Worlds Apart?

A comparison of the perceptions of volunteering within the Dutch multicultural society

Master Thesis

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Preface

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Executive Summary

Non-Western Dutch citizens tend to volunteer significantly less than native Dutch citizens, and this has not improved during the past decade. As such, this paper will identify whether a difference in the perception of volunteering partly attributes to this lack of civic participation of non-Western Dutch citizens.

The perception of volunteering has been researched in previous studies, and it has been shown that the *net-costs theory* underlies the perception of volunteering. The net-costs theory postulates that someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer the higher the net-costs that this volunteer incurs. This paper will analyze whether the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens is conform the net-costs theory and if not, in what ways the perception differs with respect to native Dutch citizens.

The findings of this study have shown that although the net-costs theory mostly underlies the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens, there is a key difference. In contrast to native Dutch citizens, non-Western Dutch citizens do not incorporate the costs of formal volunteer work in their perception of volunteering. Hence, the findings of the study partly explain the lack of civic participation. The paper also delineates in more detail the practical implications of this finding for managers of volunteer organizations.

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1. Introduction

From the 1980's onwards the West has witnessed the emergence of a new dominant political paradigm: neo-liberalism. The period from the 1980's onwards has consequently been characterized by significant cutbacks in the public sector due to increasing privatization. Especially in Europe – where after the second World War most governments had maintained a significant public sector – citizens had to increasingly look to each other to solve social-economical problems (Mak, 2019 pp. 23-53; Boonstra, 2015). The days of large governmental apparatuses and extensive European welfare states had passed, and words such as "participation" and "active citizenship" gained more and more prominence in the public policies of Western European countries (Boonstra, 2015).

The Netherlands is no exception, and especially from the turn of the 21th century onwards the subsequent Dutch governments have made the bolstering of active citizenship and civic participation a central aim of their policies. This ideal "participation-society" that the government has been trying to cultivate involves a do-it-yourself – or rather a do-it-together – mentality (Boonstra, 2015; Van Houwelingen et al., 2016). As such, it has become increasingly more expected of Dutch citizens to solve societal challenges themselves through cooperation rather than looking to the government for a solution. This expectation is perhaps best illustrated by the following extract of the first annual King's speech given in September 2013 by the newly crowned Dutch king:

> *"It is undeniable that in our current network and information society, people are more assertive and independent than before. Combined with the need for governmental retrenchments, this means that the traditional welfare state is slowly but surely turning into a participatory society. Anyone who is able to take responsibility for his or her own life and environment, may be asked to do so. When people shape their future by themselves, they add value not only to their own lives, but also to society as a whole"* (translated by Boonstra, 2015, p.24).

As Western governments have increasingly put more emphasis on promoting active citizenship, the concern that a specific segment of the population is not contributing to this ideal participation society has also risen. Especially from the 21th century onwards, Western governments have concerned themselves more and more with the participation in civil society of their citizens with a non-Western immigrant background (Huijnk & Dagevos, 2015; Huijnk, 2016a). The terrorist attack on the World Trade Center on 9/11 has largely been

regarded as a turning point in the societal debate about immigration and citizens with a non-Western immigrant background; especially those citizens who are members of Muslim communities (Mak, 2019 pp. 81-105; Huijnk & Dagevos, 2015; Huijnk, 2016a). From that point onwards, concerns have increasingly been raised that these citizens are withdrawn into their own ethnic communities and that they do not share the ideal of the participation society, which is characterized by mutual trust and cooperation amongst all citizens to address and tackle societal problems (Huijnk & Dagevos, 2015; Huijnk, 2016a; Van Houwelingen et al., 2016). As the 21th century progressed these concerns have not subsided. In contrast – fuelled by the subsequent terrorist attacks that plagued Europe, the rise of the Islamic State, and the immigration crisis facing the European Union – these concerns have only gained in strength (Huijnk & Dagevos, 2015; Huijnk, 2016a).

Research shows that these concerns are, to some extent, not unwarranted. Numerous findings support the supposition that citizens with a non-Western immigrant background are less active in civil society, at least in the sector of formal volunteer work. Clark and Kim (2012) showed that ethnic and language heterogeneity are robustly correlated with lower volunteering rates in New Zealand. Furthermore, research shows that citizens with a non-Western immigrant background that are active as volunteers are predominantly, if not solely, active within organisations that are constituted of, and focus on, members of their own ethnic community (Pels, 2009; Van Bochove et al., 2009).

With respect to The Netherlands, the same concern seems to hold true as there is consistent empirical evidence that non-Western Dutch citizens are significantly less active in civil society. The percentage of citizens with a non-Western immigrant background that volunteer is about half of that of native citizens, roughly 20% versus 40% (Van Houwelingen et al., 2016; Dekker & De Hart 2009a; Klaver et al., 2005; Verheijen & Daal, 1999). Figure 1 below perfectly illustrates the abovementioned findings by comparing the degree of participation in civil society of native Dutch citizens with Dutch citizens from the four largest non-Western ethnic communities in The Netherlands in 2005. The volunteer rates in 2005 were 19% for the Turkish, 17% for the Moroccan, 22% for the Surinamese, and 23% for the Antillean communities. In contrast, around 41% of native Dutch citizens volunteered in 2005 (Dekker & De Hart, 2009a).
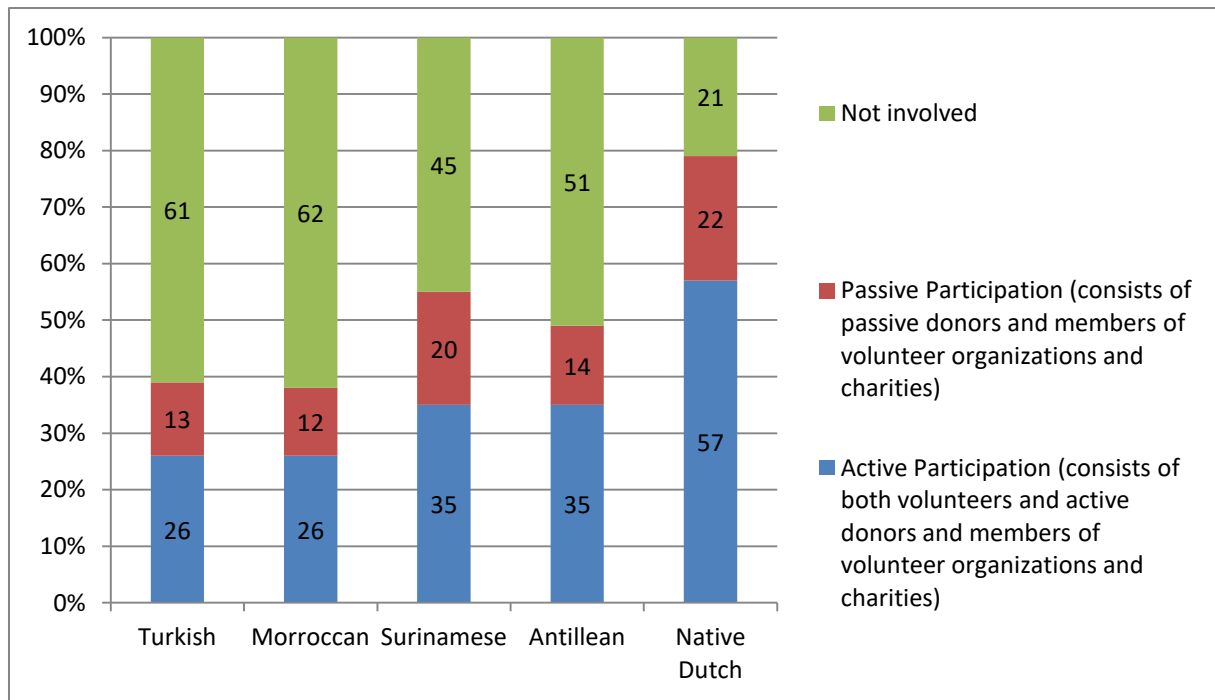
Figure 1. Civic Participation of Non-Western citizens and native Dutch citizens in 2005. Adapted from: Dekker & De Hart (2009a).

However, it should be noted that some findings indicate that the difference in the percentages of non-Western Dutch citizens and native Dutch citizens that provide informal care to neighbours and family is smaller or even non-existent (Verheijen & Daal, 1999; Pels, 2009; Van Houwelingen et al., 2016). Moreover, Pels (2009) speaks of a "grey area" that encompasses informal volunteer work that falls between informal care provided to family and formal volunteer work. The author argues that this kind of informal volunteer activities are often overlooked and undercounted by researchers.

Even though the abovementioned findings suggest that citizens with a non-Western immigrant background are quite active in the informal sphere of civil society, there is little doubt that they are significantly less active in formal volunteer organizations. A possible explanation for this is provided by Dekker & de Hart (2009a), who conclude that it is not a universally shared practice amongst different cultures to help strangers and to commit oneself to advancing the general interests or goals of society through formal volunteer work. Furthermore, research has identified numerous barriers preventing non-Western citizens from engaging in formal volunteer work, such as lower education levels, cultural differences, and a polarizing social climate and corresponding inter-ethnic tensions (Dagevos, 2001; Pels, 2003; Dekker & De Hart, 2009b; Pels, 2009; Huijnk et al., 2015; Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). A more detailed overview of all the barriers is provided in Appendix 1.

This lacking participation in civil society of non-Western Dutch citizens has increasingly become more problematic due to demographic changes. Over 13% of the Dutch population is classified as having a non-Western immigrant background (CBS StatLine, 2019). Furthermore, in recent years the growth in population has mostly been fuelled by immigration (CBS 2018), and as such it is expected that this percentage will increase in the future. Moreover, many Dutch citizens with a non-Western immigrant background are heavily concentrated in the four largest Dutch cities (Utrecht, The Hague, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam); this area is commonly referred to as the "Randstad". A third of the citizens of the Randstad have a non-Western immigrant background (Pels, 2009). Further illustrating this point, Nicolaas et al. (2010) report that more than half of the children under the age of 15 in Amsterdam and Rotterdam have a non-Western immigrant background. In The Hague this number is almost half of all the children, and in Utrecht it is one third. Finally, the areas in which most of these citizens are living have been characterized as vulnerable, and where the challenges of high levels of continuous immigration, a lack of socio-economic opportunities, and decreasing social cohesion are facing the residents (Pels, 2009). As a result, especially these areas would benefit the most from a well-functioning participation society and a strong formal volunteer sector. Hence, overlooking this segment of society has severe consequences.

As a result of this lacking participation regarding formal volunteer work of non-Western Dutch citizens, The Dutch government has taken steps to address this issue. Already during the mid-1990's some projects that aimed to involve non-Western citizens more with formal volunteer work had been put in place (Lindo et al, 1997). Further continuing this line, increasing the participation in civil society of these citizens, and bolstering their active citizenship, was a main pillar of the emancipation policy of the Dutch ministry of Social Services and Employment between 2006-2010 (SZW, 2006). The Dutch government has also taken symbolic measures to address this issue; newly naturalized citizens are required to sign a form declaring that they will be active citizens in society (Rijksoverheid, 2016).

Due to the abovementioned actions undertaken by the Dutch governments and the demographic changes that are taking place, it had been optimistically suggested that the volunteer rates of non-Western citizens would increase within a decade (Pels, 2009). Formal volunteer organisations would increasingly become more accommodating towards the cultural sensitivities of non-Western citizens – or so it was optimistically postulated – which would further stimulate inter-ethnic cooperation.

However, a sobering conclusion has to be made. The percentage of non-Western citizens that volunteered in 2015 has not increased with respect to 2005. It remains roughly

half of the percentage of native Dutch citizens that have volunteered in 2015 (Van Houwelingen et al., 2016).

The fact that the expected rise in volunteer rates has not occurred makes one wonder what has happened. The lack in the increase of volunteer rates is all the more surprising given that during the past decade the second generation has increased in size; for the largest non-Western communities the second generation makes up more than half of the total population (CBS StatLine, 2019). This then raises the question of what has prevented many of these second generation citizens, who have been born in The Netherlands, from participating in formal volunteer organizations (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). And likewise, the question of why many formal volunteer organizations have largely been unsuccessful in recruiting and retaining non-Western citizens is also raised. Could it, perhaps, be the case that when it comes to volunteering non-Western and native Dutch citizens have a completely different view?

Previous research has shown that institutional distance has an impact on the perception of volunteering, i.e., what kind of activities are perceived to be volunteering (Handy et al., 2000; Meijs et al., 2003; Peters, 2001). Hence, it could be the case that the low volunteer rate of non-Western Dutch citizens can be partly explained by differences in the perception regarding what kind of activities a volunteer ought to do. This paper will, therefore, aim to shed light on this matter. The research question of this study could, hence, be formulated as follows:

- *Research Question: Is there a difference in the perception of volunteering between Dutch citizens with a non-Western immigrant background and native Dutch citizens?*

By answering the research question, this paper will make an important contribution to the existing literature as it will delineate another potential barrier that could prevent non-Western Dutch citizens from engaging more actively within Dutch civil society.

Apart from the abovementioned theoretical relevance, this paper also has significant practical relevance. Formal volunteer organizations are increasingly facing difficulties in attracting enough volunteers (Brudney & Meijs, 2009). As such, the demographic changes in The Netherlands make it all the more imperative for volunteer organizations to start devising strategies with the aim of recruiting and retaining non-Western citizens. However, this seems to be an impossible endeavour if volunteer organisations have no idea how to approach non-Western citizens. The difficulties facing volunteer organizations in reaching out to non-Western citizens are only exacerbated by the lack of academic literature providing

recommendations regarding effective volunteer management practises that aim to deal with the problems arising out of a multicultural context (Randle & Donicar, 2009).

As such, by answering the research question this paper also aims to provide a starting point for formulating practical guidelines for organizations who aim to attract more non-Western volunteers and solidify their retention. If volunteer organizations would have a more detailed insight into what kind of activities are seen as volunteering amongst non-Western Dutch citizens, the organisations could for instance better tailor their assignments in conformity with the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens. Likewise, a more detailed insight into the perception of volunteering could also provide volunteer organizations with guidelines regarding marketing strategies, i.e., what aspects should be emphasized in marketing messages aimed towards non-Western citizens.

To conclude, the results of this paper have significant theoretical and practical consequences. Dutch citizens with a non-Western migrant background are a fast-growing, and already large, segment of the population, and are heavily populated in urban areas. Furthermore, they tend to volunteer less and if they do volunteer it is most likely within their own ethnic community. Therefore, the advantages for volunteer organizations who have a better insight into the perception of volunteering of these citizens are significant as they provide a starting point to better reach and retain volunteers from this fast-growing segment of society. Finally, a more detailed insight into the perception of volunteering of these citizens will help understand why their volunteer rate is – and remains – behind that of native Dutch citizens. Therefore the findings of this study will serve as a good starting point for further academic research.

This paper will answer the research question with the following structure. Following this introduction, a comprehensive literature review will flesh out the relation between social-cultural distance and the perception of volunteering. Subsequently, the literature review will discuss the main insights from the academic literature regarding assimilation patterns; it will be discussed to what extent people tend to assimilate to another country's culture and social network. Following this discussion, it will become apparent that a closer look regarding the current state of the social-cultural assimilation of non-Western citizens in The Netherlands is required. As such the literature review will conclude with the latest empirical findings within the field of social-cultural assimilation regarding non-Western Dutch citizens. The literature review will be followed by a delineation of the hypotheses and the methodology. Finally, the findings will be discussed and this paper will end with the discussion in which the key findings, limitations and fruitful avenues for further research will be summarized

2. Literature Review

The literature review will be structured as follows. Firstly, the relation between the perception of volunteering and social-cultural distance will be discussed. Secondly, key insights from the literature on assimilation patterns will be discussed in order to gain a more detailed insight into the process of social-cultural assimilation. It will be shown in this section that general predictions that apply to all non-Western ethnic communities are problematic. Instead, one has to take a closer look at the current state of social-cultural distance for each ethnic community specifically; this will be the aim of the third and final section.

2.1.Theoretical Insight: Perception of Volunteering and Social-Cultural Distance

Cnaan et al. (1996) undertook the first attempt to delineate the perception of volunteering. Research on the perception of volunteering had been initiated due to the difficulties that arise when trying to define volunteering, such as accurately estimating and comparing the size and (monetary) value of the voluntary sector within and between countries (Cnaan et al., 1996; Handy et al., 2000). Defining who is a volunteer, and what constitutes volunteering, is more difficult than it might seem at face value (Appendix 2 provides a more detailed oversight regarding the challenge of defining volunteering).

The authors argue that it is a matter of degree whether an activity is perceived as volunteer work. Similarly, it is also a matter of degree whether a person is perceived to be a volunteer. Cnaan et al. (1996) argue that the *net-cost theory* underlies this perception of volunteering. The net-costs theory postulates that someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer to the extent to which the activity in which the volunteer is participating involves a higher net-cost (Cnaan et al., 1996). The concept of net-costs reflects the degree to which the activity involves more costs than benefits. Of course, when participating in any volunteering activity the volunteer incurs costs such as effort spend and the opportunity costs of volunteering; the volunteer could also have spend his/her time on social or self-enhancing activities. Likewise, participating in a volunteering activity involves benefits, such as an increase in social reputation, experience and knowledge gained from participating, and of course the genuine pleasure derived from the activity itself. Hence, according to the net-cost theory, someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer – or a activity is perceived to be a higher degree of volunteering – the higher the incurred net-costs.

Furthermore, Cnaan et al. (1996) argue that whether an activity is perceived to entail more costs than benefits is dependent on four dimensions (See Figure 2). The authors postulate that an activity is perceived to have higher net-costs the more the volunteer engages in the activity out of free will, receives no remuneration, the activity takes place within a formal setting, i.e., within the context of an organization, and the more the activity aids complete strangers.

Dimension	Categories
Free choice	1. Free will (the ability to voluntarily choose)
	2. Relatively uncoerced
	3. Obligation to volunteer
Remuneration	1. None at all
	2. None expected
	3. Expenses reimbursed
	4. Stipend/low pay
Structure	1. Formal
	2. Informal
Intended beneficiaries	1. Benefit/help others/strangers
	2. Benefit/help friends or relatives
	3. Benefit oneself (as well)

Figure 2. Dimensions underlying volunteer perception. Source: Cnaan et al. (1996, p. 371)

Cnaan et al. (1996) found empirical support for the net-costs theory in their study that took place within the USA. Subsequent studies confirmed that the net-costs theory remains valid outside of the American context; the theory was also supported in Canada, The Netherlands, India, Italy, Belgium, Germany, and Israel (Handy et al., 2000; Meijs et al., 2003). Hence, it seems that across cultures people are perceived to be more of a volunteer the higher the incurred net-costs.

Nonetheless, the abovementioned cross-cultural similarity does not invalidate the influence that cultural differences have on the perception of volunteering. The cultural context plays a major role regarding how the net-costs of an activity are perceived across countries (Handy et al., 2000). To illustrate this point, consider an accountant who decided to commit 250 hours to community service in lieu of facing prosecution as a result of embezzlement charges. In their survey Handy et al. (2000) asked the participants to rate whether they deemed this accountant a volunteer or not. In all the countries the account was rated with the lowest possible score, with India being the sole exception. Now, it would be rash to immediately dismiss the net-costs theory based on this anomaly. As Handy et al. (2000) point out, cultural differences play a major role here. In India, the accountant was seen as more of a volunteer than in the other countries since it is customary in India for an accountant to be able

to avoid receiving a jail sentence in the first place. Hence, in the context of Indian culture, the accountant clearly incurs more costs than benefits by accepting community service in lieu of facing legal prosecution. As such, the net-costs theory is a valid measurement of the perception of volunteering but cultural differences can account for differences in how the net-costs facing a volunteer are perceived.

However, Peters (2001) has shown that not all the differences in the perceptions of volunteering between countries can be attributed to cultural differences. Peters (2001) analyzed the relationship between differences in the perceptions of volunteering with the degree of cultural difference between the countries. Although some patterns were found, the findings proved inconsistent and as such cultural differences could not explain all the differences in the perceptions of volunteering between countries.

As such, Peters (2001) argues that some deviation in the perceptions of volunteering between countries arise out of differences in how certain practices are organized. For example, the person who volunteers for a pharmaceutical study is considered to be less of a volunteer in Germany than in other countries. Of course, this could be explained by a difference in culture were it not for the fact that the person was also considered to be significantly less of a volunteer in countries who exhibit a significant cultural similarity to Germany, such as The Netherlands. Peters (2001) argues that a possible explanation for this discrepancy is that in Germany participants of pharmaceutical studies are customarily paid, whereas in The Netherlands they are not. As such, how practices are organized also have an influence on the perception of net-costs, and thus on the perception of volunteering.

It could be argued that how certain practices are organized is always dependent on culture, and that therefore cultural differences can, after all, explain all the differences in perceptions of volunteering between countries. However, this line of argumentation stretches the explanatory power of culture. Of course, presence of a particular culture can explain why certain practices are not common or existent in some countries. However, it is an entirely different matter to argue that every practice in society is the direct result of that society's culture; path dependency also plays a role. Certain historic, legal or organisational decisions also explain why certain practices are organized as they currently are. For example, the fact that participants of pharmaceutical studies receive remuneration for their time could be an idiosyncratic element of Germanic culture, or it could be the result of certain decisions in the past that still have an impact on how practices are organized to this day. The former explanation has trouble accounting for the fact why the practice does not take place in countries with a similar Germanic culture, such as The Netherlands, whereas the latter does

not. Therefore, it could be argued that aside from cultural differences, differences in how practices are organized also give rise to different perceptions of volunteering between countries.

Hence, it could be concluded that the *institutional context* is the key determinant of the differences in perceptions of volunteering between countries. After all, the institutional context both encompasses cultural differences and differences in how things are organized. The degree of institutional distance is thus the key determinant that gives rise to different perceptions of volunteering.

To conclude, in defining to what degree activities should be recognized as volunteer work, and who should be recognized as a volunteer, the net-costs theory is a validated theorem that holds across cultures and countries. As such, it follows that the net-costs theory also underlies the perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens. Hence, the first hypothesis that will be tested in this paper could be formulated as follows:

- Hypothesis 1: The perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens is conform the net-costs theory.

