can swing towards more organizational consistency—which implies more chain-of-command orders and less input from local communities. Even if HFHI espouses a paradigm of grassroots empowerment, as it grows and becomes more institutionalized, this paradigm become less prominent as more institutionalized “top-down” structures form to manage the increased size of the organization.

*Staff/volunteer tensions*

Another tension that emerged specifically among volunteers connected to HFHI offices related to incorporating long-term volunteers with paid staff. HFHI's mission and social movement origins create a welcoming atmosphere and high organizational solidarity. At the same time, the demands of an organization require paid staff to carry out specific organizational functions. When a volunteer appears in an office to carry out organizational functions—how do they get treated with respect to paid staff regarding rights, privileges, or voice? The more voice, privileges, and rights that volunteer staff had, the more satisfied they were with their volunteering experience.

*Travel opportunities*

Prior to the development of the focus group interviews, it was suggested that travel opportunities might be one “perk” that affiliate and board volunteers enjoyed that would help retain long-term volunteers. Board and affiliate members can travel internationally for meetings, workshops, or construction brigades with HFHI's program structure. During the interviews, travel opportunities at first appeared to emerge as a key component in long-term volunteer satisfaction or disenchantment. However, a closer analysis suggested that volunteer transcripts and discussions were not targeting the opportunity for an individual to travel to another country, but rather the importance of face-to-face encounters for exchanging ideas and information. Volunteers at the affiliate and even the national level continually mentioned feeling isolated and cited the importance of being able to exchange ideas or information with other affiliate groups or other national committees. Again, the importance of doing so in a face-to-face context was highlighted. Simply increasing email communication, telephone conferences, or other general circulation media was not considered sufficient for meeting the needs of volunteers.

Consequently, travel opportunities were not deemed important for being a “perk” to volunteerism, but rather they were considered important because they increased the social interconnection between volunteers and allowed for exchanges of information and ideas. Travel opportunities appeared to increase volunteers' feelings of connection and solidarity with the organization. Travel became important only insofar as it enhanced social connections and allowed for the exchange of ideas and information. Interestingly, during the analysis of a preliminary quantitative study, travel opportunities appeared to be available within HFHI, but seemed to be confined to only a small group of individuals. In other words, within a given country, it appeared that the same people took advantage of all travel opportunities. One implication of these findings would be for HFHI to create more spaces for face-to-face exchanges, but also to broaden the circle of people who can take advantage of these exchanges.

## Organizational Structure Summary

Building on the analysis described above, workshop participants developed a set of summaries concerning when long-term volunteerism was enhanced or retarded due to organizational factors within HFHI. They found that long-term volunteerism was enhanced when:

- Volunteers were not seen as unpaid staff but rather as a resource to be appreciated and volunteers were given thanks or expressions of appreciation from the organization.
- HFHI structures “spider-webbed” into other volunteer social spheres such as church, army, school, or workplace.
- Face-to-face encounters were created between volunteers and beneficiaries
- Tight communication (and face-to-face communication) existed between different levels of the organization
- There was close face-to-face follow-up between volunteers and staff in the organization.
- A culture of solidarity existed.
- Specific volunteer skills closely matched organizational needs.
- HFHI’s altruistic mission was seen as targeting the most needy.
- There existed a clear connection between the type of work that volunteers were asked to do and the achievement of the mission of HFHI to reach impoverished sectors of the country.

In contrast, analysts found that long-term volunteerism was reduced when:

- There was a lack of institutionalized or routinized opportunities for concrete action
- There was a lack of a solid orientation to HFHI’s structure, processes, or mission.
- There were constantly changing structures or processes in the organization.

## Phase Two Quantitative Triangulation

### Background

The quantitative survey phase of the project turned out to be somewhat disappointing. In spite of repeated pleas to national office coordinators to encourage volunteers, especially board and affiliate members, to fill out the on-line survey, the actual number of respondents was too low to provide good quantitative analysis (n=19). In addition, the profile of the typical respondent was not representative of the majority of HFHI local volunteers in LAC. The typical respondent was female, under the age of 25, had more than three years of experience with HFHI volunteerism, and was part of an HFHI program that had been in existence for more than twelve years. In contrast, the typical HFHI LAC volunteer was male, between 30-50, and has had less than a year of experience in many of the national organizations have emerged within the last decade.

Some of the factors for the low response rate include organizational transition in the department of community mobilization, a period of elapsed time between the initiation of the first and second phases of the research project, and the unfortunate circumstance that HFHI volunteers had just completed another internet survey regarding volunteerism and resource development put out by another department at HFHI headquarters. The close timing between the two surveys might have led many volunteers to assume that they had already filled out the volunteerism internet survey and to delete the link without investigating further.