Although Handy et al. (2000) and Meijs et al. (2003) have already researched the perceptions of volunteering across several countries, research regarding different perceptions of volunteering within a multicultural society still has to be done. This will be the aim of this paper. This raises the question of how one can measure the degree of institutional distance between members of different ethnic communities within the same country. The academic literature has traditionally focused on the degree of *social-cultural distance* between non-Western Dutch citizens with an immigrant background and native Dutch citizens to assess to what extent these citizens live in different worlds (Huijnk et al., 2015; Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). This paper will do the same, and as such the degree of institutional distance of non-Western citizens with respect to native Dutch citizens will be measured and expressed by their respective social-cultural distance. Since this paper substitutes institutional distance with social-cultural distance, a second hypothesis can be formulated:

- Hypothesis 2: Social-cultural distance with respect to Dutch society results in a different perception of volunteering than that of native Dutch citizens.

2.2. Setting the Context: assimilation patterns and social-cultural distance

The previous section highlighted the importance of a coherent into processes that guide social-cultural assimilation if a better understanding of the difference between the perceptions

of volunteering of non-Western and native Dutch citizens is to be achieved. This will be the aim of this section.

The field of cross-cultural psychology has repeatedly shown that culture guides behaviour and that immigrants generally prefer to retain the culture of their home country when moving to the receiving country (Berry, 1997). As such, it is to be expected that newly arrived citizens initially display different behaviour than native citizens. However, when taking the long term into consideration, it still remains unclear how immigrant groups tend to adapt over time. It remains especially unclear how the second generation – citizens whose parents have been immigrants but who have been born in the receiving country – tend to adapt; will they adapt their behaviour according to their ethnic groups' cultural expectations of will they increasingly behave according to their home country's cultural expectations?

Classical assimilation theory – which is a set of theories developed within the context of the immigration of Europeans to the USA that took place early 20$^{\text{th}}$ century – has been the first to provide an answer (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). Although the separate theories that have been classified as belonging to classical assimilation theory provide different explanatory mechanisms, their key findings are alike. According to classical assimilation theory, social-cultural assimilation into the mainstream society of the receiving country is inevitable over time (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). Social-cultural assimilation refers to immigrants merging into the "mainstream" society of the receiving country, and as such it implies that immigrants will change their behaviour according to the receiving country's cultural expectations and will emerge themselves socially within the majority group (Alba & Nee, 1997). Furthermore, classical assimilation theory postulates that generations are the motor driving social-cultural assimilation; this notion is commonly referred to as straight-line assimilation (Gans, 1973). Hence, every generation advances and reaches a new stage of assimilation, and as such every generation is further removed from ethnic "ground zero" (Alba & Nee, 1997, p.832). A more detailed overview of classical assimilation theory is provided in Appendix 3.

If classical assimilation theory is valid than the relevance of this paper is significantly diminished. After all, if the social-cultural distance will inevitably fade away over time and especially per generation, it follows that the differences in the perceptions of volunteering between non-Western Dutch citizens and native Dutch citizen will become significantly smaller. As such, governments and volunteer organizations might as well choose to ride out the current problems and sit back for the inevitable increase of the participation in civil society of non-Western Dutch citizens.

However, the notion that social-cultural assimilation progresses in a clear-cut manner has been the subject of intense criticism as numerous empirical findings contradict the notion of straight-line assimilation. Several non-Western communities in the USA, for instance, display a high degree of social-cultural distance with respect to mainstream American society, even after they have lived for several generations in the USA (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997).

As a response to the above-mentioned critic, Portes & Zhou (1993) formulated another perspective regarding social-cultural assimilation over time, namely segmented assimilation theory. In a nutshell, segmented assimilation theory postulates that aside from the aforementioned social-cultural assimilation into the mainstream society of the receiving country, two other outcomes are possible. Immigrant communities can over time retain and hold onto their original culture and identity, and limit their social interaction primarily with members of their own ethnic community. Alternatively, the second and subsequent immigrant generations can display *downwards* social-cultural assimilation. Instead of assimilating into the mainstream society of the receiving country, subsequent immigrant generations can assimilate into a negative counter-culture that rejects the mainstream society of the receiving country. A perfect example is the emergence of street gangs and the corresponding counter-culture. As such, immigrants can assimilate over time and deviate from their original cultural behaviour and identity but they will still display a significant social-cultural distance with respect to the mainstream society of the receiving country (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

As such, the critic of classical assimilation theory provided by segmented assimilation theory results in two key implications regarding this paper. Firstly, it underlines the relevance of this paper, in contrast to classical assimilation theory. Indeed, if it is not necessarily the case that the second and subsequent generations of immigrant groups exhibit social-cultural assimilation into mainstream society, researching the differences in the perception of volunteering between non-Western Dutch citizens and Dutch citizens remains relevant as these differences will not necessarily resolve itself.

Hence, the literature review of assimilation patterns seems to indicate that non-Western Dutch citizens exhibit at least some degree of social-cultural distance with respect to mainstream Dutch society. Recall that the second hypothesis of this paper states that social-cultural distance results in a different perception of volunteering than that of native Dutch citizens. Hence, it seems that the literature review supports a sub-hypothesis corresponding tot the second hypothesis:

- Hypothesis 2a: There is a difference in the perception of volunteering between non-Western Dutch citizens and native Dutch citizens.

The second key implication of segmented assimilation theory is that the theory makes the case against general assumptions regarding the social-cultural assimilation into mainstream society of immigrant communities; generations are not necessarily the key driver behind social-cultural assimilation. Each non-Western ethnic community has their own idiosyncratic social-cultural assimilation trajectory (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Hence, if this paper aims to get more coherent view of the degree of social-cultural distance and its development over time of the non-Western communities in The Netherlands, it will need to do so for each community separately. This will be the aim of the next section.

2.3. Social-cultural Distance in The Netherlands: A closer look

This section will assess the degree of social-cultural distance with respect to mainstream Dutch society of non-Western Dutch citizens. The social-cultural position of immigrant communities in the receiving country has often been measured through three dimensions, namely the emotional, social, and cultural dimension (Portes & Zhou, 1993; Alba & Nee, 1997; Huijnk, 2015a; Dagevos et al., 2016). The emotional dimension refers to the degree to which immigrants identify with the receiving society and their own ethnic community; do immigrants feel more connected to the receiving country or to their own ethnic community? The social dimension captures to what extent immigrants maintain social connections with the native citizens of the receiving country. Lastly, the cultural dimension measures to what extent immigrants agree with the key cultural values of the receiving country. In the case of the Netherlands, examples of key cultural values are the equality of men and women, equal rights for members of the LHBT-community, and separation between church and state (Huijnk, 2015a; Dagevos et al., 2016).

In the Netherlands extensive empirical research has been undertaken regarding these three dimensions for the four largest non-Western immigrant communities; these are respectively the Moroccan, Antillean, Surinamese, and Turkish communities (Huijnk, 2015a; Dagevos et al., 2016). As illustrated in Table 1, these four communities taken together make up more than half of the total non-Western population in The Netherlands (7,68% versus 5,70% of a total of 13,38%).[1]

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[1] The largest non-Western immigrant community, apart from the aforementioned, is the Chinese community, which had a population of roughly 69.000 in 2016. Furthermore, other large groups are predominantly

Furthermore, as shown in the table, the second generation of these communities has become larger in size than the first generation; the Antillean community being the sole exception. Moreover, the four largest groups have arrived here during the 1960's and 1970's and as such the first generation has lived in The Netherlands for quite some time (Veenman, 2002). This further provides a key rationale to focus on these communities. It would after all not be a surprise to find out that the perception of volunteering of the recently arrived immigrant communities is different with respect to that of the native Dutch citizens. As such, by focusing on these four communities a comprehensive picture regarding the social-cultural distance of non-Western citizens in The Netherlands can be achieved.

	Moroccan	Antillean	Surinamese	Turkish	Other non-Western	Total
First Generation	170.357	86.517	176.564	193.698	657.602	1.284.738
First Generation, percentage of total Dutch population	0,99%	0,50%	1,02%	1,12%	3,81%	7,43%
Second Generation	232.135	74.748	177.345	216.179	326.722	1.027.129
Second Generation, percentage of total Dutch population	1,34%	0,43%	1,03%	1,25%	1,89%	5,94%
Total	402.492	161.265	353.909	409.877	984.324	2.311.867
Total, percentage of total Dutch population	2,33%	0,93%	2,05%	2,37%	5,70%	13,38%

Table 1. Non-Western population of The Netherlands in 2019. Source: CBS StatLine, 2019.

With respect to the Turkish and Moroccan communities, it does seem that a substantial part of the citizens of these communities exhibit limited assimilation with respect to the three dimensions. Huijnk (2015b) report that 20% of Turkish and 15% of Moroccan Dutch citizens

immigrants who arrived rather recently in The Netherlands as refugees. Some examples are Afghans (44.000), Somalis (39.000), and Iraqis (38.000) (Huijnk, et al., 2016a).

display significant social-cultural distance with respect to mainstream Dutch society; they are categorized as being segregated and it seems that this segment lives in a parallel society with respect to mainstream Dutch society. Although the first generation is overrepresented in this segment labelled as being segregated, 5% of the second generation Turkish and Moroccan citizens are also grouped into this category. This might seem like a small number but it should be emphasised that this implies that thousands of relatively young Moroccan and Turkish citizens who have been born in The Netherlands live in a parallel society; they do not identify as belonging to mainstream Dutch society, and they have little to no social relations with native Dutch citizens.

While the majority of Turkish and Moroccan citizens are not categorized as being segregated from mainstream Dutch society by Huijnk (2015b), the degree of social-cultural assimilation is limited for these communities. The first generation generally feels strongly emotionally connected to their own ethnic community and not at all, or only limited, to mainstream Dutch society. Whereas the second generation increasingly feels more connected to the Netherlands, this is often coupled with a slightly stronger emotional attachment towards their own ethnic community (Huijnk, 2015b; Dagevos et al., 2016). With respect to the cultural dimension, the second generation of these communities shows more support for the key Dutch cultural values than the first generation. However, the second generation still shows substantial less support for the key Dutch cultural values than native Dutch citizens (Dagevos et al., 2016).

While it seems that the second generation exhibits cultural and emotional assimilation – albeit limited – the same does not seem to be true regarding social assimilation. Although the percentage of Moroccan and Turkish citizens who never associate with native Dutch citizens has decreased over the years, the percentage that frequently associates with native Dutch citizens in their spare time has not increased during the past two decades. Roughly only 25% of Turkish and Moroccan citizens frequently associate with native Dutch citizens in their spare time and the majority tends to spend most time with citizens who have the same ethnic background (Dagevos et al., 2016; Huijnk, 2015b). This is further illustrated by the rate of inter-ethnic marriages of the citizens of these communities. The majority of Turkish and Moroccan citizens tend to marry someone with a similar ethnic background; these citizens used to marry a partner from the country of origin but increasingly marriages take place with a partner born in The Netherlands but from the same ethnic community. Only 10% of citizens from these non-Western communities marry a native Dutch citizen; this percentage has remained stable for over roughly 15 years (Dagevos, et al., 2016). The fact that both inter-

ethnic friendships and marriages have not increased over a lengthy period of time seems to indicate that the second generation also exhibits a high degree of social distance with respect to native Dutch citizens and that hardly any social assimilation has occurred.

In contrast to the Turkish and Moroccan communities, the Antillean and Surinamese communities display less social-cultural distance with respect to mainstream Dutch society. This is highlighted by the fact that hardly any Antillean and Surinamese citizens are categorized as being segregated from Dutch society (Huijnk, 2015b). Furthermore, although the first generation citizens of these communities show less support for the key Dutch cultural values than native Dutch citizens, the first generation still shows more support than both the first and second generation Turkish and Moroccan citizens. The second generation Antillean and Surinamese citizens exhibit no cultural distance at all (Dagevos et al., 2016). With respect to the emotional dimension, it seems that the first generation Antillean and Surinamese citizens display a pattern similar to the second generation Turkish and Moroccan citizens; the majority feels connected to the Netherlands but this is often coupled with an at least equally strong emotional attachment to their own ethnic community. The second generation citizens increasingly feel mostly connected to Dutch society and emotional attachment towards their own community is decreasing over time. Nonetheless, a substantial part of the second generation feels connected to some extent to their own ethnic community (Dagevos et al., 2016).

However, regarding social assimilation a situation similar to that of the Turkish and Moroccan communities can be identified. Over a roughly 20-year period, the percentage of Antillean and Surinamese citizens that frequently associate with native Dutch citizens in their spare time has remained a little under 50%. Although this percentage is almost double that regarding Turkish and Moroccan citizens, there has also been no increase (Dagevos et al., 2016). Hence, a small majority of Surinamese and Antillean citizens prefer to engage in close social relations and friendships with fellow non-Western citizens, and mostly with citizens with a similar ethnic background. Similarly, the rate of inter-ethnic marriages has remained stable over a 15-year period. Roughly 45% of Antillean citizens, and 30% of Surinamese citizens, marry with a native Dutch citizen. Again, although this percentage is significantly larger than that of Turkish and Moroccan citizens, this percentage similarly has not changed over a lengthy period of time (Dagevos, et al., 2016). Hence, it seems that second generation Antillean and Surinamese citizens have assimilated to some degree to mainstream Dutch society regarding the cultural and emotional dimension. However, social assimilation does not seem to have taken place, both for the first and second generation.

A possible explanation for why all the four communities have witnessed emotional and cultural assimilation but no social assimilation could be provided by taking a more detailed look into the cultural dimension. The cultural dimension measures core Dutch mainstream cultural values, such as equality of men and women, and equality of LHBT citizens. Cultural assimilation measured as such does not imply that everyday cultural behaviour is also becoming more similar to that of native Dutch citizens. As such, the everyday cultural behaviour of non-Western citizens such as dress codes, daily habitual conducts, and communication styles could still significantly differ from those of native Dutch citizens. This could explain why social assimilation has not improved since there is strong empirical evidence that people tend to socialize more with others that are perceived to be similar (Weijters & Scheepers, 2003; Osbeck & Moghaddam, 1997).

To conclude, it seems that the Antillean and Surinamese communities exhibit significantly less social-cultural distance to mainstream Dutch society than Turkish and Moroccan citizens. This holds true for both the first and second generation citizens of these communities. As such, another sub-hypothesis of the second hypothesis that will be tested in this paper could be formulated:

- *Hypothesis 2b: The difference in the perceptions of volunteering between the Antillean and Surinamese citizens, and native Dutch citizens is smaller than the difference in the perceptions of volunteering between the Moroccan and Turkish citizens, and native Dutch citizens.*

Whereas the review of the empirical findings points to a clear difference in social-cultural distance between ethnic communities, uncertainty remains whether social-cultural assimilation is driven by generational differences. On the one hand, the second generation of all four non-Western communities display less emotional and cultural distance to mainstream Dutch society than the first generation. However, little seems to have changed regarding the social dimension. As such, the question of which dimension has the greatest impact on social-cultural distance arises. If the emotional and cultural dimensions are the key determinants of social-cultural distance, it follows that the social-cultural distance between second generation non-Western citizens and native Dutch citizens has decreased with respect to the social-cultural distance between the first generation non-Western citizens and native Dutch citizens. Therefore, the supposition that the perception of volunteering of the second generation non-Western citizens diverges less from the perception of native Dutch citizens than the perception of the first generation non-Western citizens seems valid.

However, it has been argued that social assimilation is key to reduce social-cultural distance between immigrants and the receiving country's native citizens. More specifically, it has been argued that although cultural and emotional assimilation are a necessary first step to achieve social assimilation, it is primarily social assimilation that decreases social-cultural distance between citizens within a society (Park 1930; 1950, Gordon, 1964; Shibutani & Kwan, 1965). Therefore, given the fact that there has hardly been any social assimilation regarding the second generation, the following hypothesis can be formulated:

- *Hypothesis 2c: The difference in the perception of volunteering between second generation non-Western citizens, and native Dutch citizens is the **same as** the difference in the perception of volunteering between first generation non-Western citizens, and native Dutch citizens.*

Hence, it seems that a closer look at the social dimension and the lack of social assimilation seems to confirm a key theorem of the segmented assimilation theory: generations do not necessarily drive social-cultural assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993). Although second generation citizens are overrepresented in the category of non-Western citizens who exhibit a lot of social-cultural assimilation, this can fully be explained by the fact that second generation citizens tend to have a higher education and proficiency of the Dutch language (Dagevos et al., 2016). It thus seems that the level of education, and not generational differences, is the key driver behind social-cultural assimilation and the corresponding decrease in social-cultural distance of non-Western citizens with respect to native Dutch citizens. This is further supported by Van Bochove et al. (2009) who in their study of non-Western *middle class* citizens found that these highly educated citizens volunteer just as much as middle class native Dutch citizens. As such, the final hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

- *Hypothesis 2d: The difference in the perception of volunteering between highly educated non-Western citizens, and native Dutch citizens is smaller than the difference in the perception of volunteering between non-Western citizens with little education, and native Dutch citizens.*

3. Study: Research Question, Hypotheses, and Conceptual Model

This section will recap the research question and the hypotheses. Furthermore the conceptual model that will be tested in this paper will be illustrated. As aforementioned, the research question of this study could be formulated as:

- Research Question: Is there a difference in the perception of volunteering between Dutch citizens with a non-Western immigrant background and native Dutch citizens?

In order to answer this research question, the literature review identified two hypotheses that will be tested in this paper; these are listed below in Table 2. Furthermore, they are schematically represented in the conceptual model (See Figure 3).

Research Question: Is there a difference in the perception of volunteering between Dutch citizens with a non-Western immigrant background and native Dutch citizens?	
Hypothesis 1	The perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens is conform the net-costs theory.
Hypothesis 2	Social-cultural distance with respect to Dutch society results in a different perception of volunteering than that of native Dutch citizens.
	a. There is a difference in the perception of volunteering between non-Western Dutch citizens and native Dutch citizens.
	b. The difference in the perception of volunteering between the Antillean and Surinamese citizens, and native Dutch citizens is smaller than the difference in the perception of volunteering between the Moroccan and Turkish citizens, and native Dutch citizens.
	c. The difference in the perception of volunteering between second generation non-Western citizens, and native Dutch citizens is the **same as** the difference in the perception of volunteering between first generation non-Western citizens, and native Dutch citizens.
	d. The difference in the perception of volunteering between highly educated non-Western citizens, and native Dutch citizens is smaller than the difference in the perception of volunteering between non-Western citizens with little education, and native Dutch citizens.

Table 2. Research question and hypotheses. Source: This Study.

The analysis of these two hypotheses will provide an answer to the research question. If accepted, the first hypothesis will confirm that the net-costs theory underlies the perception of non-Western Dutch citizens, just as it does in the case of the perception of volunteering of native Dutch citizens. The second hypothesis, if accepted, will confirm that despite the fact that the net-costs theory potentially underlies the perception of non-Western Dutch citizens,

there is still a difference in the perception of volunteering with respect to native Dutch citizens. Indeed, the literature review has shown that despite the fact that the net-costs theory underlies the perception of volunteering, social-cultural differences can give rise to a different perception of the net-costs underlying an activity. As such, differences can exist between groups regarding to what degree an activity is perceived to be a volunteering activity.

More specifically, the second hypothesis is split into four sub-hypotheses that, when accepted, will confirm the influence that social-cultural distance has on the perception of volunteering. As the literature has identified that non-Western Dutch citizens do exhibit social-cultural distance with respect to mainstream Dutch society, hypothesis 2a will test whether the implication of the second hypothesis is true and whether there is a difference in the perception of volunteering.

Furthermore, it follows that if social-cultural distance leads to a different perception of volunteering, groups that have a greater of degree of social-cultural distance exhibit greater differences in their perception of volunteering when compared to native Dutch citizens. Hypotheses 2b, 2c, and 2d will test this implication. The literature review has indicated that Antillean and Surinamese citizens exhibit less social-cultural distance than Moroccan and Turkish citizens. As such, it is to be expected that the perception of volunteering of the former group of citizens exhibits less difference with respect to the perception of native Dutch citizens than the perception of volunteering of the latter group. The same line of argumentation is applied in hypothesis 2d; the literature review has shown that higher educated non-Western citizens exhibit less social-cultural distance than non-Western citizens with little education. Finally, the literature review has shown that second generation citizens do not necessarily exhibit less social-cultural distance than the first generation. As such, it follows that second generation non-Western Dutch citizens exhibit the same degree of difference in their perception of volunteering compared to native Dutch citizens as the first generation non-Western citizens. Hypothesis 2c will attempt to confirm this.
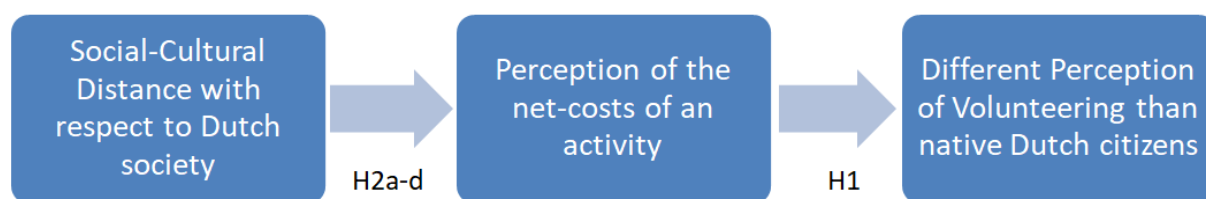
Figure 3. Conceptual Model. Source: This Study.

This section has provided a detailed overview of all the hypotheses and how they fit in the conceptual model. The next section will delineate how this study will test these hypotheses and subsequently answer the research question.

4. Methodology

This section will delineate the methodology that has been used in this paper to answer the research question and test the formulated hypotheses. Firstly, the research approach will be discussed. Secondly, the data collection process will be highlighted, followed by a discussion of the methodology used in the data analysis and in the testing of the hypotheses.

4.1. Research approach

In order to answer the abovementioned research question, this paper will apply a quantitative research approach. The aim of this paper is to assess whether there is a difference in the perception of volunteering between non-Western Dutch citizens and native Dutch citizens. This paper does not, however, aim to explain how one can measure the perception of volunteering, or what the underlying dimensions are. As aforementioned, this paper will follow the theorem of the net-costs theory, namely that the higher the net-costs, the more someone is perceived as a volunteer (Cnaan et al., 1996). As such, this paper will apply an already validated measurement of the perception of volunteering that has been developed by Handy et al. (2000) based on the qualitative work of Cnaan et al. (1996). Handy et al. (2000) formulated a 50-item questionnaire in order to measure the perception of volunteering; the items are formulated in order to test the net-costs theory. This paper will thus replicate an already validated measurement of the perception of volunteering in the Dutch multicultural setting that has yet to be researched. Hence, this study will not build new theory but rather expand on the current theory as the implications of the net-costs theory are tested in a new setting. Therefore, a quantitative approach is more appropriate than a qualitative research approach (Bansal & Corley, 2012; Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007; Pratt, 2009; Dobrovolny & Fuentes, 2008).

Although a quantitative research approach is applied, this study will also incorporate a research technique that is part of the qualitative research approach, namely semi-structured interviews (See Appendix 4 for interview questions). The insights derived from these interviews will be used in fine-tuning the measurement of the perception of volunteering formulated by Handy et al. (2000). The insights from the interviews will be used to enable a

proper cultural sensitive translation of the questionnaire from English to Dutch. The respondents in this paper are non-Western Dutch citizens and as such additional attention has been paid to ensure that all the statements in the questionnaire are understandable to these citizens. For example, names of formal volunteer organisations that operate in the USA have been used in the questionnaire of Handy et al. (2000) in order to test the implications of the net-costs theory. However, some of these names might be unfamiliar to non-Western Dutch citizens and these citizens might also be unfamiliar with similar Dutch volunteer organizations due to their social-cultural distance to mainstream Dutch society. Unfamiliarity is not the only cultural issue. Some of the statements in the original survey of Handy et al. (2000) described situations that might be appropriate for Western citizens but that would have only led to incomprehension and possible even feelings of rejection amongst some non-Western citizens. For instance, in several statements it is described that someone participates in an activity to impress a date. This might seem relatable to most Western citizens but possibly not so much to, for example, Turkish and Moroccan Dutch citizens who tend to be quite religious and as such marry young and could have a negative opinion regarding casually dating. As such, different possible translations will be discussed regarding their appropriateness during the interviews.

Furthermore, the 50-item questionnaire developed by Handy et al. (2000) has not been developed with the purpose of measuring differences in the perceptions of volunteering between different and immigrant generations within Dutch society. As this paper will aim to do so, the insights from these interviews will be applied in order to construct additional items to better measure these differences.

Finally, semi-structured interviews have been preferred over unstructured and structured interviews. The main rationale is that during each interview several issues had to be discussed in order to derive the desired insights and to allow for comparability. However, some freedom to deviate from the key topic was provided to the interviewees in order to allow for unexpected insights.

4.2. Data Collection

The participants for the structured interviews were selected using purposive sampling. Invitations were sent to potential participants who had been judged as being able to provide key insights. A significant drawback of purposive sampling is that it is non-probabilistic (Cooper and Schindler, 2014; Saunders et al., 2009). However, this has not been regarded as a major issue as the results of the interviews are not required to be representative of all non-

Western citizens. Nonetheless, the majority of the invitations were sent to citizens who have a Turkish, Moroccan, Antillean, or Surinamese background in order to guarantee that the derived insights would apply to the largest non-Western communities in The Netherlands.

Furthermore, the key criteria that had been applied in the selection process was that the respondents should be knowledgeable regarding their own ethnic community, and should be able to reflect on generational differences and on the appropriateness of the suggested Dutch translation of the survey. As such, invitations were sent to young, highly educated, and second generation non-Western citizens who have had prior experience with volunteer work. Moreover, invitations were exclusively sent to second generation citizens whose parents both have a non-Western background. It was expected that citizens that adhered to the abovementioned criteria are the most able to provide in-depth knowledge regarding the perceptions of volunteering in their respective ethnic communities. Twenty invitations had been send in total.

Regarding distributing the survey, both the convenience and snowball sampling techniques were used. Invitations to participate in the research by further distributing the survey were sent by e-mail to over a hundred representatives of non-Western religious groups and to representatives of volunteer organizations that predominantly focus on and are constituted of non-Western citizens. Furthermore, the representatives were also contacted by phone if they did not initially respond to the e-mail. Moreover, the survey was distributed within the personal network of the author. Respondents were given the option to either fill out an online survey or fill out a paper version, in which case the author would visit them or their organization in person.

A main drawback of the convenience and snowball sampling techniques is that they are non-probabilistic, which decreases the validity of drawing inferences for the entire population from the sample (Cooper and Schindler, 2014; Saunders et al., 2009). In contrast to selecting the participants for the interviews, the use of non-random sampling techniques regarding the survey is an issue that requires some mitigation since the respondents should be as representative as possible of the total non-Western Dutch population in order to draw valid conclusions.

As such, great attention had been paid in selecting the organizations to which the invitation were sent. Firstly, most of the invitations were sent to organizations that consists mostly of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean citizens. Furthermore, it had been attempted to send roughly the same amount of invitations to organizations that consist of, or focus on, second generation citizens, and to organizations focusing on first generation

citizens. This is necessary since the size of the second generation has grown to the same size of that of the first generation (See Table 1). Moreover, although the invitations were sent to representatives, it was requested that they also distribute the survey to not only their fellow volunteers but also to the beneficiaries of their organizations. Non-Western citizens that volunteer are of course not representative of the entire non-Western Dutch population; this is exactly what has sparked this research. Furthermore, invitations were also sent to non-Western churches and mosques in order to better approximate random sampling.

Finally, another mitigation is that the researcher included the option in the invitation to visit the organisations, churches, mosques, and community centres in person to help the respondents fill out the paper survey. The rationale is that a substantial proportion of first generation citizens have a lower proficiency of the Dutch language, and as such many of them might have been unable to fill out the survey without assistance (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Furthermore, digital illiteracy to fill out an online survey could also play a role. It could be the case that many of the older citizens might experience significant problems when filling out an online survey by themselves. The risk is that by just relying on a passive approach – meaning that the researcher would only distribute the online survey without actively helping respondents – could further decrease representativeness.

Finally, it should be mentioned that the invitations were mostly sent to organisations that focus on non-Western citizens who have either been born in The Netherlands or who have resided in the country for quite some time. The rationale behind this decision is that it would of course not be a surprise to report that the perception of volunteering of newly arrived and naturalized non-Western Dutch citizens is different from native Dutch citizens. Some invitations were, nonetheless, sent to organizations that support asylum seekers or newly naturalized citizens. However, it had been made clear that the survey should be filled out only by non-Western citizens who have lived in The Netherlands for a long time. These organizations were contacted since it is not uncommon for non-Western citizens who have lived in The Netherlands for a lengthy period of time to volunteer or work at these organization as, for example, translators or mentors.

4.3 Insights from the interviews

Before the methodology used in the data analysis will be delineated, the results of the interviews will be briefly highlighted. The insights of the interviews have been used to adapt the 50-item questionnaire of Handy et al. (2000), and have therefore influenced the methodology.

In total, 5 participants have been recruited for the interviews (See appendix 4 for the interview questions, and appendix 5 for the interview guide). This number was judged to be sufficient since the interviews are not intended to answer a qualitative research question or to provide a representative indication of the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens; the interviews have been applied as a means to fine-tune the measurement of Handy et al. (2000). The background of the participants respectively are: Moroccan, Iraqi, Pakistani-Turkish, and Surinamese (2). As such, with the exception of the Antillean community, all major non-Western communities have been represented as well as the Muslim community in The Netherlands. Based on the interviews, which lasted approximately 40-50 minutes each, the survey has been translated and great care has been taken regarding cultural sensitivity (See appendix 6).

Furthermore, Table 3 summarizes the key insights derived from the interviews. Note that in Table 3 the insights derived from the interviews with the Iraqi, Moroccan and Pakistani-Turkish citizens have been grouped together under the category of "Islamic community". The findings from these three citizens showed significant overlaps, and as such it has been concluded that when it comes to volunteering, Dutch Muslims display significant similarity despite having different ethnic backgrounds. This finding has also been supported by all three participants.

Community:	Key insights regarding generational differences:
Surinamese Community	- Most first generation citizens tend to have a negative view of formal volunteer work. They reason that one should spend his/her time studying or working, and any spare time can best be spend helping your family. As such, the first generation does not put a lot of value on helping strangers, and engaging in formal volunteer work is often regarded with incomprehension. In contrast, the second generation has, generally speaking, more appreciation for volunteer work. - Someone who helps the local community by, for instance, providing a helping hand at the local community centre, church, mosque, or sport club is often not seen as a volunteer. Family ties are strong and as such helping the local community is often the same as helping your family. This holds true for both the first and second generation.
Islamic community	- In contrast to the Surinamese community, most first generation Muslim citizens are positive regarding volunteer work and perceive it as important. There is,

however, a clear hierarchy regarding what types of volunteer work are perceived as more important and as such are more encouraged. Volunteer work that aids those in dire need is perceived as the most important type of volunteering. Especially activities that aid refugees are seen as volunteering of a higher degree; the fact that many refugees are fellow Muslims does play a role. It is often encouraged by Islam to help fellow Muslims. This is, furthermore, highlighted by volunteer work that involves more mundane aid. This is not seen as volunteering, unless it is directed towards fellow Muslims. Participating in volunteer work that is not directed towards their own community is often not perceived as volunteer work as it is assumed that most native Dutch citizens already have a high quality of living. As such, the first generation argues that one could better spend his/her time helping fellow Muslims. The second generation diverges from the perception of the first generation, and increasingly values volunteer work that supports a cause that transcends community boundaries, such as climate change, equal rights, and education.

Table 3. Key Insights Interviews. Source: This Study.

Interestingly, the insights from the interviews seem to indicate that there are generational differences for non-Western communities regarding the perception of volunteering. This clearly contradicts hypothesis 2c that postulates that generation has no influence. As such, in order to test hypothesis 2c more adequately, ten additional items have been formulated for which it is expected that the first and second generation have a completely different view. These ten additional items, and their rationale, are listed in Appendix 7. The ten items have been added to the 50-item questionnaire developed by Handy et al. (2000). Hence, the measurement of the perception of volunteering used in this paper is an adapted 60-item questionnaire (See appendix 8).

4.4 Data Analysis
This section will discuss the methodology that will be used to test each hypothesis.

- *Hypothesis 1: The public perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens is conform the net-costs theory.*

This paper will follow the methodology applied by Handy et al. (2000) in order to validate whether the perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens is conform the net-costs theory. Recall that the main theorem of the net-costs theory is that someone is perceived to be more of an volunteer the higher the incurred net-costs (Cnaan et al., 1996). Handy et al.

(2000) postulated that the theory can be empirically validated by testing the following five sub-hypotheses.

1. Opportunity costs: all else being equal, someone is perceived to more of a volunteer if his/her time is perceived to be more valuable. For example, Handy et al. (2000) postulated that a doctor is perceived to be more of a volunteer than a student if they both engage in the same activity. The rationale is that the time of the doctor is perceived as more valuable than the time of the student. A doctor, for example, could have earned more salary than the student, who probably has a low-paying part-time job, if instead of the volunteering activity the doctor would have spend his/her time working. Hence, the costs to the doctor are higher than the costs to the student when engaging in the volunteering activity.

2. Implicit costs: all else being equal, someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer if someone does an activity within a recognized formal volunteer organization than someone who does the same activity in an informal setting (or unfamiliar charity). The rationale is that activities performed within a formal volunteer organization are characterized by more implicit costs. It is argued that a recognized formal volunteer organization is more demanding of the volunteer and demands certain commitments of time and effort from the volunteer in order to protect its reputation. As such, the volunteer is faced with higher demands when volunteering for a formal organization as the volunteer is under pressure to meet certain codes of work and ethics. As such, the costs to the volunteer are increased in a formal context, which results in higher-net costs.

3. Explicit costs: all else being equal, someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer if that person engages in a high demanding activity than someone who engages in a low demanding activity.

4. Explicit benefits: all else being equal, someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer if that person receives less benefits than the person that does the same activity but who receives more benefits. Receiving more benefits would after all lower the incurred net-costs.

5. Different contribution to society: all else being equal, someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer if that person engages in an activity with high social benefits than someone that engages in an activity with low social benefits. This implication is actually not implied by the net-costs theory since the net-costs are supposed to be the same in both situations. However, Handy et al. (2000) postulated that in case the net-

costs are roughly the same, the person who engages in an activity that provides a greater contribution to society is perceived to be more of a volunteer than someone who engages in an activity that benefits society less.

Handy et al. (2000) formulated the following items in order to test the abovementioned sub-hypotheses of the net-costs theory:

1. Opportunity costs: in order to test this sub-hypothesis three different activities have been formulated, namely serving a meal in a soup kitchen for the homeless, serving on the board of a local library, and helping a symphony orchestra in exchange for free tickets. Furthermore, four different people are conceived as engaging in the activity: an IBM executive, a medical doctor, a teacher, and a teenager. As a result twelve items have been formulated. Conform the hypothesis of opportunity costs, it is expected that for each scenario the IBM executive is seen as more of a volunteer, followed respectively by the medical doctor, the teacher, and finally the student. A One-Way ANOVA test will be executed to test whether the hypothesis of the opportunity costs will be confirmed regarding the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens.

2. Implicit costs: in order to validate this sub-hypothesis of the net-costs theory, Handy et al. (2000) formulated three scenarios in which the same activity was done but either for a recognized charity or for an unspecified charity/organization. One scenario involves a student doing community service as a high school graduation requirement, or a student helping at the Paralympics as a high school graduation requirement. The second scenario involves a trainer who gives a free workshop as a marketing device, either at an unspecified organization or for the Breast Cancer Foundation. Finally, the third scenario involves a paid staff person serving on the board of either an unspecified non-profit organization, or at the board of United Way. It is expected that the person volunteering for the recognized charity is seen as more of a volunteer for each scenario. A paired T-test will be executed for each scenario to test this sub-hypothesis.

3. Explicit costs: This sub-hypothesis was tested by the following two scenarios. Firstly, The CEO of a local corporation who is volunteer chairperson of the United way campaign ad but who delegates all of his work to his assistant is contrasted to the actual assistant who does all the work. The net-costs theory would suggest that the assistant is seen as more of a volunteer than the actual CEO who volunteers as the

assistant does all the work; the most demanding task. The second scenario involves a member of a community sport club who leads a group of joggers versus a home owner who creates a crime watch group. It is expected that the task of creating a crime watch group is more demanding and that it is, as such, perceived as more volunteering. A paired T-test will be executed for each scenario to test this sub-hypothesis.

4. Explicit benefits: the aforementioned scenarios of the IBM executive, medical doctor, teacher, and student helping at the soup kitchen are used to test this sub-hypothesis. However, an additional scenario is added. Both of the four individuals are performing the same activity, however it is now mentioned that they do so to impress a date. As such, it is expected that the former scenario is regarded as more volunteering than the latter as the latter includes clear benefits and as such the volunteer incurs less net-costs. A paired T-test will be executed for each scenario to test this sub-hypothesis.

5. Different contribution to society: in order to test sub-hypothesis two scenarios are conceived. Firstly, an office manager visiting seniors in a nursing home is compared to an office manager who is working overtime. It is postulated that the contribution to society is larger in the case of visiting a nursing home than working overtime. As such, it is hypothesized that the office manager visiting seniors will be seen as more of a volunteer. Secondly, an adult who offers his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister is compared to an adult who volunteers to teach English to new immigrants. Again, it is postulated that the social benefit of the former activity is larger and thus that the former is seen as more of a volunteer. Furthermore, the scenarios of the IBM executive, medical doctor, teacher, and the student are used. The scenario in which they help at a soup kitchen is compared to the scenario in which they serve on the board of the local library. Handy et al. (2000) postulate that the former activity will be seen as having a greater social contribution to society and as such the former activity will be seen as more of a volunteer activity. A paired T-test will be executed for each scenario to test this sub-hypothesis.

To conclude, Hypothesis 1 (The public perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens is conform the net-costs theory) will be tested by means of testing the abovementioned five sub-hypotheses of the net-costs theory as identified by Handy et al. (2000).

- *Hypothesis 2:* Social-cultural distance with respect to Dutch society results in a different perception of volunteering than that of native Dutch citizens.

The second hypothesis, and all of the corresponding four sub-hypotheses, will be tested in a similar manner. Firstly, it will be analyzed for each group whether the net-costs theory underlies their perception of volunteering. The results will be compared to the analysis performed by Handy et al. (2000) that also analyzed whether the perception of volunteering of native Dutch citizens is conform the net-costs theory.

Secondly, a rank-order analysis of the items on the survey will be executed. The rank-order analysis will firstly list the top-5 and the bottom-5 items based on their respective means of both non-Western Dutch citizens and native Dutch citizens. This will provide a preliminary insight regarding differences in the perception of volunteering. Furthermore, the items will be ranked from highest to lowest according to the means given to each item on the questionnaire. The rankings of non-Western Dutch citizens will be compared to the rankings of native Dutch citizens as reported by Handy et al. (2000). If there is a difference between the rankings of an item of at least 10, the difference is assumed to be significant; this method has also been used by Handy et al. (2000).

It should be noted that when making comparisons to native Dutch citizens, the findings of the 50-item questionnaire of Handy et al. (2000) in The Netherlands will be used. As such, this analysis will discard the abovementioned ten new items as they have not been filled out by native Dutch citizens. The ten additional items will only be used in the analysis of hypothesis 2c (generational differences) since these items have been formulated with the purpose to identify generational differences regarding the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the analysis for hypothesis 2b will group the scores of Antillean citizens together with the scores of the Surinamese citizens. Likewise, the same will be done with respect to Turkish and Moroccan citizens. If the perception of volunteering of Antillean citizens differs greatly to that of Surinamese citizens, and likewise, if the perception of Turkish citizens differs greatly to that of Moroccan citizens, the validity of this analysis will greatly be diminished. However, it is expected that these communities show significant overlap, at least regarding the perception of volunteering. Recall that the perception of volunteering is supposedly influenced by social-cultural distance. Since the Antillean and Surinamese communities show a similar pattern of social-cultural distance to mainstream Dutch society, it follows that these communities would to some extent have a similar perception of volunteering. Furthermore, with regard to the Turkish and Moroccan

communities, the interviews indicated that there are commonalities between all Muslim communities when it comes to the perception of volunteering.

With respect to hypothesis 2d, in the survey the respondents were asked to indicate the highest level of education that they had completed (See appendix 8). The respondents were given the option to choose from elementary school, high school, and three types of higher education; these are "MBO", "HBO", and university (either Bachelor or Master). MBO and HBO are both forms of higher education in The Netherlands but MBO is similar to a vocational education whereas HBO is a form of education that is more academically oriented. For this analysis, the respondents that selected elementary school, high school, and MBO as their highest level of completed education are considered to have enjoyed little education. In contrast, respondents who selected HBO and university as their highest level of completed education are considered to be highly educated.

5. Findings

This section will summarize the key findings of the analyses executed in order to test each hypothesis. However, firstly the demographics of the 94 respondents will be discussed.

As can be seen Table 4, the efforts described in section 4.2. to achieve a representative sample has not been as successful as one would hope. Firstly, the first generation is overrepresented. Secondly, a large proportion of the sample consists of citizen who are relatively highly educated, earn a high income, and volunteer a lot. This is not representative of non-Western citizens (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). However, it could be argued if a difference in perception of volunteering amongst this sample is reported, the same would be true for the population. Highly educated non-Western citizens tend to display a high level of social-cultural assimilation (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Hence, it follows that if a difference in the perception of volunteering compared to native Dutch citizens is found in this sample that this will then especially hold true for the overall non-Western population.

Furthermore, aside from the demographics of this sample, Table 4 also illustrates the demographics of the Dutch citizens in the study of Handy et al. (2000). Although the sample of this study contains slightly more women and citizens with a high income than the sample of Handy et al. (2000), there seem to be no major differences between the sample of non-Western citizens and native Dutch citizens. This strengthens the comparison made between these two samples It should be noted that in their survey, Handy et al. (2000) did not inquire into the religion of the respondents, hence the missing information for native Dutch citizens.

Background Variables		Non-Western Dutch citizens N=94	Native Dutch citizens N=456
Generation	First	74.5%	-
	Second	25.5%	-
Gender:	Male	37.2%	46.1%
	Female	62.8%	52.8%
Age:	under 24	15.9%	22.5%
	25-34	17%	21.4%
	35-44	13.8%	20.7%
	45-54	21.4%	19.6%
	55-64	20.2%	12.8%
	65+	11.7%	2.9%
Marital status	Single	21.3%	29.1%
	Married	46.8%	50.7%
	Widowed	3.2%	14.0%
	Divorced	9.6%	2.2%
	Living with partner	19.1%	4.1%
Education	Elementary School	2.2%	1.3%
	High school	14.9%	35%
	College	51%	16.6%
	University	31.9%	37.1%
Income	Low income	42.7%	46.3%
	Middle income	31,9%	40.5%
	High income	25.4%	13.2%
Religion	Christian	31.9%	-
	Muslim	24.5%	-
	Buddhist	2.1%	-

	Hindu	10.6%	-
	Not religious	24.5%	-
	other	6.4%	-
Ever volunteered	Yes	64.9%	78.8%
	No	35.1%	21.3%
Volunteered past 12 months	Yes	87.2%	61.1%
	No	12.8%	38.9%

Table 4. Sample Demographics. Source: This Study; Handy et al. (2000).

Finally, Table 5 indicates to what extent this sample is representative of the total non-Western population in The Netherlands. It is shown that Antillean and Surinamese citizens are overrepresented in the survey; this is especially the case regarding Surinamese citizens. In contrast, especially second generation Turkish, Moroccan and other non-Western citizens are underrepresented in the sample. Furthermore, Antillean and Surinamese citizens exhibit less social-cultural distance with respect to mainstream Dutch society than Turkish and Moroccan citizens. As such, the fact that they are overrepresented in this sample could imply that the difference in the perception of volunteering between non-Western and native Dutch citizens reported in this analysis is an underestimation of the actual difference.

		Percentage of total non-Western population in The Netherlands	**Percentage of the sample**
Moroccan	First generation	7.37%	5.32%
	Second Generation	10.04%	2.13%
	Total	17.41%	7.45%
Antillean	First Generation	3.74%	9.57%
	Second Generation	3.24%	2.13%
	Total	6.98%	11.7%
Surinamese	First	7.64%	22.34%

Turkish	Generation		
	Second Generation	7.67%	9.57%
	Total	15.31%	31.25%
	First Generation	8.38%	7.44%
	Second Generation	9.35%	4.26%
	Total	17.73%	11.70%
Other non-Western	First Generation	28.44%	29.17%
	Second Generation	14.13%	5.32%
	Total	42.57%	35.1%

Table 5. Sample representativeness. Source: This Study.