Nevertheless, some elements from the quantitative survey can be used to confirm the themes from the first phase. The majority of the respondents had served for more than three years, longer than the typical average of one year. As long-term volunteers, certain elements of their responses should correlate with what the first phase identified as important for long-term retention. Survey results are summarized in Appendix B.

### Summary of Themes

Survey respondents were unanimous in perceived satisfaction with their volunteer experience. They felt they had received an adequate orientation, their skills were appropriate to their roles, and that they were kept informed of events and changes by the organization. They also felt their ideas were heard and acted upon in their affiliate or national organization. Three-quarters of the respondents indicated that they wished they had more training from HFHI to carry out the tasks they were asked to do for the organization. Nevertheless, even with the desire for more training, they all expressed high satisfaction with their volunteerism experience. Respondents felt they could see a direct connection between their actions and concrete results, and that the mission of the organization played a significant role in their continued engagement. All of these factors were identified in the first phase as important for long-term volunteer retention.

Interestingly, these highly satisfied volunteers were also part of national organizations where they felt that most of the work was done by paid staff—implying that they saw themselves more as “helping out” volunteers than governance volunteers. Indeed, only 12% of the respondents had served in any governance role. Research from the first phase suggests that a satisfaction survey directly targeting governance volunteers may not show quite the same levels of satisfaction.

Respondents felt that schools were the best venues for volunteer recruitment (not surprising considering that most were under 25 years of age and had been recruited from school). They also indicated that they felt that training and national office exchanges were important elements of support needed for better volunteer recruitment and they perceived that most of the volunteers who did leave HFHI did so because of personal reasons relating to external factors rather than to anything that the organization had control over (such as policies, recognition, training, or structures).

The only part of the quantitative survey that appeared to run counter to emergent themes from the first phase was with regard to pre-existing social networks. Half of the respondents indicated that they had become involved in HFHI through a friend recruiting them. Nevertheless, the majority (55%) later claimed that there were few pre-existing friendships within the HFHI volunteers from school, church, or other similar social organizations. They may have tried to suggest that more pre-existing social networks would lead to increased long-term volunteerism (since most of them were long-term volunteers initially recruited through friends), but that currently, there isn't as much of this present in HFHI as there could be. This idea would also correlate with their responses that schools would be a good venue for recruitment—more could be done to take advantage of the pre-existing networks at schools.

### Recommendations for NGOs

Based upon the case study analysis of Habitat for Humanity International, the participating analysts developed a set of seven recommendations for organizations working in Latin America who wished to encourage long-term national volunteerism. In some aspects, these recommendations are consistent with the research literature on volunteerism in North America. However, a few appear to be particularly important for retention within the Latin American context.

1. Contrary to previous research contentions, the analysts felt that volunteerism did exist in Latin America, but is more often located in the internal & informal quadrant than in North America. Organizations making use of Latin American volunteers may want to consider how to create opportunities consistent with the internal and informal quadrant to enhance long-term volunteer retention.
2. Face-to-face communication and encounters were vital to sustaining long-term volunteerism. An organization should try to create as many of these opportunities and spaces as possible to enhance long-term volunteer retention.
3. Clarity and consistency in volunteer roles and expectations were also important for long-term volunteerism. Constantly changing procedures or constantly changing expectations created frustration.
4. Volunteers served longest when they felt listened to and appreciated for their efforts.
5. Governance and Internal/Institutionalized volunteers experienced the most frustration and most rapid turnover. If an organization developed more “helping out” activities, this could enhance long-term volunteerism.
6. Long-term volunteerism was sustained when the HFHI organization was seen as very closely overlapping other social spheres in volunteers’ lives such as their church, army connections, school programs, or workplace sponsorships. In other words, volunteers were less likely to serve long-term if they had no other pre-existing friendships or acquaintances among HFHI volunteers.
7. Most importantly, HFHI’s particular mission, church connections, and faith-in-action focus kept long-term volunteers involved even in the face of violations of other organizational factors. Organizations which espouse a clear altruistic mission and are seen as “practicing what they preach” will be able to better retain long-term volunteers.