5.1. Non-Western Volunteer perception and net-costs theory.

This section will report the findings regarding the analyses of the first hypothesis, and the five sub-hypotheses underlying the net-costs theory. The results of these analyses will indicate to what extent the perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens is conform the net-costs theory.

The findings suggest that the perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens is mostly in conformity with the suppositions of the net-costs theory. Non-Western Dutch citizens do perceive someone as more of a volunteer the more that person engages in a high demanding task (Table 6). This is reflected by the fact that the organizer of a crime watch group is seen as more of a volunteer than someone who organizes a jogging group. However, the analysis of the scenario of the CEO who is volunteer chairperson of the United Way campaign ad but who delegates all of the work to his assistant remains inconclusive. The assistant is seen as more of a volunteer, as predicted by the net-costs theory, but the difference

is not statistically significant. Nonetheless, the findings do seem to point into the direction that the more demanding the task, the more someone is perceived to be a volunteer.

	The CEO of a local corporation who is volunteer chairperson of the United Way campaign and who delegates all the work to his assistant vs. the assistant to this CEO who does the job for his boss		A member of a community sport club who leads a group of joggers every week vs. the home owner who helps create a crime watch group to safeguard his own neighbourhood	
Non-Western Dutch Citizens	Mean CEO	2.45	Mean joggers leader	4
	Mean assistant	2.85	Mean crime watch	4.46
	T-value	-1.870	T-value	-4.291
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	.000 ***
Native Dutch Citizens	Mean CEO	2.7617	Mean joggers leader	4.4989
	Mean assistant	3.0022	Mean crime watch	4.4812
	T-value	-2.654	T-value	.328
	Significance	.008 **	Significance	N.S

Table 6. Net costs theory: explicit costs analysis. Source: This Study; Handy et al. (2000).

Furthermore, the postulation of the net-costs theory that someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer if that someone receives less benefits is clearly supported by the findings (See Table 7). The IBM executive, the medical doctor, the teacher, and the teenager who help at the soup kitchen are seen as more of a volunteer than in the scenario in which they also help at the soup kitchen but with the explicit goal to impress their date.

	An IBM executive		The medical doctor		The teacher		The teenager	
Non-Western Dutch citizens	Mean With	2.93	Mean With	3.20	Mean With	3.47	Mean With	3.4
	Mean W/O	4.51	Mean W/O	4.68	Mean W/O	4.8	Mean W/O	4.67
	T-value	-10.305	T-value	-9.553	T-value	-8.819	T-value	-7.481
	Significance	.000 ***	Significance	.000 ***	Significance	.000 ***	Significance	.000 ***
Native Dutch citizens	Mean With	3.6150	Mean With	3.4535	Mean With	3.5396	Mean With	3.6035
	Mean W/O	4.7367	Mean W/O	4.6991	Mean W/O	4.8260	Mean W/O	4.7863
	T-value	-15.642	T-value	-17.194	T-value	-18.762	T-value	-16.930
	Significance	.000 ***	Significance	.000 ***	Significance	.000 ***	Significance	.000 ***

Table 7. Net-costs theory: explicit benefits analysis. Source: This Study; Handy et al. (2000)

Moreover, it seems that someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer if that person engages in a task that has greater societal benefits. The IBM executive, the medical doctor, the teacher, and the teenager who help in a soup kitchen are seen as more of a volunteer than their counterparts who volunteer to be in the board of the local library (See Table 9). Furthermore, the office manager who visits a nursing home is also seen as more of a volunteer than the office manager who works unpaid overtime. However, the adult who offers his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister is not seen as more of a volunteer than the adult who offers to teach English to immigrants. This might indicate that non-Western citizens have a high appreciation of activities that help immigrants and perceive these kinds of activities to greatly contribute to society; this has also been supported by the interviews (See Table 8).

	An office manager who accompanies his wife to visit seniors in a nursing home vs. an office manager who, by his/her own choice, works overtime without pay		An adult who offers his/her time to be a Big Brother or Big Sister vs. an adult who volunteers to teach English as a second language to new immigrants	
Non-Western Dutch citizens	Mean nursing home	3.36	Mean Big Brother	4.49
	Mean overtime	2.11	Mean Teacher of ESL	4.53
	T-value	6.153	T-value	-3.42
	Significance	000 ***	Significance	N.S.
Native Dutch citizens	Mean nursing home	3.2806	Mean Big Brother	4.7951
	Mean overtime	1.7327	Mean Teacher of ESL	4.6882
	T-value	-18.415	T-value	-2.992
	Significance	000 ***	Significance	.003 **

Table 8. Net-costs theory: first social output analysis. Source: This Study; Handy et al. (2000)

	An IBM executive		The medical doctor		The teacher		The teenager	
Non-Western Dutch citizens	Mean soup	4.51	Mean soup	4.68	Mean soup	4.80	Mean soup	4.67
	Mean libr.	3.97	Mean libr.	3.81	Mean libr.	3.86	Mean libr.	3.76
	T-value	4.208	T-value	5.732	T-value	6.291	T-value	5.999
	Significance	000 ***	Significance	000 ***	Significance	000 ***	Significance	000 ***
Native Dutch citizens	Mean soup	4.7384	Mean soup	4.6901	Mean soup	4.8260	Mean soup	4.7863
	Mean libr.	4.5487	Mean libr.	4.5451	Mean libr.	4.5551	Mean libr.	4.5066
	T-value	4.835	T-value	3.594	T-value	7.005	T-value	6.107
	Significance	.000 ***	Significance	.000 ***	Significance	.000 ***	Significance	.000 ***

Table 9. Net-costs theory: second social output analysis. Source: This Study; Handy et al. (2000)

However, two of the five sub-hypotheses of the net-costs theory do not seem to underlie the perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens. Firstly, the findings suggest that someone whose time could be perceived as more valuable is not seen as more of a volunteer than someone whose time is perceived as less valuable whilst doing the same activity (See Table 10). No significant differences between the IBM executive, the medical doctor, the teacher, and the teenager who all do the same activities have been found. Hence, the opportunity costs sub-hypothesis is not supported by the findings. It seems that non-Western citizens put the emphasis on the actual task or activity at hand rather than on the person who is executing said activity when evaluating to what degree someone is a volunteer.

	Serving on the board of a local library		Serving a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless		Helping the symphony orchestra in exchange for free tickets	
Non-Western Dutch Citizens	IBM Executive	3.97	IBM Executive	4.51	IBM Executive	2.24
	Medical Doctor	3.81	Medical Doctor	4.68	Medical Doctor	2.43
	Teacher	3.86	Teacher	4.80	Teacher	2.68
	Student	3.76	Student	4.67	Student	2.72
	F-Value	0.374	F-Value	1.512	F-Value	2.221
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.
Native Dutch citizens	IBM Executive	4.5467	IBM Executive	4.7361	IBM Executive	2.4063
	Medical Doctor	4.5430	Medical Doctor	4.6844	Medical Doctor	2.5210
	Teacher	4.5541	Teacher	4.8256	Teacher	2.5519
	Student	4.5011	Student	4.7792	Student	2.5211
	F-Value	.330	F-Value	3.647	F-Value	1.119
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	.012 *	Significance	N.S.

Table 10. Net-costs theory: opportunity costs analysis. Source: This Study; Handy et al. (2000)

Secondly, the postulation of the net-costs theory that someone is perceived to be more of a volunteer if someone volunteers for a recognized charity as opposed to an unspecified charity is not supported by the findings (See Table 11). It seems that non-Western Dutch citizens do not consider the implicit costs that accompany volunteer work for a recognized charity when evaluating to what degree someone is a volunteer. Again, it seems that non-Western Dutch citizens focus more on the activity at hand; the context does not seem to matter.

	The student who is doing a community service project as part of a high school graduation requirement vs. The student who is helping the Paralympics as part of a high school graduation requirement		The trainer who does a free workshop for an organization as a marketing device vs. The trainer who does a free workshop for the Breast Cancer Foundation as a marketing device		The paid staff person who serves on the board of a non-profit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency vs. The paid staff person who serves on the board of United Way in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency	
Non-Western Dutch citizens	Mean no charity	2,46	Mean no charity	1,72	Mean no charity	1,53
	Mean w/charity	2,48	Mean w/charity	1,74	Mean w/charity	1,64
	T-value	-0.281	T-value	-0.238	T-value	-0.799
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.
Native Dutch citizens	Mean no charity	2.2152	Mean no charity	1.7835	Mean no charity	1.5408
	Mean w/charity	2.2735	Mean w/charity	1.8750	Mean w/charity	1.4525
	T-value	2.449	T-value	-3.076	T-value	-.705
	Significance	.015 *	Significance	.002**	Significance	N.S.

Table 11. Net-costs theory: implicit costs analysis. Source: This Study; Handy et al. (2000)

To conclude, the findings mostly confirm the first hypothesis; it does seem that the higher the incurred net-costs, the more someone is perceived to be a volunteer. Non-Western Dutch citizens tend to perceive someone more of a volunteer the more that person engages in demanding tasks, the less benefits the person receives, and the greater the social contribution to society of the task at hand. However, non-Western citizens do not consider the implicit costs that accompany volunteer work within formal volunteer organizations and these citizens do not take opportunity costs into account. It does not seem to matter by what type of person or within which context the activity is undertaken.

5.2. Differences between non-Western and native Dutch citizens

This section will report the findings of the analyses executed in order to confirm the first sub-hypothesis of the second hypothesis, namely that there is a difference in the perception of volunteering between non-Western and native Dutch citizens. Firstly, the differences in the degree to which the net-costs theory can explain the perception of volunteering of non-Western and native Dutch citizens will be discussed. Secondly, the results of the rank-order analysis will be discussed.

The abovementioned tables also report the findings of the analyses executed by Handy et al. (2000) that measure to what extent the net-costs theory underlies the perception of volunteering of native Dutch citizens. The findings indicate that the net-costs theory also underlies the perception of volunteering of native Dutch citizens. Native Dutch citizens likewise perceive someone more as a volunteer the more that person engages in a demanding task, the less benefits the person receives, and the greater the contribution to society of the activity. With respect to the explicit costs sub-hypothesis, native Dutch citizens do perceive the assistant to the CEO who is volunteer chairperson as more of a volunteer than the CEO (See Table 6).

However, in contrast to non-Western citizens, native Dutch citizens do not perceive the person who organizes a neighbourhood crime watch group more as a volunteer than the person who leads a jogging group. Handy et al. (2000) contribute this result to the fact that neighbourhood crime watch groups are an unknown phenomenon in The Netherlands. However, the fact that non-Western citizens do perceive the organizer of a neighbourhood crime watch group more as a volunteer seems to indicate that crime watch are more prevalent amongst non-Western citizens and as such these citizens do recognize the fact that organizing a crime watch group is more demanding.

Furthermore, although the findings regarding the analysis of activities that have a greater contribution to society largely overlap between native and non-Western Dutch citizens, there is one key difference. In contrast to non-Western Dutch citizens, native Dutch citizens perceive the adult who offers his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister to be more of a volunteer than the adult who offers to teach English to immigrants (See Table 8). It seems that non-Western citizens value the contribution to society of activities that help immigrants more than native Dutch citizens.

Regarding the opportunity costs sub-hypothesis, the findings suggest that native Dutch citizens also do not take these costs into account when evaluating to what degree someone is perceived to be a volunteer. Hardly any differences between the IBM executive, the medical

doctor, the teacher, and the teenager who are doing similar activities have been found (See Table 10). The only exception is the case in which these four individuals help at the soup kitchen by serving meals to the homeless. In this scenario it is actually the teacher who is most seen as a volunteer. This completely contradicts the supposition of the net-costs theory, as the theory predicts that the IBM executive would be most perceived to be a volunteer. Hence, Handy et al. (2000). conclude that the perception of volunteering of native Dutch citizens is not influenced by opportunity costs; the same holds true for non-Western citizens.

However, one key difference between native Dutch citizens and non-Western Dutch citizens is the finding that the implicit costs sub-hypothesis is supported with respect to native Dutch citizens (See Table 11). Hence, it seems that native Dutch citizens do take the costs associated with volunteer work for a formal volunteer organization into account when evaluating to what degree someone is a volunteer. This is a major difference between native and non-Western citizens with respect to the perception of volunteering.

Following the comparison regarding the validity of the net-costs theory with respect to native and non-Western Dutch citizens, this section also identifies differences in the perception of volunteering between these citizens with a rank-order analysis. The findings from this analysis will now be discussed.

Table 12 lists the top-five items for non-Western Dutch citizens and native Dutch citizens; the items have been ranked based on their means. It should be noted that the rankings regarding native Dutch citizens have been derived from Handy et al. (2000). The table clearly shows that there is quite some agreement amongst non-Western and native Dutch citizens regarding who is definitely perceived to be a volunteer. The scenarios in which someone helps at the soup kitchen by serving meals to the homeless are heavily represented in the top-five items of both native and non-Western Dutch citizens. However, some key differences exist. Non-Western citizens perceive someone who helps immigrants as definitely a volunteer, whereas native Dutch citizens perceive someone who helps children through the Big Brother/Sister program as definitely a volunteer. This contrast is in line to the abovementioned discussion of the different findings regarding the social contribution sub-hypothesis of the net-costs theory. It seems that non-Western citizens value the contribution to society of activities that aid immigrants more than native Dutch citizens.

Top-Five items:	Non-Western Dutch citizens	Native Dutch citizens
1	A teacher who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless	A teacher who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless
2	The medical doctor who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless	An adult who offer his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister
3	A teenager who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless	A childless adult who wants to engage with children offers his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister
4	An adult who volunteers to teach English as a second language to new immigrants	A teenager who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless
5	An IBM executive who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless	An IBM executive who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless

Table 12. Top –five Items of non-Western and Native Dutch citizens. Source: This Study; Handy et al. (2000).

Aside from the top-five items, the rank order analysis also involved an analysis of the bottom-five items of both non-Western and native Dutch citizens. The items are listed in Table 13. There seems to be a great deal of overlap between native and non-Western Dutch citizens regarding who is perceived to be definitely not a volunteer. It seems that someone is perceived to be definitely not a volunteer if that person receives explicit benefits; this could be in the form of salary or other benefits, such as avoiding prosecution as in the case of the accountant. The fact that the medical doctor who presents a paper is ranked so low amongst non-Western citizens could be that they perceive that it is required of the doctor to do so. Similarly, it should be noted that the scenario of the medical doctor presenting a paper also received a low ranking (41) from native Dutch citizens, albeit not in the bottom-five.

Bottom-Five items:	Non-Western Dutch citizens	Native Dutch citizens
46	An IBM executive who is granted a year of social service leave with pay, to become a temporary staff person with a non-profit organization	A six-month old baby who accompanies her parents to visit seniors at a nursing home
47	The medical doctor who delivers a research paper at a conference held by the American Medical Association (AMA)	The paid staff person who serves on the board of United Way in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency

48	The paid staff person who serves on the board of United Way in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency	A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition
49	The paid staff person who serves on the board of a non-profit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency	The paid staff person who serves on the board of a non-profit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency
50	An accountant charged with embezzling, who accepts a sentence of 250 hours of community service in lieu of prosecution	An accountant charged with embezzling, who accepts a sentence of 250 hours of community service in lieu of prosecution

Table 13. Bottom-five Items of non-Western and Native Dutch citizens. Source: This Study; Handy et al. (2000).

The rank order analysis also identified the items with a significant difference between the rankings of native and non-Western Dutch citizens; items with a difference of at least 10 or more with respect to their corresponding rank are considered to be significantly different from each other (Handy et al., 2000). In the case of non-Western and native Dutch citizens, the findings suggest that there is only one significant difference (Table 14). As illustrated below, it involves the college student who does volunteer work while receiving a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition. Non-Western citizens regard the student as significantly more of a volunteer than native Dutch citizens. Further analysis shows that this difference is caused by the abovementioned finding that the implicit costs do not have an influence on the perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens. In a similar item, the college student also participates in volunteer work and receives financial compensation; however in this item the student does so for a recognized charity, namely the Big Brother/Sister charity. This item has a ranking of 37 for non-Western citizens, and 40 for native Dutch citizens. Note the similarity between the rankings of non-Western citizens with respect to both the scenarios, and the fact that native Dutch citizens overwhelmingly perceive the student to be more of a volunteer when the student does the volunteer work for a recognized charity. Hence, this difference reinforces the aforementioned finding that non-Western Dutch citizens do not distinguish between informal and formal settings, whereas native Dutch citizens do.

Item	Rank NW	Rank Native	Difference
A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition	33	48	-15

Table 14. Key differences in rankings between non-Western and native Dutch citizens.
Source: This Study.

To conclude, this section set out to test the first sub-hypothesis of the second hypothesis, namely that there is a difference in the perception of volunteering between non-Western and native Dutch citizens. The findings as presented in this section support the hypothesis. Although the differences should not be overstated – after all both the perception of volunteering of non-Western and native Dutch citizens can mostly be explained by the underlying net-costs of the activity – there are some key differences. The main difference is that non-Western citizens do not include the implicit costs that accompany volunteer work within a formal setting in their evaluation to what extent someone is perceived to be a volunteer. Non-Western citizens, therefore, seemingly make no distinction whether the volunteering activity is done within an informal or a formal setting. Furthermore, another difference is that non-Western citizens tend to have a greater appreciation of activities that aid immigrants. These activities are regarded by non-Western Dutch citizens as having a greater contribution to society than by native Dutch citizens.

5.3. The influences of a greater degree of social-cultural distance

This section will highlight the findings of the analyses that have been executed to test the other three sub-hypothesis of the second hypothesis. The second hypothesis postulated that social-cultural distance with respect to mainstream Dutch society results in a different perception of volunteering than that of native Dutch citizens. Following this line, it has been postulated that a higher degree of social-cultural distance results in more differences in the perception of volunteering with respect to native Dutch citizens. Hypothesis 2b, 2c, and 2d aim to confirm this. Hypothesis 2b postulates that the perception of volunteering of Antillean and Surinamese citizens differs less from the perception of native Dutch citizens than the perception of volunteering of Turkish and Moroccan citizens. Hypothesis 2c postulates that the degree of difference in the perception of volunteering between both first and second generation non-Western citizens is the same with respect to native Dutch citizens. This has

been suggested by the literature review, which indicated that both first and second generation citizens exhibit a similar degree of social-cultural distance. Finally, hypothesis 2d postulates that highly educated non-Western citizens exhibit less difference in their perception of volunteering with respect to native Dutch citizens than non-Western citizens with little education.

The three hypothesis have been firstly analyzed by assessing to what degree the net-costs theory underlies the perception of volunteering of the abovementioned groups. All of the findings are listed in Appendix 9. The findings suggest that all the groups follow a similar pattern as the overall non-Western population. For all the groups, the analyzes of the five sub-hypothesis of the net-costs theory leads to similar results. It seems that the net-cost theory underlies their perception of volunteering, with the exception of the opportunity costs and the implicit costs sub-hypotheses. The only key difference applies to the second generation regarding the analysis of the social contribution sub-hypothesis. Just as native Dutch citizens, the second generation non-Western citizens perceive the contribution to society of the adult who offers his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister to be significantly larger than that of the adult who offers to teaches English to immigrants.

However, the fact that even the non-Western groups who exhibit less social-cultural distance (Antilleans and Surinamese, and highly educated citizens) do not seem to incorporate the implicit costs in their evaluation of the extent to which someone is a volunteer is striking. All in all, it seems that the implication of the three sub-hypotheses is not supported by this analysis. It does not seem that less social-cultural distance leads to less differences in the perception of volunteering between non-Western and native Dutch citizens. However, apart from the abovementioned analysis, for each group a rank-order analysis has also been executed. The results will be discussed below.

With respect to hypothesis 2c, it does not seem that Antillean and Surinamese citizens exhibit less difference in their perception of volunteering with respect to native Dutch citizens than Turkish and Moroccan citizens. The two tables below list the significant differences in the perception of volunteering between Antillean and Surinamese, and native Dutch citizens on one hand, and between Turkish and Moroccan, and native Dutch citizens on the other. Table 16 illustrates that there is one more significant difference between Turkish and Moroccan, and native Dutch citizens than between Antillean and Surinamese, and native Dutch citizens. However, it cannot be concluded based on this finding that there is less difference with respect to the perception of volunteering between Antillean and Surinamese, and native Dutch

citizens than between Turkish and Moroccan, and native Dutch citizens. The first significant difference in both tables is the aforementioned scenario of the college student who does volunteer work and receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition in exchange. As explained, the fact that native Dutch citizens perceive this student to be less of a volunteer than the Antillean and Surinamese, and Turkish and Moroccan citizens, can be explained by the fact that non-Western citizens do not take implicit costs into account when evaluating to what degree someone is perceived to be a volunteer. Furthermore, both groups of non-Western citizens value volunteer work for the local library significantly less than native Dutch citizens. Hence, although the sample of Turkish and Moroccan exhibits one more significant difference with respect to native Dutch citizens, the nature of these differences are similar with respect to the differences between Antillean and Surinamese, and native Dutch citizens.

Therefore, it could be concluded that the findings of the rank-order analysis also do not support hypothesis 2b; there seems to be just as much difference in the perception of volunteering between Antillean and Surinamese, and native Dutch citizens as between Turkish and Moroccan, and native Dutch citizens.

Item	Rank A & S	Rank native	Difference
A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition	37	48	-11
An IBM executive who is granted a year of social service leave with pay, to become a temporary staff person with a non-profit organization	50	39	11
The medical doctor who serves on the board of a local library	21	11	10

Table 15. Key differences in rankings between Antillean and Surinamese, and native Dutch citizens. Source: This Study.

Item	Rank T & M	Rank native	Difference
A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition	30	48	-18
A teacher who serves on the board of a local library	25	9	16
A child who assist in setting up booths at the volunteer fair because one of his parents is volunteer administrator and asks her/him to help	16	27	-11
The medical doctor who serves on the board of a local library	21	11	10

Table 16. Key differences in rankings between Turkish and Moroccan, and native Dutch citizens. Source: This Study

With respect to hypothesis 2c, it seems that the rank-order analysis confirms the hypothesis. As is illustrated in Table 17 and 18, the second generation non-Western citizens does not exhibit less differences in their perception of volunteering as compared to native Dutch citizens. In contrast, the second generation exhibits slightly more differences as there are two more items that show a significant difference in their ranking compared to native Dutch citizens. Both of these items indicate that second generation citizens have more appreciation for activities that involve work, or career advancement, than native Dutch citizens. Finally, the first item of both Table 17 and 18 involves the college student who receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition. As aforementioned explained, the fact that non-Western citizens perceive this student to be more of a volunteer than native Dutch citizens can be explained by the fact that they do not incorporate the implicit costs in their evaluation.

Item	Rank 1st gen	Rank native	Difference
A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition	33	48	-15

Table 17. Key differences in rankings between first generation non-Western and native Dutch citizens. Source: This Study

Item	Rank 2nd gen	Rank native	Difference
A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition	35	48	-13
An office manager who, by his/her own choice, works overtime without pay	33	44	-11
A teenager who offers to program the computer at a non-profit agency, without pay, in order to establish "resume experience". After three months the teenager plans to quit and apply for a paying job	13	24	-11

Table 18. Key differences in rankings between second generation non-Western and native Dutch citizens. Source: This Study

Furthermore, although not a part of hypothesis 2c, Tables 19 and 20 compare the top and bottom-five items of the first and second generation non-Western citizens. It should be noted that this analysis does incorporate the additional ten items. This analysis has been included since the interviews indicated that there are generational differences. However, the rank-order analysis shows that there are no major differences. The bottom-five items of both groups show a lot of similarity. It should be noted that both the items highlighting the trainer that provides a workshop for an unspecified charity and the trainer who provides a workshop for the Breast Cancer Foundation are located in the bottom-five of the first generation. Similarly, both the paid staff person serving on the board of United Way and on the board of an unspecified non-profit organization are listed amongst the bottom-five items of the second generation. This further reinforces the notion that both groups do not incorporate the implicit costs of a formal volunteer context in their evaluation of the extent to which someone is perceived to be a volunteer.

However, some differences can be identified. As highlighted in more detail in Appendix 7, it was expected that second generations would see the IT employee as more of a volunteer than the first generation. Table 19 confirms this. In contrast, it was expected that second generation citizens would perceive the student that helps in a nature reserve in Indonesia as more of a volunteer than first generation citizens; this does not seem to be the case. Furthermore, Table 19 seems to indicate that second generation citizens perceive someone more as a volunteer than the first generation if that person helps children. Three out of the top-five items of the second generation in Table 19 refer to a volunteer helping children. Furthermore, the finding that the second generation perceives the adult who offers to

be a Big Brother/Sister as definitely a volunteer seems to confirm this. As mentioned above, the second generation perceives this adult as more of a volunteer than the adult who volunteers to teach English to immigrants. Hence, it seems that a key difference between the first and second generation is that the second generation values the social contribution of activities that help children more than the first generation.

Top-Five items	First Generation citizens	Second generation citizens
1	A teacher who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless	A teacher who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless
2	A student goes to Indonesia to provide unpaid help in a nature reserve for two months	An adult who offer his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister
3	A student visits households one night a week to collect donations for Doctors without Borders	A student offers to tutor children from the local neighbourhood free of charge
4	A student offers to tutor children from the local neighbourhood free of charge	An IT employee gives a programming workshop at high schools throughout The Netherlands every week free of charge
5	The medical doctor who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless	A teenager who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless

Table 19. Top five-items of first and second generation non-Western citizens. Source: This Study

Bottom-Five items	First Generation citizens	Second Generation citizens
56	An accountant charged with embezzling, who accepts a sentence of 250 hours of community service in lieu of prosecution	The paid staff person who serves on the board of United Way in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency
57	The paid staff person who serves on the board of a non-profit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency	The paid staff person who serves on the board of a non-profit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency
58	The trainer who does a free workshop for the Breast Cancer Foundation as a marketing device	An accountant charged with embezzling, who accepts a sentence of 250 hours of community service in lieu of prosecution
59	The trainer who does a free workshop for an organization as a marketing device	A six-month old baby who accompanies her parents to visit seniors at a nursing home
60	The medical doctor who delivers a research paper at a conference held by the American Medical	An IBM executive who is granted a year of social service leave with pay, to become a temporary staff person with a

	Association (AMA)	non-profit organization

Table 20. Bottom five-items of first and second generation non-Western citizens. Source: This Study

Finally, hypothesis 2d has been analyzed. It seems that the rank-order analysis confirms the hypothesis. As highlighted in Tables 21 and 22, there are significantly more differences in the perception of volunteering between non-Western citizens with little education and native Dutch citizens than between highly educated non-Western and native Dutch citizens. Furthermore, since the item of the college student is again represented in both tables, it is further reinforced that both highly educated and non-Western citizens with little education do not incorporate the implicit costs in their evaluation of the extent to which someone is a volunteer.

Item	Rank high	Rank native	Difference
A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition	35	48	-13

Table 21. Key differences in rankings between highly educated non-Western and native Dutch citizens. Source: This Study.

Item	Rank low	Rank native	Difference
A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition	32	48	-16
The medical doctor who agrees to offer his/her services in case of an emergency at the symphony concert in exchange for a free ticket to the concert	47	32	15
The medical doctor who serves on the board of a local library	23	11	12
A person who donates blood to a local hospital	4	16	-12
A teenager who offers to program the computer at a non-profit agency, without pay, in order to establish "resume experience". After three months the teenager plans to quit and apply for a paying job	13	24	-11
The student who is doing a community service project as part of a high school graduation requirement	25	35	-10

Am IBM executive who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless in order to impress his date	30	20	10

Table 22. Key differences in rankings between non-Western citizens with little education and native Dutch citizens. Source: This Study.

6. Discussion

This section will discuss the findings. The findings support that the net-cost theory mostly underlies the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens. Generally speaking, non-Western citizens perceive someone to be more of a volunteer to more that person engages in a demanding task, and the less benefits the person receives. As such, the first hypothesis is accepted.

However, two sub-hypotheses of the net-costs theory are not supported by the findings. Firstly, the findings indicate that the opportunity costs sub-hypothesis does not underlie the perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens. This is in contrast to the what the net-costs theory would predict. However, Handy et al. (2000) report that the opportunity costs sub-hypothesis is also not supported with respect to native Dutch citizens. Moreover, none of the countries in which the survey was distributed support the opportunity costs hypothesis. Handy et al. (2000) postulate that it could be the case that citizens mostly focus on the task/activity at hand, instead of on the person, when evaluating to what extent someone is perceived to be a volunteer. Alternatively, it could be the case that many people simply do not evaluate the situation as an economist; more research is required to provide clarity regarding this matter (Handy et al., 2000).

Secondly, the findings surprisingly indicate that non-Western Dutch citizens do not take the implicit costs associated with formal volunteer work into account when evaluating to what extent someone should be seen as a volunteer. In contrast, native Dutch citizens and citizens from all the other countries in which the survey has been distributed do take the implicit costs into account. It should be noted that the survey has been exclusively distributed in similar Western countries (Handy et al., 2000; Meijs et al., 2003). Hence, it seems that this is an idiosyncratic characteristic of non-Western citizens.

A possible explanation for why non-Western Dutch citizens do not take the implicit costs into account could be the fact that formal volunteer organizations have a lower presence in many of the non-Western countries of origin (Wilson, 2012). Hence, unfamiliarity with the implicit costs that are associated with formal volunteer work could be an explanation for why

non-Western citizens do not take the implicit costs into account when evaluating to what extent someone is perceived to be a volunteer. These citizens might not even be aware that volunteer work for formal volunteer organizations poses more costs to the volunteer than similar volunteer work for unknown organizations or volunteer work within an informal setting. As such, the following vicious cycle could be at work. Since non-Western citizens are unfamiliar with formal volunteer work, they do not take the implicit costs into account. Subsequently, they do not perceive formal volunteer work as a higher degree of volunteering than informal volunteer work. As such, they remain underrepresented in formal volunteer organizations, and as such they remain unfamiliar with the implicit costs.

However, it could seriously be questioned whether this line of argumentation is valid for non-Western Dutch citizens. Research confirms the notion that non-Western Dutch citizens are familiar with the additional costs that are associated with volunteer work for formal volunteer organizations. It has been reported that many non-Western Dutch citizens are less inclined to volunteer at Dutch volunteer organizations precisely because they do not want to adhere to the strict work codes that are often at place in these organizations (Dekker & De Hart, 2005: Pels, 2009).

Hence, it seems that non-Western Dutch citizens are very much aware of the additional implicit costs that are associated with formal volunteer work. As such, it seems that the perception of volunteering of non-Western Dutch citizens is mostly influenced by the actual task/activity at hand and not by the context in which the volunteer work takes place.

This divergence with respect to the perception of native Dutch citizens also confirms the second hypothesis of this study. It seems that social-cultural distance does results in another perception of volunteering. Apart from the finding that the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens is not influenced by the implicit costs that accompany formal volunteer work, the findings also seem to indicate that non-Western citizens exhibit more appreciation for volunteer work aimed at helping immigrants. The contribution to society of volunteer work aimed at helping immigrants is perceived to be larger by non-Western citizens than native Dutch citizens. Given the fact that non-Western citizens have direct experience with the difficulties that accompany the process of moving to another country, this finding is not surprising.

Apart from a higher appreciation of volunteer work aimed towards helping immigrants, there does not seem to be many other significant differences. This lack of differences in the perception of volunteering could be explained by the demographics of the sample. As aforementioned, the sample consists mostly of highly educated non-Western

citizens, and Surinamese citizens. Both tend to display less social-cultural distance compared to Turkish and Moroccan citizens and non-Western citizens with little education. As such, the lack of reported differences could be attributed to the lack of representativeness of the sample. One the other hand, the fact that the sample consists mostly of highly educated citizens supports the findings of this study as it is to be expected that the abovementioned differences will especially be valid for non-Western citizens who exhibit a greater degree of social-cultural distance.

Furthermore, the fact that citizens that exhibit less social-cultural distance are overrepresented in this study could explain the lack of support for hypothesis 2b. It seems that there are hardly any differences in the perceptions of volunteering between Antillean and Surinamese, and Turkish and Moroccan citizens. It could be the case that differences would have been reported had a more representative sample that consisted of Turkish and Moroccan citizens with little education been achieved.

Despite the lack of support for hypothesis 2b, the implication that a higher degree of social-cultural distance results in more differences in the perception of volunteering compared to native Dutch citizens has been supported by the acceptance of hypothesis 2c and 2d. The analysis of hypothesis 2c showed that the first and second generation non-Western citizens display a similar degree of difference in their perception of volunteering as compared to native Dutch citizens. This can be explained by the fact that both groups exhibit a similar degree of social-cultural distance with respect to mainstream Dutch society.

Furthermore, the fact that the analysis of hypothesis 2d shows that highly educated non-Western citizens show significantly less difference in their perception of volunteering with respect to native Dutch citizens than non-Western citizens with little education further confirms the abovementioned implication. However, it should be noted that for all the groups it remains the case that implicit costs are not incorporated in the evaluation to what extent someone is a volunteer. However, given the high degree of social-cultural distance that all non-Western citizens tend to exhibit, this finding is not surprising.

Finally, the interviews suggested that there are significant generational differences when it comes to the perception of volunteering. This has received limited support. Both the first and second generation non-Western citizens exhibit a similar perception of volunteering. The only difference seems to be the finding that second generation citizens have more appreciation for volunteer work that aids children.

7. Conclusion

The main aim of this paper was to confirm whether there is a difference in the perception of volunteering between non-Western and native Dutch citizens; this paper has successfully done so. This paper has shown that despite the fact that the net-costs theory mostly underlies both the perception of volunteering of native and non-Western Dutch citizens, a key difference exists. Non-Western citizens do not take the implicit costs that accompany volunteer work for formal volunteer organizations into account when evaluating to what extent someone is perceived to be a volunteer. The findings seem to strongly suggest that non-Western Dutch citizens only take the characteristics of the task into account, and tend to focus less than native Dutch citizens on the context in which the volunteer work takes place. Furthermore, the findings suggest that non-Western Dutch citizens exhibit a greater appreciation for volunteer work that aids immigrants than native Dutch citizens. Finally, it seems that second generation citizens exhibit a higher appreciation for volunteer work that focuses on helping children than the first generation.

Furthermore, this paper has shown that institutional-distance with respect to mainstream Dutch society can account for the difference in the perception of volunteering. This has been supported by the fact that highly educated non-Western Dutch citizens – who tend to exhibit less social-cultural distance - exhibit fewer differences in their perception of volunteering with respect to native Dutch citizens than non-Western citizens with little education.

As mentioned in the introduction, the results of this paper have numerous practical implications for managers of formal volunteer organizations in The Netherlands. As aforementioned, the demographic changes that are taking place in The Netherlands increase the urgency of providing recommendations regarding how to recruit and retain non-Western Dutch citizens. Regarding recruitment, the results of this paper suggest that formal volunteer organizations that help immigrants or children are most likely to have a great appeal to non-Western citizens. Hence, it seems that formal volunteer organizations that focus on these areas can more easily recruit non-Western citizens if they underline their tasks, instead of their brand, in marketing efforts. Furthermore, the fact that non-Western citizens do not have a higher appreciation for formal volunteer work, as opposed to native Dutch citizens, seems to indicate that marketing efforts should emphasize the actual tasks and activities the organization undertakes instead of increasing brand awareness.

Furthermore, the findings suggest that formal volunteer organizations can increase their appeal if they demand less strict work ethics and codes from their non-Western volunteers. Whereas native Dutch citizens tend to increase their appreciation of the volunteer work the more it involves these implicit costs, the same does not seem to hold true for non-Western Dutch citizens.

Finally, this findings of this study seem to confirm that non-Western citizens that exhibit less social-cultural distance have a perception of volunteering that is nearer to that of native Dutch citizens. Hence, it is to be expected that formal volunteer organizations can more easily reach and recruit highly educated non-Western citizens, and Surinamese and Antillean citizens. As such, in case of a limited budget regarding recruitment activities, the recruitment efforts should be focused on these citizens.

Aside from the practical implications, this study also aimed to provide a theoretical contribution to the literature by identifying another barrier that could prevent non-Western citizens from participating in formal volunteer organizations. The findings seem to suggest that the fact that non-Western citizens do not take implicit costs into account when evaluating whether an activity is more volunteering poses an additional barrier. If these citizens make no distinction between formal or informal volunteer work; it follows that they will prefer to engage in informal volunteer work. The extra costs that are incurred by engaging in formal volunteer work does not increase the degree to which the work is seen as more volunteering. Instead, It will be perceived as an additional nuisance, and as such it follows that these citizens are underrepresented in formal volunteer organizations.

Furthermore, this study has several limitations. Firstly, no third generation citizens have been included in the sample. This could have skewed the findings, as it might be the case that social-cultural distance does decrease with the third generation. A possible explanation for this lack of data could be the fact that the third non-Western generation is still very young; on average 5 out 6 third generation non-Western citizens are younger than eighteen years. For the Turkish and Moroccan communities the third generation is even younger; 95% percent of the third generation is a minor for these two communities (CBS, 2016). Hence, including these citizens in research further in the future might be more attainable.

A second limitation of this study is the lack of representativeness of the sample. Especially the lack of Turkish and Moroccan citizens poses limits to the degree to which the results of this study can be generalized.

Finally, this study compared the perception of non-Western citizens with the findings of the survey of Handy et al. (2000), and it was assumed that the latter survey consisted exclusively of native Dutch citizens. However, this does not have to be the case and as a result this could have influenced the results of this study.

Finally, several avenues for further research can be identified. Firstly, this study has shown that institutional distance results in different perceptions of volunteering. However, social-cultural distance has been treated as a "black box" in this study. Further research is needed to identify which aspects of social-cultural distance has the most significant impact on differences in the perception of volunteering.

Secondly, this research has identified that in order to increase their appeal to non-Western citizens, volunteer organizations would do well to pose less strict work codes to these citizens. However, it remains unclear how organizations can maintain a high quality of output and thus reputation without posing to many demands and strict work codes to non-Western citizens. Further research is required to provide an answer to this conundrum.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. Barriers preventing non-Western citizens from engaging in formal volunteer work

Apart from governments, academics have also taken a keen interest in the lacking participation in civil society of non-Western citizens. As a consequence numerous studies have identified the reasons why citizens with a non-Western migrant background are underrepresented in volunteer rates and less active in civil society (Dagevos, 2001; Dekker & De Hart, 2009b; Huijnk et al., 2015; Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Some of the main factors that have been identified as barriers preventing these citizens to participate in volunteer organisations that aim to promote the general interests of Dutch society – in other words interests that are not only applicable to specific ethnic communities – are:

- *Lower levels of education and income:* Dutch citizens with a non-Western migrant background tend to have a lower level of education and income as compared to native Dutch citizens. Numerous studies have shown that education and income are positively correlated to higher volunteer rates, and as such lower levels of education and income have been identified as barriers facing these citizens (Pels, 2009; Dekker & de Hart, 2009a; Van Houwelingen et al., 2016). However, improvement has been made in the area of education, especially amongst the second generation, i.e., the children of migrants whom have been born in The Netherlands or have arrived before the age of 12 (Pels, 2009; Herweijer et al., 2016). Despite the higher levels of education, and a better fluency of the Dutch language, Dutch citizens with a non-Western migrant background are still falling behind regarding their income, even when controlling for relevant variables, compared to the native Dutch citizens (Pels, 2009; Huijnk, 2016b).

- *Lack of competencies and language skills:* another barrier preventing these citizens from joining formal volunteer organisations could be a lack of certain cultural competencies, knowledge, and Dutch language proficiency required to participate in formal volunteer organisations (Pels, 2009).

- *Lack of social integration*: most volunteers are being invited to the organisation by their friends and acquaintances (Van Daal, 1997). Since Dutch citizens with a non-Western migrant background are already underrepresented in most formal volunteer

organisations, it follows that they are less likely to join them (Pels, 2009). Furthermore, their social networks consists mostly of people from the same ethnic community and this further decreases the likelihood of joining a formal volunteer organisation. The same holds for members of the second generation who have a more diverse informal social network but whose best friends are likely to have the same ethnic background (Dagevos et al., 2016; Distelbrink & Pels, 2002).

- *Unfamiliarity with and or negative associations with formal volunteer organisation:* according to Pels (2009) unfamiliarity with the concept of formal organised volunteer work could pose a barrier to some. Some of the citizens with a non-Western migrant background have been born and raised in countries where solidarity is mostly expressed through informal volunteer work, primarily within the family. As aforementioned, it has been suggested that there is no significant difference between the levels of informal care provided to family and neighbours between native Dutch citizens and Dutch citizens with a non-Western migrant background (Verheijen en Daal, 1999). Apart from the unfamiliarity with formal volunteer work, Pels (2009) also argues that some of the countries of origin have an authoritarian regime where citizens have been forced to work for free; formal volunteer work might thus give rise to negative associations for some citizens.

- *Mismatch between Dutch culture and non-Western cultures regarding organisational habits:* cultural differences also partly explain why these citizens are underrepresented in formal volunteer organizations. The egalitarian relations between men and women in Dutch culture might also limit the participation of Muslim citizens, especially Muslim women, in formal volunteer organizations (Pels, 2009). Furthermore, unease with the Dutch habit of strictly scheduling everything in detail and the corresponding lack of flexibility also plays a role (Pels, 2009). This is further emphasized by Dekker & Hart (2009a), who state that the "white" nature of many of the formal volunteer organisations might act as a deterrent since the Dutch way of organizing practical matters might not be regarded as inviting by some citizens with a different cultural background. Dekker & Hart (2009a) also argue that the more collectivistic cultures that are predominant amongst most non-Western cultures might clash with the more individualistic Dutch culture; individual responsibility is more emphasized in Dutch culture whereas collective responsibility is more emphasized in non-Western cultures. Apart from this resistance to adapt on the side of these citizens, Pels (2009) and Dekker & Hart (2009a) also mention that this resistance to change is also not unheard

of on the side of formal volunteer organisations. Volunteer organisations can be unwilling to change their organizational culture, daily habitual conducts, and recruitment strategies to accommodate potential volunteers who have different cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, even if volunteer organisations want to change and becoming more accommodating towards these citizens, Van den Berg and De Hart (2008) state that many find it difficult to understand these citizens and the way they perceive the world. Especially their unfamiliarity with formal volunteer work, and the fact that some ethnic communities tend to limit their support to their own community, are significant barriers preventing mutual understanding. Hence, apart from the unwillingness to accommodate them, the uneasiness and incomprehension that many representatives of these organisations experience also plays a role.

- *Social climate and inter-ethnic relations and tensions:* finally, a main barrier that has been identified is that a polarizing social climate and debate can fuel tensions between ethnic communities. Personal experiences of stigmatization, discrimination, and exclusion could result in less assimilation and integration and in more segregation, i.e., people will withdraw further into their own ethnic community (Pels, 2009). That the social debate has become more and more polarizing has already been briefly discussed earlier on in the introduction. Furthermore, it is a well-reported finding that Dutch citizens with a non-Western migrant background have become increasingly worried about the social climate becoming less tolerant and that experiences of discrimination have increased (Andriessen, 2016; Van Bochove et al., 2009).

Appendix 2. Defining volunteering; difficulties and possible solution`.

As aforementioned, research on the perception of volunteering was initiated due to the difficulties that arise when trying to define volunteering (Cnaan et al., 1996). To illustrate this point, consider the definition of volunteer work put forward by Snyder and Omoto (2008, pp. 3-5). The authors defined volunteer work as consisting of "freely chosen and deliberate helping activities that extend over time, are engaged in without expectation of reward or other compensation and often through formal organizations, and that are performed on behalf of causes or individuals who desire assistance". It could be argued that this definition seems to touch on key aspects that many would consider integral to volunteering.

However, a closer examination of this definition reveals that it excludes several activities that many would also classify as volunteering. For example, numerous studies have classified activities where the participant (volunteer) receives a reward as volunteer work so long as the reward does not exceed the costs to the participant (Cnaan et al., 1996). Furthermore, the definition of volunteering by Snyder and Omoto (2008) also puts the emphasis on volunteer activities performed within a formal organization. This is problematic since this excludes activities that many would also consider to be volunteer work. As a result, the number of volunteers are systematically underestimated, especially in communities and countries where formal nongovernmental non-profit organizations are underdeveloped (Wilson, 2012). This problem is further illustrated by the estimation that formal volunteer work has contributed the equivalent of 11 million fulltime jobs in 24 countries (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2001). The authors acknowledged that they excluded volunteer activities that take place in the informal sphere due to the difficulties in defining this kind of volunteering, which limits cross-national comparability. As such, the actual contribution of volunteer work to society in the 24 countries could be significantly more than the aforementioned 11 million fulltime jobs.