## References

- Boraas, S. (2003). Volunteerism in the United States. *Monthly Labor Review* 126(8), 3-11.
- Cash, F. L. B. (2001). *African American women and social action: The clubwomen and volunteerism from Jim Crow to the New Deal, 1896-1936*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press
- Cheung, F., Tang, C., & Yan, E. (2003). Psychosocial factors influencing service duration among elderly Chinese voluntary workers in Hong Kong. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, 55, 119-124.
- Clary, E. G., Snyder, M., Ridge, R., Copeland, J., Haugen, J., & Miene, P. (1998). Understanding and assessing the motivations of volunteers: A functional approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74, 1516-1530.
- Cuskelly, G. (1998). Organizational commitment and committee turnover of volunteers in sport. *Australian Journal of Volunteering*, 3(2), 4-14.
- Flora, C. (1995). Social capital and sustainability: Agriculture and communities in the great plains and corn belt. In H.K. Schwarzweller (Ed.), *Research in rural sociology and development: A research annual: Vol. 6. Sustainable agriculture and rural communities* (pp. 15-56). Ames, IA: Iowa State University Press.
- Flora, C. (2001). *Rural communities: Legacy and change*. Westview, CT: Westview Press.
- Grube, J., & Piliavin, J. (2000). Role identity, organizational experiences, and volunteer experiences. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 26, 1108-1120.
- Hobbs, B. (2001). Diversifying the volunteer base: Latinos and volunteerism. *Journal of Extension*, 39(4), 46-53.
- Hughes, P., & Black, A. (2002). The impact of various personal characteristics on volunteering. *Australian Journal on Volunteering*, 7(2), 59-69.

- Jantzi, T. (2000). *Local program theories and social capital: A case study of a Non-Governmental Organization in Bolivia*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell University.
- Jantzi, T., & Jantzi, V. (2002). Strengthening civil society for rural development: An analysis of social capital formation by a Christian NGO in Bolivia. In R. Hoksbergen, & N. Ewert (Eds.), *Local ownership and global change: Will civil society save the world?* (pp. 96-111). Monrovia, CA: World Vision International.
- Kenny, S. (2003). Constructions of volunteerism in third sector organizations. *Australian Journal of Volunteering*, 8(1), 15-22.
- Kerr, L., Savelsberg, H., Sparrow, S., & Tedmanson, D. (2001). Celebrating diversity: Experiences and perceptions of volunteering in indigenous and non-English speaking background communities. *Australian Journal of Volunteering*, 6(2), 117-127.
- Lichter, D., Shanahan, M., & Gardner, E. (2002). Helping others? The effects of childhood poverty and family instability on prosocial behavior. *Youth and Society*, 34(1), 89-119.
- Lopez, J., & Safrit, D. (2001). Hispanic American volunteering. *Journal of Extension*, 39(6), 51-67.
- Martin, J. (1999). Volunteering in a culturally diverse context: Implications for project designers and managers. *Australian Journal of Volunteering*, 4(1), 23-30.
- Martinez, T., & McMullin, S. (2004). Factors affecting decisions to volunteer in nongovernmental organizations. *Environment & Behavior*, 36(1), 112-127.
- Metz, E., McLellan, J., & Youniss, J. (2003). Types of voluntary service and adolescents' civic development. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 18(2), 188-203.
- Paull, M. (2000). Managing volunteer performance: The role of the feedback environment. *Australian Journal of Volunteering*, 5(2), 19-31.

- Penner, L. (2002). Dispositional and organizational influences on sustained volunteerism: An interactionist perspective. *Journal of Social Issues* 58(3), 447-467.
- Reglin, G., King, S., Losike-Sedimo, N., & Ketterer, A. (2003). Barriers to school involvement and strategies to enhance involvement from parents at low-performing urban schools. *Journal of At-Risk Issues*, 9(2), 1-7.
- Rossi, A. (2001). The interplay of work and family and its impact on community service. In A. Rossi (Ed.), *Caring and doing for others* (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(3), 1091-1122.
- Safrit, D., & Merrill, M. (2002). Management implications of contemporary trends in volunteerism in the United States and Canada. *Journal of Volunteer Administration*, 20(2), 12-23.
- Safrit, D., Scheer, S., & King, J. (2001). Understanding “seasons of service”: Promoting volunteerism across the life span. *Journal of Volunteer Administration*, 19(3), 15-23.
- Surdyk, L., & Diddams, M. (1999). Doing well by doing good: Career attainment and volunteerism. *Journal of Volunteer Administration*, 17(2), 11-24.
- Vergara, R. (1994). NGOs: Help or hindrance for community development in Latin America? *Community Development Journal*, 29(4): 322-328.
- White, D., & Arnold, M. (2003). Why they come, why they go, and why they stay: Factors affecting volunteerism in 4-H Programs. *Journal of Extension*, 41(4), 51-65.
- Wilson, J. (2000). Volunteering. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 215-40.
- Wilson, J. & Musick, M. (1997). Work and volunteering. *Social Forces*, 76, 251-72.
- Wuthnow, R. (1998). *Loose connections*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Zappala, G. (2001). From charity to social enterprise: Managing volunteers in public-serving nonprofits. *Australian Journal of Volunteering*, 6(1), 41-49.

Zappala, G., & Burrell, T. (2002). What makes a frequent volunteer? Predicting volunteer commitment in a community services organization. *Australian Journal on Volunteering*, 7(2), 45-58.