It might seem that one way to solve the abovementioned problem is to simply broaden the definition of volunteering. For instance, a definition that makes no mention of formal organizations could be used; a definition that classifies all activities as volunteer work that are unpaid and help another person that is not part of one's family (Verduzco, 2010).

However, the issue with this definition is that it seems to encompass nearly all activities. Hence, a lack of a clear delineation of volunteering results in significant issues, or as Merrill (2006, p. 11) puts it: "volunteering becomes a catch phrase for a wide range of activities that leads to a critical and consequential misunderstanding of the meaning and value of volunteering in society".

Hence, this confusion regarding who should be seen as a volunteer, and what constitutes volunteering, has made it quite difficult – if not infeasible – to accurately assess the size and (monetary) value of volunteering within and across societies (Handy et al., 2000). Furthermore, the fact that the civil societies and non-profit sectors of countries can be quite different from each other further complicates accurately comparing the size of the volunteer sector between countries (Salamon and Anheier, 1998; Salamon and Sokolowski, 2001; Salamon et al., 2000). Merrill (2006) even argues that this confusion is one of the major global challenges in the field of volunteering.

In an effort to provide clarity to the confusion regarding the meaning of volunteering, Cnaan et al. (1996) argue for a different approach. The authors argue that in order to delineate volunteering, it is imperative to move away from formal definitions and instead measure the public perception of volunteering. In other words, instead of letting academics define volunteering, the definition of what constitutes volunteering should be based on what the citizens of a given society regard as volunteering. After all, volunteering is a social construct (Cnaan et al., 1996; Handy et al., 2000; Meijs et al., 2003), and as such it is only possible to accurately understand what constitutes volunteering by measuring people's perception of it.

This social constructionist approach towards defining volunteering results in a shared understanding of what a given society perceives to be volunteering, and who is perceived to be a volunteer within a given society. This enables an accurate estimation of the size of the volunteering sector both within and across countries.

Appendix 3. Classical assimilation theory; critic and response

This section will provide a more detailed overview of classical assimilation theory, the criticism it has received (segmented assimilation theory), and the response on this criticism by some authors who defend classical assimilation theory. Recall that classical assimilation theory postulates that social-cultural assimilation is inevitable. Furthermore, the theory also argues that structural assimilation – structural assimilation broadly refers to immigrants reaching similar levels of education, employment, income, inter-ethnic marriages, and housing as native citizens – is inevitable (Alba Nee, 1997).

As aforementioned, there is some level of disagreement between the theories of the classical assimilation paradigm regarding the underlying mechanisms of this inevitable assimilation. Park (1930; 1950) was one of the first scholars within the field of classical assimilation theory. Park's work gave rise to the *race-relations cycle*, a schematic that identified the stages of contact, competition, accommodation, and finally assimilation (Park, 1930; 1950). Following initial contact, a competition between the newly arrived immigrants and native citizens would arise over resources, such as jobs. This struggle would result in a stable accommodation, in which society is ethnically stratified and where it is to be expected that the native citizens are the dominant segment. However, Park (1930; 1950) postulated that inter-ethnic relations, such as friendships and marriages, would break the ethnic stratification of society and as a result the complete assimilation of immigrants into society, both in structural and social-cultural terms, would follow. The work of Gordon (1964) has been another key contribution to the field of classical assimilation theory. Gordon (1964) who

conceptually distinguished several dimensions of assimilation, postulated that the assimilation process can begin only after cultural assimilation has to some extent taken place. However, Gordon's key insight was his postulation that the key dimension of assimilation is social assimilation[2], which refers to immigrants increasingly becoming incorporated in the primary group relationships of the majority group. Social assimilation stimulates other dimensions of assimilation, such as identificational assimilation and cultural assimilation (Gordon, 1964). Hence, just as Parker (1930; 1950), Gordon (1964) regards inter-ethnic social contact as the main driver of assimilation.

However, both the works of Park and Gordon lack causal mechanisms, and as such Gordon's claim that social assimilation precedes and stimulates other forms of assimilation lacks verifiability (Alba & Nee, 1997). As such, another key contribution to the canon of classical assimilation theory is the work of (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965). Just as Parker (1930; 1950) postulated, Shibutani & Kwan (1965) agree that although the ethnic stratification of society can be resilient, it will inevitably fade away. This will occur when the social distance between immigrants and citizens of the receiving country fades away. However, with social distance Shibutani & Kwan (1965) refer to the subjective state of nearness felt to certain individuals, and not to the physical distance between groups, such as the social networks in the work of Gordon (1964). Hence, when immigrants increasingly identify with the receiving country, in terms of emotional identification and feelings of belonging, social distance will decrease (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965). However, this will only occur when immigrants gain a foothold in society, for example through employment, and after new ideas have emerged that challenge old cultural beliefs that support ethnic stratification, such as white supremacist ideologies (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965). Hence, only after identificational assimilation is achieved through challenging the old belief system will social distance be reduced. In turn, less social distance causes the ethnic stratification of society to break down, and only then will social assimilation take place, i.e., only then will migrants increasingly start socialising with the majority group. As such, the work of Shibutani & Kwan (1965) provides an opposite causal mechanism with respect to Gordon (1964) who argues that social assimilation precedes and stimulates all other forms of assimilation. In contrast, according to Shibutani & Kwan (1965) social assimilation only takes place after other forms of assimilation have been successful.

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[2] It should be noted that Gordon (1964) referred to this dimension of assimilation as "structural" assimilation. However, this definition of structural definition deviates from the aforementioned, and more often used, definition of structural assimilation. Therefore, in order to avoid confusion, the dimension of Gordon (1964) has been renamed to "social assimilation" in this paper.

To conclude, despite differences in the understanding of the causal mechanisms and processes of assimilation, the theories of the classical assimilation paradigm agree on the following two key notions. Firstly, social-cultural and structural assimilation is inevitable. Secondly, generations are the key motor driving this process.

However, classical assimilation theory has received an increasing amount of criticism during the past couple of decades (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). Numerous empirical findings contradict the key hypotheses of classical assimilation theory. For instance, significant differences between ethnic communities in terms of structural assimilation still exist and have not noticeable diminished in the USA, whereas several generations have succeeded each other. Some ethnic communities are still plagued by low levels of income, low levels of education, and high unemployment levels, even after five generations have succeeded each other since the original arrival of the ethnic community in the USA (Zhou, 1997). Furthermore, some studies refer to the phenomenon of "second generation decline" that refers to the phenomenon that for some ethnic communities the second generation has become increasingly less educated and is facing higher poverty and unemployment levels than their parents (Zhou, 1997). These findings clearly refute the key theorem of classical assimilation theory, namely that each generation will experience an upwards movement in society.

Furthermore, concerns have been raised that classical assimilation theory is outdated and no longer relevant. The context in which classical assimilation theory has been developed was that of the early 20th century European migration to the USA, and it has been argued that today's migration context is completely different (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). Three main developments have often been identified in the literature that could distinguish post-1965 migration from the early 20th century migration.

Firstly, it seems that a continuous stream of new immigrants are entering the receiving countries. The European immigration to the USA in the early 20th century had been characterized by an initial arrival of a large amount of immigrants followed by a long hiatus of subsequent immigration. Today's migrant communities represent another pattern (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). Even after the first wave of immigrants have settled and the second generation has been born in the receiving country, new immigrants from the same country of origin enter these communities. As such, it has been argued that European immigrants in the USA have experienced more pressure to assimilate since their ethnic communities did not witness a continuous influx of immigrants from the same country of origin. As a result, cultural identity and the corresponding pressure to conform faded away over time for the

European immigrants that arrived in the USA in the early 20th century. (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997).

Secondly, it has been argued that the economic mobility has deteriorated. European immigrants who arrived in the USA at the beginning of the 20th century had to accept low-wage and unskilled jobs. However, economic mobility was still relatively high back then, and as a result these immigrants, and their children, could more easily climb corporate ladders and advance their economic position (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). In contrast, today's economy has been characterized as an "hourglass" economy, which implies that there is a large demand for low-wage jobs and for high-wage jobs but little demand for jobs that allow for a transition from the former towards the latter. As such, newly arrived immigrant, who generally speaking also have to accept low-wage jobs, are trapped at the bottom of the corporate ladder (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). As a result, upwards structural assimilation has become increasingly more difficult for today's immigrants, and their children.

Thirdly, it has been argued that today's immigrants face higher levels of discrimination and prejudice due to racial profiling (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). In contrast, European immigrants where mostly white, just as most Americans. As such, it has been argued that they have been more readily accepted by most Americans (Alba & Nee, 1997; Zhou, 1997). However, today's immigrants have a darker skin tone, and as such their racial characteristic makes assimilation all the more difficult.

Partly due to the abovementioned criticism of classical assimilation theory, Porter & Zhou (1993) formulated an alternative perspective, namely segmented assimilation theory. In a nutshell, segmented assimilation theory states that American society is socially and ethnically stratified into several segments, some more affluent and thus more beneficial for newcomers than others. Furthermore, segmented assimilation theory postulates that instead of only a single outcome of migration, namely inevitable upwards structural and social-cultural assimilation within the receiving country, two other outcomes are possible. Migrant communities can also follow the path of downwards assimilation and selective assimilation. Variables such as the segment of society the immigrants arrive in, the government policies of the receiving countries, the reception of the society, and the characteristics of the immigrant community, determine which path immigrant communities will follow (Portes & Zhou, 1993). For example, governments can actively strive to help immigrants or do everything in their power to isolate them, and the reception of the public can either be forthcoming and positive towards the immigrants or downright hostile.

With downwards assimilation Portes & Zhou (1993) flesh out the possibility that immigrants could arrive into low-income neighbourhoods that are plagued by crime, unemployment and a detrimental counter-culture. With counter-culture the authors refer to a culture that rejects the mainstream values of society and that encourages detrimental behaviour; gang culture is a good example. Therefore, the authors postulate that social-cultural assimilation can lead to a downwards spiral regarding structural assimilation. The children of the immigrants, the second generation, could face downwards structural assimilation if they assimilate to the culture prevalent in those low-income neighbourhoods. The case of Haitian refugees who arrived and settled in Miami provide a perfect example (Miller, 1984). The Haitian immigrants were faced with hostile American policies and were not welcomed by the government. As such, they settled in a low-income predominantly African-American inner city neighbourhood. Their children attended under-achieving schools, and were ridiculed by the African-American students on the grounds of their French and Creole accents. Furthermore, their fellow students, many of them underachieved at school or left school early, ridiculed hardworking Haitian students. They were seen as being docile to the system and to the "white man" (Miller, 1984). As such, these young, American-born Haitians were faced with a difficult dilemma. Either they followed the path that many of their parents envisioned, namely achieving good academic results and build a successful career, or face constant ridicule by their fellow students. Many of these Haitians decided to assimilate to the youth culture prevalent in the low-income neighbourhood in order to gain the approval and acceptance of their peers. As such, many of these Haitian adolescents underperformed at school and were overrepresented in unemployment and crime statistics, just as many of their fellow African-American peers (Miller, 1984). Social-cultural assimilation thus resulted in downwards structural assimilation, which completely contradicts the key postulation of classical assimilation theory that social-cultural assimilation is always beneficial and is positively correlated with structural assimilation.

Another possible path that immigrant communities could follow over time is that of selective assimilation. Portes & Zhou (1993) postulate that for some migrant communities it is actually beneficial to preserve the cultural identity and cultural behaviour of their country of origin, and to limit social contact to members of the own group. This lack of social-cultural assimilation could safeguard structural assimilation, hence the term selective assimilation. The case of the Punjabi Sikhs that arrived in northern California, in what Gibson (1989) calls "Redneck country" is a perfect illustration of selective assimilation. Just as the Haitian immigrants, the Punjabi Sikhs were not exactly welcomed by the US government, and there

were no assistance programs in place. Furthermore, similarly to the Haitians, the Sikhs arrived in the USA with barely any financial means, and had to settle in a low-income area. Moreover, the children of the Sikhs were also the target of ridicule, and at times even outright discrimination (Gibson, 1989). However, these young Sikhs, in contrast to the Haitian adolescents, did not act out and assimilate to a detrimental youth culture. Instead, they preserved the cultural values of their parents, and their social network predominantly consisted of fellow Punjabi Sikhs. Furthermore, the adolescents Sikhs generally performed significantly better at school than their American peers, and most of them grew up to have successful careers (Gibson, 1989).

Consequently the question of why the second generation Sikhs managed to go down the path of upwards structural assimilation whereas the second Haitians did not arises. Portes & Zhou (1993) argue it was because of the characteristics of the Sikh community (note that the characteristics of the ethnic community was one of the aforementioned variables influencing which assimilation path would materialize). The Haitian community was rather individualistic, and as such the second generation Haitians lacked a strong community to support them. In contrast, the Sikhs maintained a tight-knit community, where their cultural values and identity were cherished. As such, the second generation Sikhs had a support system to fall back upon, and could derive a high sense of self-worth from their membership to this community, despite the ridicule they faced by their American peers. The strong ethnic ties furthermore acted as a control system and ensured that most second generation Sikhs behaved as desired, i.e., it ensured that they studied diligently (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

As such, the case of the Punjabi Sikhs illustrates the postulation of Portes & Zhou (1993) that selective assimilation is a viable strategy for some immigrant communities. In contrast to what classical assimilation theory prescribes, it can be beneficial for immigrant communities to resist social-cultural assimilation under certain circumstances.

Finally, it should be emphasized that Portes & Zhou (1993) maintain that social-cultural assimilation can have positive consequences for immigrant communities in terms of structural assimilation, as postulated by classical assimilation theory. This path is referred to as straight-line assimilation by (Portes & Zhou (1993). A case in point is the Irish immigration during the 1990's to Boston. These immigrants were welcomed by the American government and by the local neighbourhood, which had Irish roots as well. As a consequence, these immigrants quickly assimilated in the local social networks and mainstream culture, and they quickly showed signs of upwards structural assimilation (Portes & Zhou, 1993).

Hence, the main contribution of segmented assimilation theory is that it shows that social-cultural assimilation is not always beneficial in terms of structural assimilation, and that immigrant communities could be justified to remain segregated from larger society in terms of social-cultural terms. Furthermore, segmented assimilation theory illustrates that generations are not necessarily the motor driving upwards assimilation. Indeed, under certain circumstances the second generation might actually witness a decline regarding structural assimilation. The main differences between segmented assimilation theory and classical assimilation theory are summarized in the table below.

	Classical Assimilation Theory	Segmented Assimilation Theory
Structural Assimilation	Inevitable	Contingent on which outcome materializes; downwards assimilation can also occur
Social-Cultural Assimilation	Inevitable, and always desirable as it reinforces structural assimilation	Not inevitable, and at times even undesirable as it might hinder structural assimilation. Hence, segregation can be beneficial.
Straight-Line Assimilation	Confirmed, generations are the motor driving upwards structural and social-cultural into mainstream society	Contingent on which outcome materializes. In case of downwards assimilation, generations do not drive upwards structural assimilation. In case of selective assimilation, generations do fuel upwards structural assimilation, but not social-cultural assimilation into mainstream society.

Classical Assimilation Theory versus Segmented Assimilation Theory. Source: This study.

However, just as classical assimilation theory, segmented assimilation theory has received its share of criticism. Portes & Zhou (1993) formulated segmented assimilation theory based on qualitative research, such as case studies. As such, although the theory provided a theoretical

explanation to anomalies that classical assimilation theory had trouble explaining, segmented assimilation theory has not been empirically validated by Portes & Zhou (1993).

Xie & Greenman (2005) set out to do just that by reformulating segmented assimilation so as to allow empirical testing, and subsequently conduct a quantitative analysis. As aforementioned, a key hypothesis of segmented assimilation theory is that social-cultural assimilation amongst immigrant groups residing in low-income areas leads to downwards structural assimilation. However, the study offered little to no empirical support regarding this hypothesis; the findings suggested that for most migrant communities social-cultural assimilation was not, or slightly positively, correlated to structural assimilation (Xie & Greenman, 2005). It seems that in low-income areas social-cultural assimilation does not necessarily results in downwards structural assimilation. As such, the authors concluded that instead of describing the potential outcomes and consequences of immigration, namely either upwards, downwards or selective assimilation, segmented assimilation theory instead describes the possible processes of assimilation. Although immigrant communities could witness significant periods of downwards or selective assimilation; upwards assimilation seems the outcome of migration, albeit this could take significant time (Xie & Greenman, 2005).

Alba & Nee (1997) reach a similar conclusion. The authors vehemently defend classical assimilation theory. The authors argue that the distinctions between post-1965 migration and early 20th century migration have been inflated. Alba & Nee (1997) argue that increasing anti-immigration legislation in Western nations have already significantly limited continuous immigration flows. Furthermore, although the economy might indeed resemble an "hourglass" economy, higher education has become increasingly more accessible for second and subsequent immigrant generations. Therefore, economic mobility for today's immigrants has not necessarily decreased compared to early 20th century immigrants (Alba & Nee, 1997). Moreover, the authors argue that the notion of increasing racial profiling is also inflated. Race, after all, is a social construct and not an inherent attribute of people. Whereas all light skinned people are presently perceived as the same race, in the past this was not the case; Italian and Irish immigrants who arrived in the USA during the early 20th century had also been depicted as being of a different and inferior race than the Anglo-Protestant Americans. As such, these immigrant groups faced similar hostilities by native Americans as today's dark skinned immigrants (Alba & Nee, 1997). Hence, as there seem to be no significant differences between early 20th century and post-1965 immigration, the authors argue that today's

immigrant will also eventually fully assimilate, both in terms of social-cultural and structural assimilation.

Furthermore, as a response to the empirical findings that contradict classical assimilation theory, such as the aforementioned phenomenon of "second generation decline", it has been argued that these are just hurdles experienced along the way (Alba & Nee, 1997). Regarding social-cultural assimilation, classical assimilation theory has also slightly adapted its prediction. In contrast to the aforementioned clear-cut process of straight line assimilation in which every generation witnesses an increase in social-cultural assimilation, Gans (1992) has formulated a "bumpy-line theory of ethnicity". The key notion of classical assimilation theory is still supported, namely that there is a generational dynamic behind social-cultural assimilation. However, the bumpy-line theory of ethnicity maintains that instead of a straight line. the paths of social-cultural assimilation can be witnessed by periods of significant revival of the original community's culture and identity (Gans, 1992).

To conclude, this section has highlighted that when it comes to social-cultural assimilation, individual immigrants tend to prefer to preserve their culture and identity (Berry, 1997). However, immigrant communities and their subsequent generations will over time also display cultural assimilation aside from only social assimilation, according to classical assimilation theory. While segmented assimilation theory postulated another perspective and social-cultural assimilation trajectory, it too has received its share of criticism. Nonetheless, segmented assimilation theory has contributed two key insights to the field of assimilation theory. Firstly, although classical assimilation theory might have been right that social-cultural assimilation into mainstream society is the final outcome of immigration, segmented assimilation theory has shown that instead of a clear-cut process of straight line assimilation, the path of social-cultural assimilation can display significant setbacks that can even last entire generations. Secondly, segmented assimilation theory has underscored the importance of taking the characteristics of ethnic communities' into account when making predictions regarding social-cultural assimilation. General predictions do not apply and as such every ethnic community should be analyzed separately if a better understanding of their social-cultural assimilation is to be achieved.

Appendix 4: Interview Questions

Introduction

1. *Could you please introduce yourself, and the non-Western community with which you identify the most?*

2. *Have been a volunteer in the past, and if yes, could you please highlight what kind of activities and tasks you executed?*

Main Questions:

3. *What is traditionally seen as volunteering in your community?*

4. *To what extent is it expected of members of your community to volunteer? And has this expectation increased over the years?*

5. *Do you notice any changes taking place within your community with respect to activities that are traditionally perceived as volunteering?*

    a. *Do you notice that younger member of your community increasingly participate in voluntary activities that go beyond and differ from the traditional voluntary activities?*

6. *If the community has indeed witnessed a change in the perception of what a volunteer should do, do you notice that the activities that have recently become more popular are also being perceived as voluntary by the older more traditional members of your community?*

    .

Ending:

7. *I would like to discuss the translation of some statements in English to Dutch regarding the survey*

8. *Finally, do you have any last remarks/insights regarding volunteering within your community that you would like to share?*

Appendix 5: Interview Guide

Introduction.

Thank you for participating in the interview. I greatly appreciate your time and effort and am glad that you are interested in my research. In a nutshell my research will analyze the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens. The perception of volunteering of native Dutch citizens is well documented. However, there exists a great deal of confusion regarding the perception of volunteering of non-Western citizens. It remains unclear what the view of these citizens is; what are the activities and tasks that a volunteer is expected to do?

As such, the research question of my study is as follows: *Is there a difference in the perception of volunteering between native and non-Western citizens?*

Therefore, I will try to answer this research question in my thesis research for the MSc International Management / CEMS at the Erasmus University under supervision of Dr. Prof. Lucas Meijs. To complete my research as successfully as possible I will need to adapt an already existing survey. Hence, the main purpose of this interview is to get a more coherent insight into generational differences amongst non-Western citizens, and to get your opinion regarding a culturally sensitive translation of the survey from English to Dutch.

With your permission this interview will be recorded for analytical purposes. Everything that will be discussed during the interview will be exclusively used for research purposes. Furthermore, your anonymity will be safeguarded and the recordings will be treated confidentially.

Do you have any questions before we start?

Introduction

1. *Could you please introduce yourself, and the non-Western community with which you identify the most?*
2. *Have been a volunteer in the past, and if yes, could you please highlight what kind of activities and tasks you executed?*

Main Questions:

3. *What is traditionally seen as volunteering in your community?*

4. *To what extent is it expected of members of your community to volunteer? And has this expectation increased over the years?*

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5. *Do you notice any changes taking place within your community with respect to activities that are traditionally perceived as volunteering?*
   a. *Do you notice that younger member of your community increasingly participate in voluntary activities that go beyond and differ from the traditional voluntary activities?*

6. *If the community has indeed witnessed a change in the perception of what a volunteer should do, do you notice that the activities that have recently become more popular are also being perceived as voluntary by the older more traditional members of your community?*

   .

Ending:

7. *I would like to discuss the translation of some statements in English to Dutch regarding the survey*

8. *Finally, do you have any last remarks/insights regarding volunteering within your community that you would like to share?*

We have reached the end of the interview. I would like to thank you again for your time and valuable input. In case you have any questions, or if you would like to share some additional comments later on, please do not hesitate to contact me by e-mail of phone. The key insights will be shared with you at the end of February. Finally, I would like to as if you could fill out and share the survey with family/friends/colleagues/acquaintances once I am finished adapting it.

Appendix 6. Cultural Sensitive Translation

Q	English	Dutch
1	A teacher who serves on the board of a local library	Een leraar die lid is van het bestuur van een lokale bibliotheek
2	A teacher who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless	Een leraar die bij de voedselbank helpt met het uitdelen van maaltijden aan daklozen
3	A teacher who agrees to offer his/her services to the symphony orchestra (for three hours) in exchange for a free ticket to the concert	Een leraar die bereid is les te geven (voor 3 uur) aan een symfonieorkest in ruil voor een gratis concertkaartje
4	A teacher who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless in order to impress his date	Een leraar die bij de voedselbank helpt met het uitdelen van maaltijden aan daklozen om indruk te maken op zijn sociaal netwerk
5	The medical doctor who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless	Een dokter die bij de voedselbank helpt met het uitdelen van maaltijden aan daklozen
6	The medical doctor who agrees to offer his/her services in case of an emergency at the symphony concert in exchange for a free ticket to the concert	Een dokter die bereid is medische hulp bij ongevallen te leveren bij een symfonieconcert in ruil voor een gratis concertkaartje.
7	The medical doctor who serves on the board of a local library	Een doktor die lid is van het bestuur van een lokale bibliotheek
8	The medical doctor who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless in order to impress his date	Een dokter die bij de voedselbank helpt met het uitdelen van maaltijden aan daklozen om indruk te maken op zijn sociaal netwerk
9	The medical doctor who delivers a research paper at a conference held by the American Medical Association (AMA)	Een huisarts die een onderzoeksrapport presenteert op een conferentie van de 'Landelijke Huisartsen Vereniging'
10	A teenager who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless in order to impress his date	Een tiener die bij de voedselbank helpt met het uitdelen van maaltijden aan daklozen om indruk te maken op zijn sociaal netwerk
11	A teenager who serves on the board of a local library as a student representative	Een tiener die lid is van het bestuur van een lokale bibliotheek als een studentenvertegenwoordiger
12	A teenager who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen	Een tiener die bij de voedselbank helpt met het uitdelen van maaltijden aan daklozen

	for the homeless	
13	The teenager who presents a program on youth leadership to an audience of peers at a religious youth conference with hope to find a suitable date	Een tiener die een presentatie geeft over jeugd- en jongerenwerk voor leeftijdsgenoten op een religieuze conferentie voor jongeren om indruk te maken op zijn sociaal netwerk
14	A teenager who agrees to offer his/her services as an usher at the symphony concert in exchange for a free ticket to the concert	Een tiener die mensen naar hun stoel begeleidt in een theater gedurende een symfonieconcert in ruil voor een concertkaartje
15	A teenager who offers to program the computer at a nonprofit agency, without pay, in order to establish "resume experience". After three months the teenager plans to quit and apply for a paying job	Een tiener die een software programma schrijft voor een non-profit organisatie, zonder financiële compensatie, om relevante werkervaring op te bouwen. Na drie maanden is de tiener van plan te stoppen en vervolgens te solliciteren naar een betaalde baan.
16	The teenager who presents a program on youth leadership to an audience of peers at a religious youth conference	Een tiener die een presentatie geeft over jeugd- en jongerenwerk aan leeftijdsgenoten op een religieuze conferentie voor jongeren
17	The student who is doing a community service project as part of a high school graduation requirement	Een scholier die activiteiten begeleidt in een buurthuis als een stageproject voor zijn middelbare schoolopleiding
18	The student who is helping Special Olympics as part of a high school graduation requirement	Een scholier die helpt bij de Paralympics als een stageproject voor zijn middelbare schoolopleiding
19	An IBM executive who agrees to offer his/her services on the fundraising of the symphony orchestra in exchange for free tickets	Een manager van Unilever die helpt met het organiseren van een geldinzameling voor een symfonieorkest in ruil voor gratis concertkaartjes
20	An IBM executive who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless	Een manager van Unilever die bij de voedselbank helpt met het uitdelen van voedsel aan daklozen
21	Am IBM executive who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless in order to impress his date	Een manager van Unilever die bij de voedselbank helpt met het uitdelen van maaltijden aan daklozen om indruk te maken op zijn sociaal netwerk
22	An IBM executive who serves on the board of a local library	Een manager van Unilever die lid is van het bestuur van een lokale bibliotheek
23	An IBM executive who is granted a year of social service leave with pay, to become a temporary staff person with a nonprofit organization	Een manager van Unilever die een jaar lang door het bedrijf betaalde maatschappelijke dienstverlening gaat doen door tijdelijk leiding te geven bij een non-profit organisatie

24	An office manager who accompanies his wife to visit seniors in a nursing home	Een bedrijfsmanager die zijn vrouw vergezelt met het bezoeken van ouderen in een verpleeghuis
25	An office manager who, by his/her own choice, works overtime without pay	Een bedrijfsmanager die zonder extra betaling en uit eigen beweging overwerkt
26	The trainer who does a free workshop for an organization as a marketing device	De opleider/trainer die een gratis workshop geeft voor een organisatie als vorm van marketing voor zijn eigen bedrijf
27	The trainer who does a free workshop for the Breast Cancer Foundation as a marketing device	De opleider/trainer die een gratis workshop geeft aan het KWF kankerbestrijding als vorm van marketing voor zijn eigen bedrijf
28	A college student enrolled in the National and Community Service program, who gives his time to Big Brother/Sister and receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition	Een student aan een hogeschool/universiteit die via een overheidsinitiatief om maatschappelijk werk te stimuleren lid is geworden van UNICEF en hiervoor een onkostenvergoeding en gedeeltelijke kwijtschelding van het collegegeld ontvangt
29	A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition	Een student aan een hogeschool/universiteit die via een overheidsinitiatief om maatschappelijk werk te stimuleren activiteiten begeleidt in een buurthuis en hiervoor een onkostenvergoeding en gedeeltelijke kwijtschelding van het collegegeld ontvangt
30	The paid staff person who serves on the board of United Way in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency	Een betaald staflid dat in het bestuur van het Rode Kruis zit op een zetel die speciaal gereserveerd is voor leden van zijn/haar organisatie
31	The person who participates in a pharmaceutical study, to determine the effectiveness of a new drug	Iemand die meedoet aan een farmaceutische studie als proefpersoon om de effectiviteit van een nieuw medicijn te testen.
32	A childless adult who wants to engage with children offers his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister	Een kindloze volwassene die tijd met kinderen wil doorbrengen wordt lid van een stichting die volwassenen koppelt aan kansarme kinderen van 5 tot en met 18 jaar. De volwassene doet wekelijks leuke activiteiten met het kind waarmee ze gekoppeld is en geeft ze een steuntje in de rug
33	The CEO of a local corporation who is volunteer chairperson of the United Way campaign ad who delegates all the work to the assistant	De directeur van een bedrijf die onbetaald voorzitter is van het Rode Kruis maar al het werk naar zijn assistent delegeert
34	The assistant to the CEO of a local corporation who is volunteer chairperson of the United Way campaign who does the job for his boss	De assistent van de directeur van een bedrijf die onbetaald voorzitter is van de het Rode Kruis, en die feitelijk al het werk van zijn/haar baas doet
35	A member of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) who leads an	Een lid van de Anonieme Alcoholisten (AA) die elke week de AA bijeenkomst begeleidt

	AA meeting every week	
36	A member of a community sport club who leads a group of joggers every week	Een lid van een locale sportvereniging die wekelijks een groepje hardlopers leidt
37	A six-month old baby who accompanies her parents to visit seniors at a nursing home	Een zes maanden oude baby die met zijn/haar ouders op bezoek gaat bij ouderen in een verpleeghuis
38	An accountant charged with embezzling, who accepts a sentence of 250 hours of community service in lieu of prosecution	Een accountant beschuldigd van verduistering accepteert een alternatieve straf van 250 uur vrijwilligerswerk in plaats van rechtsvervolging
39	The paid staff person who serves on the board of a nonprofit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency	Een betaald staflid dat in het bestuur van een non-profit organisatie zit op een zetel die speciaal gereserveerd is voor leden van zijn/haar organisatie
40	The home owner who helps create a crime watch group to safeguard his own neighborhood	Een buurtbewoner die meehelpt met het opzetten van een buurtwacht
41	A parent who becomes a scout leader because of his/her child desires to be a scout. No one else will lead the troop so the parent agrees, but only as long as his/her child is involved	Een ouder die leiding geeft aan een jeugdteam bij een voetbalvereniging omdat zijn of haar kind in het team zit. Hij/zij doet dit omdat niemand anders leiding geeft aan de groep, maar alleen zolang het eigen kind op de voetbalclub zit
42	A child who assist in setting up booths at the volunteer fair because one of his parents is volunteer administrator and asks her/him to help	Een kind dat helpt met het opzetten van kraampjes voor een vrijwilligersmarkt, omdat een van zijn ouders die in de organisatie zit het vraagt
43	The person who is ill with Cystic Fibrosis, who participates in a pharmaceutical study, to determine the effectiveness of a new drug in treating the disease	Iemand met een blaasontsteking die proefpersoon is in een farmaceutische studie voor een nieuw medicijn ter behandeling van zijn/haar ziekte
44	An adult who offer his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister	Een volwassene wordt lid van een stichting die volwassenen koppelt aan kansarme kinderen van 5 tot en met 18 jaar. De volwassene doet wekelijks leuke activiteiten met het kind waarmee ze gekoppeld is en geeft ze een steuntje in de rug
45	A person who donates blood to a local hospital	Iemand die bloed doneert aan een lokaal ziekenhuis

46	A person who takes care of a spouse's children from a previous marriage (step-parenting)	Een vrouw/man die zorgt voor de kinderen uit het vorige huwelijk van haar/zijn echtgenoot (stiefmoeder/stiefvader)
47	The hourly wageworker who, by his/her own choice, works overtime without pay	De uitzendkracht die zonder extra betaling en uit eigen beweging overwerkt
48	An unemployed person who volunteers to teach English as a second language to new immigrants	Iemand die werkloos is biedt aan om Nederlands als tweede taal te leren aan nieuwe immigranten
49	An adult who volunteers to teach English as a second language to new immigrants	Een volwassene biedt aan om Nederlands als tweede taal te leren aan nieuwe immigranten
50	A lawyer who provides legal services to a nonprofit organization at half his/her regular time	Een advocaat die rechtsbijstand geeft aan een non-profit organisatie voor half zijn/haar standaard uurloon
51	A resident organizes a weekly cleanup of the neighbourhood with other residents	Een buurtbewoner organiseert een wekelijkse schoonmaakactie samen met andere buurtbewoners om de buurt op te ruimen
52	An office employee joins the organisation "Nederland Schoon" and spends every Saturday cleaning litter from the streets throughout The Netherlands	Een kantoorwerknemer wordt lid van de stichting Nederland Schoon en besteedt elke vrije zaterdag om in verschillende gemeentes door heel Nederland te helpen met het opruimen van straatafval
53	A student offers to tutor children from the local neighbourhood free of charge	Een student biedt aan om gratis bijles te geven aan kinderen uit zijn buur
54	An IT employee gives a programming workshop at high schools throughout The Netherlands every week free of charge	Een IT werknemer geeft wekelijks gratis programmeer workshops op middelbare scholen door heel Nederland
55	A student goes to Indonesia to provide unpaid help in a nature reserve for two months	Een student gaat twee maanden gratis helpen in een natuurreservaat voor bedreigde diersoorten in Indonesië
56	A student visits households one night a week to collect donations for Doctors without Borders	Een student gaat een avond per week van huis tot huis met een collectebus voor Artsen Zonder Grenzen
57	A law student joins an organization that helps refugees and gives free legal advice to refugees regarding their asylum application in order to improve his CV	Een rechtenstudent wordt lid van Vluchtelingenwerk en geeft gratis juridisch advies aan vluchtelingen omtrent hun asielaanvraag om zijn CV te verbeteren
58	A finance student gives free advice to underprivileged entrepreneurs in South-Africa regarding their business plan in order to improve his CV	Een student financiën geeft gratis advies aan kansarme ondernemers in Zuid-Afrika met het formuleren van een bedrijfsplan om zijn CV te verbeteren

59	A member of a sport club offers to help in kitchen of the canteen every Saturday	Een lid van een sportvereniging biedt aan om elke zaterdag te helpen in de keuken van de clubkantine
60	A member of a sports club joins a charity run in order to raise funds for his club	Een lid van een sportvereniging doet mee aan een sponsorloop om geld op te halen voor de vereniging

Appendix 7. Rationale behind additional items

As aforementioned, the interviews indicated that there are generational differences regarding the perception of volunteering. This is in direct contrast to the literature review. As such, to further provide more clarity, the following ten items have been formulated based on the insights of the interviews. Below the items are an in-depth explanation of the rationale behind each item and how it can identify generational differences.

1. A resident organizes a weekly cleanup of the neighbourhood with other residents.
2. An office employee joins the organisation "Nederland Schoon"[3] and spends every Saturday cleaning litter from the streets throughout The Netherlands.
3. A student offers to tutor children from the local neighbourhood free of charge.
4. An IT employee gives a programming workshop at high schools throughout The Netherlands every week free of charge.
5. A student goes to Indonesia to provide unpaid help in a nature reserve for two months.
6. A student visits households one night a week to collect donations for Doctors without Borders.
7. A law student joins an organization that helps refugees and gives free legal advice to refugees regarding their asylum application in order to improve his CV.
8. A finance student gives free advice to underprivileged entrepreneurs in South-Africa regarding their business plan in order to improve his CV.
9. A member of a sport club offers to help in kitchen of the canteen every Saturday.
10. A member of a sports club joins a charity run in order to raise funds for his club.

Items one through four have been added in order to measure to what extent activities that predominantly aid the local community are preferred in the non-Western communities, and to what extent this has changed between the first and second generation. Items one and three are

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[3] This organization is literally translation as "The Netherlands Clean". Its main goal is, unsurprisingly, to clean neighborhoods throughout The Netherlands.

formulated in such a way that the respondent will interpret it as solely concerning their own community. In contrast, items two and four contain activities that clearly extend community boundaries.

Furthermore, the items have been formulated such that the volunteer in items two and four incurs significantly higher net-costs than the volunteer in items one and three. After all, the volunteer in items one and three helps fellow community members, and as such will likely benefit from an increase in social approval. Furthermore, the activity takes place within an informal setting, and as such there are no strict requirements to adhere to schedules, which further lowers the incurred costs. In contrast, the volunteer in items two and four helps complete strangers, and will as such benefit less from an increase in social approval of the people close to him (although some approval will undoubtedly be gained). Furthermore, the volunteer in item two joins a formal organization, whereas the volunteer in item one does not. This also would suggest that the volunteer in item two incurs more costs than the volunteer in item one. Moreover, it could be argued that the time of the volunteer in item four is more valuable than the time of the student in item three. After all, an employee could have earned more salary by working overtime instead of volunteering than the students since the student is likely to have a low-paying student job. The case could be made that an increase in earned salary is worth more than the potentially higher grade that the student could have achieved by studying more instead of volunteering. As such, it could be argued that the volunteer in item four incurs more costs, due to opportunity costs, than the volunteer in item three.

The net-costs theory would suggest that the volunteer in items two and four is regarded as more of a volunteer with respect to the volunteer in items one and three. However, the insights from the interviews would suggest that first generation non-Western Dutch citizens would regard the volunteer in items one and three as more of a volunteer as the volunteer in items two and four. Regarding the second generation, the interviews suggest that they would make no distinction between the four items; they are likely to regard all the activities as volunteering of a high degree.

Items five and six have been added in order to measure to what extent activities that predominantly aid people that are underprivileged are preferred in the non-Western communities, and to what extent this has changed between the first and second generation. Item five describes an activity in which the volunteer incurs a higher net-cost than the volunteer in item six as the volunteer spends significant more time volunteering; time that the volunteer could have spend otherwise. The net-costs theory suggest that respondents would rate item five as more volunteering than item six. However, the interviews suggest that first

generation citizens would rate item six as more volunteering than item five, since item six describes an activity that helps underprivileged people in need. The interviews do not suggest, however, that the same holds true for second generation citizens.

Items seven and eight have been added in order to measure to what extent activities that predominantly aid people fleeing conflict areas are preferred in the non-Western communities, and to what extent this has changed between the first and second generation. Both items contain similar net-costs, the volunteer is doing roughly the same activity in both situations, and the volunteer is doing this activity with the explicit purpose of improving his/her resume. The net-costs theory would suggest that both activities would receive a similar low score regarding whether it is volunteering. The interviews, however, suggest that first generation non-Western citizens will give a higher score to item seven than to item eight. The interviews suggested that first generation citizens, especially Muslim citizens, would show more approval of activities that not only help underprivileged citizens but especially citizens who are fleeing from conflict areas. As such, it is expected that first generation citizens will rate item seven as more volunteering than item 8. This is not expected to hold true for the second generation citizens.

Finally, items nine and ten have not been formulated with intention to highlight generational differences, in contrast to the other eight items. Instead, these items intend serve as a confirmation that non-Western citizens will give a higher score to special activities, such as a charity run, than the score they give to everyday tasks. As highlighted by the interviews, family and community bonds tend to be strong within many non-Western communities. As such, it is not uncommon for sports clubs to consist of mostly ethnically similar members. Hence, the question then arises whether helping out in the kitchen, which could be characterized as a mundane task, is seen as less volunteering than participating in a special event to help the club. These items will shed light on whether helping out at clubs/organizations that mostly exist of fellow community members is seen as volunteering or rather as socially expected and therefore not as volunteering.

Appendix 8. Survey

WHO IS A VOLUNTEER

First of all, I would like to thank you for participating in my thesis research for the Erasmus University. This research aims to measure the perception of non-Western citizens. By filling out this survey as accurately as possible it will be attempted to measure your perception. Please take your time reading every statement as carefully as possible. it takes roughly 15

minutes to fill out this survey. Finally, your information will be treated confidentially and will only be used for research purposes. In case of questions, please do not hesitate to contact me by e-mail: [email].
Again, thank you for your time!

Firstly, I would like to ask if you could please indicate the community with which you identify the most.

- Surinamese-Hindi community
- Surinamese-Indonesian community
- Surinamese-Creole community
- Surinamese-Chinese community
- Antillean community
- Turkish community
- Moroccan community
- Iraqi community
- Chinese community
- Indonesian community
- Somali community
- Afghan community
- Iranian community
- Syrian community
- Other:

What is your relation with the community?
- I have been born in the county and have moved to The Netherlands
- I have been born in The Netherlands but at least one of my parents has been born in the non-Western country
- Both my parents and I have been born in The Netherlands but at least one of my grandparents has been born in the non-Western country.

Following are 60 statements describing various activities performed by people. Using the scale below, please circle the number that best describes how you feel.

	Not a volunteer	Definitely a volunteer
Q01 A teacher who serves on the board of a local library		1 2 3 4 5
Q02 A teacher who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless		1 2 3 4 5
Q03 A teacher who agrees to offer his/her services to the symphony orchestra (for three hours) in exchange for a free ticket to the concert		1 2 3 4 5

Q04 A teacher who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen
for the homeless in order to impress his date   1 2 3 4 5

Q05 The medical doctor who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup
 kitchen for the homeless   1 2 3 4 5

Q06 The medical doctor who agrees to offer his/her services in case
of an emergency at the symphony concert in exchange for a free
ticket to the concert   1 2 3 4 5

Q07 The medical doctor who serves on the board of a local library   1 2 3 4 5

Q08 The medical doctor who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup
kitchen for the homeless in order to impress his date   1 2 3 4 5

Q09 The medical doctor who delivers a research paper at a conference
held by the American Medical Association (AMA)   1 2 3 4 5

Q10 A teenager who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for
the homeless in order to impress his date   1 2 3 4 5

Q11 A teenager who serves on the board of a local library as a student
representative   1 2 3 4 5

Q12 A teenager who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for
the homeless   1 2 3 4 5

Q13 The teenager who presents a program on youth leadership to an
audience of peers at a religious youth conference with hope to find a
suitable date   1 2 3 4 5

Q14 A teenager who agrees to offer his/her services as an usher at the
symphony concert in exchange for a free ticket to the concert   1 2 3 4 5

Q15 A teenager who offers to program the computer at a nonprofit
agency, without pay, in order to establish "resume experience". After
three months the teenager plans to quit and apply for a paying job   1 2 3 4 5

Q16 The teenager who presents a program on youth leadership to an
audience of peers at a religious youth conference   1 2 3 4 5

Q17 The student who is doing a community service project as part of a high school graduation requirement 1 2 3 4 5

Q18 The student who is helping Special Olympics as part of a high school graduation requirement 1 2 3 4 5

Q19 An IBM executive who agrees to offer his/her services on the fund raising of the symphony orchestra in exchange for free tickets 1 2 3 4 5

Q20 An IBM executive who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless 1 2 3 4 5

Q21 Am IBM executive who volunteers to serve a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless in order to impress his date 1 2 3 4 5

Q22 An IBM executive who serves on the board of a local library 1 2 3 4 5

Q23 An IBM executive who is granted a year of social service leave with pay, to become a temporary staff person with a nonprofit organization 1 2 3 4 5

Q24 An office manager who accompanies his wife to visit seniors in a nursing home 1 2 3 4 5

Q25 An office manager who, by his/her own choice, works overtime without pay 1 2 3 4 5

Q26 The trainer who does a free workshop for an organization as a marketing device 1 2 3 4 5

Q27 The trainer who does a free workshop for the Breast Cancer Foundation as a marketing device 1 2 3 4 5

Q28 A college student enrolled in the National and Community Service program, who gives his time to Big Brother/Sister and receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition 1 2 3 4 5

Q29 A college student who is enrolled in the National and Community Service program, and doing community service receives a stipend and partial forgiveness of tuition 1 2 3 4 5

Q30 The paid staff person who serves on the board of United Way in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency 1 2 3 4 5

Q31 The person who participates in a pharmaceutical study, to determine the effectiveness of a new drug 1 2 3 4 5

Q32 A childless adult who wants to engage with children offers his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister 1 2 3 4 5

Q33 The CEO of a local corporation who is volunteer chairperson of the United Way campaign ad who delegates all the work to the assistant 1 2 3 4 5

Q34 The assistant to the CEO of a local corporation who is volunteer chairperson of the United Way campaign who does the job for his boss 1 2 3 4 5

Q35 A member of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) who leads an AA meeting every week 1 2 3 4 5

Q36 A member of a community sport club who leads a group of joggers every week 1 2 3 4 5

Q37 A six-month old baby who accompanies her parents to visit seniors at a nursing home 1 2 3 4 5

Q38 An accountant charged with embezzling, who accepts a sentence of 250 hours of community service in lieu of prosecution 1 2 3 4 5

Q39 The paid staff person who serves on the board of a nonprofit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency 1 2 3 4 5

Q40 The home owner who helps create a crime watch group to safeguard his own neighborhood 1 2 3 4 5

Q41 A parent who becomes a scout leader because of his/her child desires to be a scout. No one else will lead the troop so the parent agrees, but only as long as his/her child is involved 1 2 3 4 5

Q42 A child who assist in setting up booths at the volunteer fair because one of his parents is volunteer administrator and asks her/him to help 1 2 3 4 5

Q43 The person who is ill with Cystic Fibrosis, who participates in a pharmaceutical study, to determine the effectiveness of a new drug in treating the disease 1 2 3 4 5

Q44 An adult who offer his/her time to be a Big Brother/Sister   1 2 3 4 5

Q45 A person who donates blood to a local hospital   1 2 3 4 5

Q46 A person who takes care of a spouse's children from a previous
marriage (step-parenting)   1 2 3 4 5

Q47 The hourly wageworker who, by his/her own choice, works
overtime without pay   1 2 3 4 5

Q48 An unemployed person who volunteers to teach English as a
second language to new immigrants   1 2 3 4 5

Q49 An adult who volunteers to teach English as a second language
to new immigrants   1 2 3 4 5

Q50 A lawyer who provides legal services to a nonprofit organization
at half his/her regular time   1 2 3 4 5

Q51 A resident organizes a weekly cleanup of the neighbourhood
with other residents   1 2 3 4 5

Q52 An office employee joins the organisation Nederland Schoon
and spends every Saturday cleaning litter from the streets
throughout The Netherlands   1 2 3 4 5

Q53 A student offers to tutor children from the local neighbourhood
free of charge   1 2 3 4 5

Q54 An IT employee gives a programming workshop at high schools
throughout The Netherlands every week free of charge   1 2 3 4 5

Q55 A student goes to Indonesia to provide unpaid help in a
nature reserve for two months   1 2 3 4 5

Q56 A student visits households one night a week to collect
donations for Doctors without Borders   1 2 3 4 5

Q57 A law student joins an organization that helps refugees and
gives free legal advice to refugees regarding their asylum application
in order to improve his CV   1 2 3 4 5

Q58 A finance student gives free advice to underprivileged
entrepreneurs in South-Africa regarding their business plan in order
to improve his CV   1 2 3 4 5

Q59 A member of a sport club offers to help in kitchen of the canteen
every Saturday   1 2 3 4 5

Q60 A member of a sports club joins a charity run in order to raise funds
for his club   1 2 3 4 5

To further assist me in analyzing my data, I would appreciate it if you can provide me with
the information requested below.

Are you?
    ( ) Male
    ( ) Female

Are you?
    ( ) < 18
    ( ) 18-24
    ( ) 25-34
    ( ) 35-44
    ( ) 45-54
    ( ) 55-64
    ( ) >65

Are you?
    ( ) Single
    ( ) Married
    ( ) Widowed
    ( ) Divorced
    ( ) Living with significant other

What is your highest level of education completed?
    ( ) Elementary school
    ( ) High school
    ( ) MBO
    ( ) HBO
    ( ) WO Bachelor
    ( ) WO Master

What is your yearly household income?

( ) $0-$10,000
( ) $10,001-$20,000
( ) $20,001-$30,000
( ) $30,001-$40,000
( ) $40,001-$50,000
( ) $50,001-$60,000
( ) $60,001-$70,000
( ) $70,001-$80,000
( ) $80,001 or more

What is your religion?
( ) Christianity
( ) Islam
( ) Buddhism
( ) Hinduism
( ) I am not religious
( ) Other:

Did you volunteer your time to any organization or group in the last 12 months?
( ) yes
( ) no

Did you volunteer your time to any organization or group any time in the past?
( ) yes
( ) no

This is the end of the survey. Thank you again for filling out the survey! Are you interested in the results of this research? Then please leave your e-mail and I will send you a summary with the key findings at the end of February.

- E-Mail:

Appendix 9. Second hypothesis: Analysis of the Net-costs theory

Appendix 9.1. Antillean & Surinamese versus Turkish and Moroccan citizens.

This section includes the analysis of the five sub-hypotheses in order to confirm whether the perception of volunteering of Antillean and Surinamese, and Turkish and Moroccan citizens is conform the net-costs theory.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting different opportunity costs for similar activities by four individuals (an IBM executive, a medical doctor, a teacher, and a student) for Antillean and Surinamese, and Turkish and Moroccan citizens. One-Way ANOVA tests have been used.

	Serving on the board of a local library		Serving a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless		Helping the symphony orchestra in exchange for free tickets	
Antillean & Surinamese	IBM Executive	4.02	IBM Executive	4.76	IBM Executive	2.34
	Medical Doctor	3.68	Medical Doctor	4.76	Medical Doctor	2.41
	Teacher	3.98	Teacher	4.93	Teacher	2.88
	Student	3.83	Student	4.78	Student	2.83
	F-Value	0.450	F-Value	0.577	F-Value	0.275
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.
Turkish & Moroccan	IBM Executive	3.17	IBM Executive	4.17	IBM Executive	2
	Medical Doctor	3.11	Medical Doctor	4.50	Medical Doctor	2.39
	Teacher	3	Teacher	4.56	Teacher	2.17
	Student	3.67	Student	4.56	Student	2.61
	F-Value	0.586	F-Value	0.330	F-Value	0.468
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis opportunity costs.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting the same volunteer activity to unspecified charities or to recognized charities for Antillean and Surinamese, and Turkish and Moroccan citizens. Paired t-Tests have been used.

	The student who is doing a community service project as part of a high school graduation requirement vs. The student who is helping the Paralympics as part of a high school graduation requirement		The trainer who does a free workshop for an organization as a marketing device vs. The trainer who does a free workshop for the Breast Cancer Foundation as a marketing device		The paid staff person who serves on the board of a non-profit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency vs. The paid staff person who serves on the board of United Way in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency	
Antillean & Surinamese	Mean no charity	2.46	Mean no charity	1.80	Mean no charity	1.71
	Mean w/charity	2.44	Mean w/charity	1.85	Mean w/charity	1.80
	T-value	0.190	T-value	-0.330	T-value	-0.417
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.
Turkish & Moroccan	Mean no charity	2,22	Mean no charity	1.44	Mean no charity	1.44
	Mean w/charity	2.17	Mean w/charity	1.56	Mean w/charity	1.11
	T-value	0.369	T-value	-0.566	T-value	2.062
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis implicit costs.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting volunteer activities with different costs to the volunteers for Antillean and Surinamese, and Turkish and Moroccan citizens. Paired t-Tests have been used.

	The CEO of a local corporation who is volunteer chairperson of the United Way campaign and who delegates all the work to his assistant vs. the assistant to this CEO who does the job for his boss		**A member of a community sport club who leads a group of joggers every week vs. the home owner who helps create a crime watch group to safeguard his own neighbourhood**	
Antillean & Surinamese	Mean CEO	2.73	Mean joggers leader	4.15
	Mean assistant	3.12	Mean crime watch	4.63
	T-value	-1.043	T-value	-2.970
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	0,005**
Turkish & Moroccan	Mean CEO	2	Mean joggers leader	3.61
	Mean assistant	2.22	Mean crime watch	4.06
	T-value	-0.544	T-value	-2.406
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	0.028*

Hypothesis explicit costs.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting the same volunteer activity performed with and without explicit personal benefits for Antillean and Surinamese, and Turkish and Moroccan citizens. Paired t-Tests have been used.

	An IBM executive		The medical doctor		The teacher		The teenager	
Antillean & Surinamese	Mean With	3.41	Mean With	3.32	Mean With	3.78	Mean With	3.85
	Mean W/O	4.76	Mean W/O	4.76	Mean W/O	4.93	Mean W/O	4.78
	T-value	-6.104	T-value	-6.140	T-value	-5.666	T-value	-4.461
	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***
Turkish & Moroccan	Mean With	2.67	Mean With	3.06	Mean With	3.06	Mean With	3.33
	Mean W/O	4.17	Mean W/O	4.5	Mean W/O	4.56	Mean W/O	4.56
	T-value	-4.343	T-value	-4.579	T-value	-4.915	T-value	-3.608
	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***

Hypothesis explicit benefits.

The tables show the comparison of means of items depicting volunteer activities with equal net costs but with different perceived contribution to society for Antillean and Surinamese, and Turkish and Moroccan citizens. Paired t-Tests have been used

	An office manager who accompanies his wife to visit seniors in a nursing home vs. an office manager who, by his/her own choice, works overtime without pay		An adult who offers his/her time to be a Big Brother or Big Sister vs. an adult who volunteers to teach English as a second language to new immigrants	
Antillean & Surinamese	Mean nursing home	3.78	Mean Big Brother	4.61
	Mean overtime	2.2	Mean Teacher of ESL	4.61
	T-value	5.676	T-value	0.000
	Significance	0.000***	Significance	N.S.
Turkish & Moroccan	Mean nursing home	3	Mean Big Brother	4.28
	Mean overtime	2.06	Mean Teacher of ESL	4.33
	T-value	1.99	T-value	-0.175
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis different social output, 1.

	An IBM executive		The medical doctor		The teacher		The teenager	
Antillean & Surinamese	Mean soup	4.76	Mean soup	4.76	Mean soup	4.93	Mean soup	4.78
	Mean libr.	4.02	Mean libr.	3.68	Mean libr.	3.98	Mean libr.	3.83
	T-value	3.491	T-value	4.561	T-value	4.205	T-value	3.609
	Significance	0.001**	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.001**
Turkish & Moroccan	Mean soup	4.17	Mean soup	4.50	Mean soup	4.56	Mean soup	4.56
	Mean libr.	3.17	Mean libr.	3.11	Mean libr.	3.00	Mean libr.	3.67
	T-value	2.915	T-value	3.828	T-value	4.507	T-value	3.688
	Significance	0.01*	Significance	0.001**	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.002**

Hypothesis different social output, 2.

Appendix 9.2. First versus Second generation non-Western citizens

This section includes the analysis of the five sub-hypotheses in order to confirm whether the perception of volunteering of the first and second generation non-Western Dutch citizens is conform the net-costs theory.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting different opportunity costs for similar activities by four individuals (an IBM executive, a medical doctor, a teacher, and a student) for first and second generation citizens. One-Way ANOVA tests have been used.

		Serving on the board of a local library		Serving a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless		Helping the symphony orchestra in exchange for free tickets
First generation	IBM Executive	4	IBM Executive	4.4	IBM Executive	2.26
	Medical Doctor	3.79	Medical Doctor	4.64	Medical Doctor	2.51
	Teacher	3.90	Teacher	4.76	Teacher	2.79
	Student	3.71	Student	4.61	Student	2.89
	F-Value	0.497	F-Value	1.420	F-Value	2.592
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.
Second generation	IBM Executive	3.88	IBM Executive	4.83	IBM Executive	2.21
	Medical Doctor	3.88	Medical Doctor	4.79	Medical Doctor	2.17
	Teacher	3.75	Teacher	4.92	Teacher	2.38
	Student	3.88	Student	4.83	Student	2.25
	F-Value	0.056	F-Value	0.420	F-Value	0.095
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis opportunity costs.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting the same volunteer activity to unspecified charities or to recognized charities for first and second generation citizens Paired t-Tests have been used.

	The student who is doing a community service project as part of a high school graduation requirement vs. The student who is helping the Paralympics as part of a high school graduation requirement		The trainer who does a free workshop for an organization as a marketing device vs. The trainer who does a free workshop for the Breast Cancer Foundation as a marketing device		The paid staff person who serves on the board of a non-profit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency vs. The paid staff person who serves on the board of United Way in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency	
First generation	Mean no charity	2.41	Mean no charity	1.67	Mean no charity	1.60
	Mean w/charity	2.47	Mean w/charity	1.66	Mean w/charity	1.76
	T-value	-0.646	T-value	0.123	T-value	-0.900
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.
Second generation	Mean no charity	2.58	Mean no charity	1.88	Mean no charity	1.33
	Mean w/charity	2.50	Mean w/charity	2.00	Mean w/charity	1.29
	T-value	0.569	T-value	-1.366	T-value	0.371
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis implicit costs.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting volunteer activities with different costs to the volunteers for first and second generation citizens. Paired t-Tests have been used.

	The CEO of a local corporation who is volunteer chairperson of the United Way campaign and who delegates all the work to his assistant vs. the assistant to this CEO who does the job for his boss		A member of a community sport club who leads a group of joggers every week vs. the home owner who helps create a crime watch group to safeguard his own neighbourhood	
First generation	Mean CEO	2.36	Mean joggers leader	3.99
	Mean assistant	2.80	Mean crime watch	4.49
	T-value	-1.797	T-value	-4.168
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	0.000***
Second generation	Mean CEO	2.71	Mean joggers leader	4.04
	Mean assistant	3.00	Mean crime watch	4.38
	T-value	-0.639	T-value	-1.446
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis explicit costs.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting the same volunteer activity performed with and without explicit personal benefits for first and second generation citizens. Paired t-Tests have been used.

	An IBM executive		The medical doctor		The teacher		The teenager	
First generation	Mean With	2.90	Mean With	3.21	Mean With	3.53	Mean With	3.40
	Mean W/O	4.40	Mean W/O	4.64	Mean W/O	4.76	Mean W/O	4.61
	T-value	-8.470	T-value	-7.920	T-value	-7.157	T-value	-6.158
	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***
Second generation	Mean With	3.00	Mean With	3.17	Mean With	3.29	Mean With	3.42
	Mean W/O	4.83	Mean W/O	4.79	Mean W/O	4.92	Mean W/O	4.83
	T-value	-5.898	T-value	-5.314	T-value	-5.214	T-value	-4.233
	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***

Hypothesis explicit benefits.

The tables below show the comparison of means of items depicting volunteer activities with equal net costs but with different perceived contribution to society for first and second generation citizens. Paired t-Tests have been used.

	An office manager who accompanies his wife to visit seniors in a nursing home vs. an office manager who, by his/her own choice, works overtime without pay		An adult who offers his/her time to be a Big Brother or Big Sister vs. an adult who volunteers to teach English as a second language to new immigrants	
First generation	Mean nursing home	3.36	Mean Big Brother	4.34
	Mean overtime	1.97	Mean Teacher of ESL	4.53
	T-value	5.791	T-value	-1.195
	Significance	0.000***	Significance	N.S.
Second generation	Mean nursing home	3.38	Mean Big Brother	4.92
	Mean overtime	2.50	Mean Teacher of ESL	4.54
	T-value	2.262	T-value	2.584
	Significance	0.033*	Significance	0.017*

Hypothesis different social output, 1.

	An IBM executive		The medical doctor		The teacher		The teenager	
First generation	Mean soup	4.40	Mean soup	4.64	Mean soup	4.76	Mean soup	4.61
	Mean libr.	4.00	Mean libr.	3.79	Mean libr.	3.90	Mean libr.	3.71
	T-value	2.742	T-value	4.672	T-value	4.855	T-value	5.035
	Significance	-.008**	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***
Second generation	Mean soup	4.83	Mean soup	4.79	Mean soup	4.92	Mean soup	4.83
	Mean libr.	3.38	Mean libr.	3.88	Mean libr.	3.75	Mean libr.	3.88
	T-value	3.704	T-value	3.412	T-value	4.263	T-value	3.218
	Significance	0.001**	Significance	0.002**	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.004**

Hypothesis different social output, 2.

Appendix 9.3. Highly educated citizens versus citizens with little education

This section includes the analysis of the five sub-hypotheses in order to confirm whether the perception of volunteering of highly educated and non-Western citizens with little education is conform the net-costs theory.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting different opportunity costs for similar activities by four individuals (an IBM executive, a medical doctor, a teacher, and a student) for highly educated non-Western citizens, and non-Western citizens with little education. One-Way ANOVA tests have been used.

	Serving on the board of a local library		Serving a meal at the soup kitchen for the homeless		Helping the symphony orchestra in exchange for free tickets	
Highly educated Non-Western Citizens	IBM Executive	4.29	IBM Executive	4.71	IBM Executive	2.40
	Medical Doctor	4.16	Medical Doctor	4.79	Medical Doctor	2.71
	Teacher	4.13	Teacher	4.89	Teacher	2.82
	Student	3.89	Student	4.87	Student	2.79
	F-Value	1.115	F-Value	1.291	F-Value	1.224
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.
Non-Western citizens with little education	IBM Executive	3.27	IBM Executive	4.07	IBM Executive	1.87
	Medical Doctor	3.03	Medical Doctor	4.43	Medical Doctor	1.80
	Teacher	3.27	Teacher	4.63	Teacher	2.37
	Student	3.47	Student	4.23	Student	2.57
	F-Value	0.345	F-Value	0.947	F-Value	1.1738
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis opportunity costs.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting the same volunteer activity to unspecified charities or to recognized charities for highly educated non-Western citizens, and non-Western citizens with little education. Paired t-Tests have been used.

	The student who is doing a community service project as part of a high school graduation requirement vs. The student who is helping the Paralympics as part of a high school graduation requirement		The trainer who does a free workshop for an organization as a marketing device vs. The trainer who does a free workshop for the Breast Cancer Foundation as a marketing device		The paid staff person who serves on the board of a non-profit group in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency vs. The paid staff person who serves on the board of United Way in a slot that is reserved for his/her agency	
Highly educated Non-Western citizens	Mean no charity	2.29	Mean no charity	1.63	Mean no charity	1.44
	Mean w/charity	2.34	Mean w/charity	1.66	Mean w/charity	1.56
	T-value	-0.652	T-value	-0.424	T-value	-0.832
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.
Non-Western citizens with little education	Mean no charity	2.83	Mean no charity	1.83	Mean no charity	1.60
	Mean w/charity	2.73	Mean w/charity	1.83	Mean w/charity	1.70
	T-value	0.593	T-value	0.000	T-value	-0.372
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis implicit costs.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting volunteer activities with different costs to the volunteers for highly educated non-Western citizens, and non-Western citizens with little education. Paired t-Tests have been used.

	The CEO of a local corporation who is volunteer chairperson of the United Way campaign and who delegates all the work to his assistant vs. the assistant to this CEO who does the job for his boss		A member of a community sport club who leads a group of joggers every week vs. the home owner who helps create a crime watch group to safeguard his own neighbourhood	
Highly educated non-Western citizens	Mean CEO	2.48	Mean joggers leader	4.05
	Mean assistant	2.87	Mean crime watch	4.66
	T-value	-1.382	T-value	-4.304
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	0.000***
Non-Western citizens with little education	Mean CEO	2.30	Mean joggers leader	3.93
	Mean assistant	2.77	Mean crime watch	4.03
	T-value	-1.304	T-value	-0.769
	Significance	N.S.	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis explicit costs.

The table below shows the comparison of means of items depicting the same volunteer activity performed with and without explicit personal benefits for highly educated non-Western citizens, and non-Western citizens with little education. Paired t-Tests have been used.

	An IBM executive		The medical doctor		The teacher		The teenager	
Highly educate non-Western citizens	Mean With	3.03	Mean With	3.42	Mean With	3.61	Mean With	3.48
	Mean W/O	4.71	Mean W/O	4.79	Mean W/O	4.89	Mean W/O	4.87
	T-value	-9.767	T-value	-7.557	T-value	-7.203	T-value	-7.578
	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***
Non-Western citizens with little education	Mean With	2.67	Mean With	2.73	Mean With	3.17	Mean With	3.23
	Mean W/O	4.07	Mean W/O	4.43	Mean W/O	4.63	Mean W/O	4.23
	T-value	-4.372	T-value	-5.667	T-value	-4.915	T-value	-2.739
	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.010*

Hypothesis explicit benefits.

The tables below show the comparison of means of items depicting volunteer activities with equal net costs but with different perceived contribution to society for highly educated non-Western citizens, and non-Western citizens with little education. Paired t-Tests have been used

	An office manager who accompanies his wife to visit seniors in a nursing home vs. an office manager who, by his/her own choice, works overtime without pay		An adult who offers his/her time to be a Big Brother or Big Sister vs. an adult who volunteers to teach English as a second language to new immigrants	
Highly educated non-Western citizens	Mean nursing home	3.50	Mean Big Brother	4.65
	Mean overtime	1.98	Mean Teacher of ESL	4.71
	T-value	6.182	T-value	-0.574
	Significance	0.000***	Significance	N.S.
Non-Western citizens with little education	Mean nursing home	3.10	Mean Big Brother	4.17
	Mean overtime	2.30	Mean Teacher of ESL	4.23
	T-value	2.129	T-value	-0.217
	Significance	0.042*	Significance	N.S.

Hypothesis different social output, 1.

	An IBM executive		The medical doctor		The teacher		The teenager	
Highly educated non-Western citizens	Mean soup	4.71	Mean soup	4.79	Mean soup	4.89	Mean soup	4.87
	Mean libr.	4.29	Mean libr.	4.16	Mean libr.	4.13	Mean libr.	3.89
	T-value	2.796	T-value	3.648	T-value	4.232	T-value	5.501
	Significance	0.007**	Significance	0.001**	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***
Non-Western citizens with little education	Mean soup	4.07	Mean soup	4.43	Mean soup	4.63	Mean soup	4.23
	Mean libr.	3.27	Mean libr.	3.03	Mean libr.	3.27	Mean libr.	3.47
	T-value	3.131	T-value	4.700	T-value	5.080	T-value	2.538
	Significance	0.004**	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.000***	Significance	0.017*

Hypothesis different social output, 2.