

Engaging Disadvantaged Youth in Volunteering: What Works in Recruitment?

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Abstract (ENG)

The underrepresentation of disadvantaged youth in volunteering is partly due to the recruitment strategies and methods of organizations, especially when organizations only recruit youngsters from their own network. This study aimed to explore what is needed to successfully recruit disadvantaged youth. Semi structured interviews were conducted and the data were analysed with the help of concepts derived from the rational prospecting theory. Participants were sixteen recruiters who work in an organization that is known for being successful in recruiting disadvantaged youth into volunteering. Results showed that almost three-quarters of the organizations recruit young people through their own social network. Other methods, which cost more time and money, were mentioned to be used mainly when their own network was not (yet) built. Organizations were able to reach disadvantaged youth because they actively targeted them in all their recruitment methods. The findings of this study indicate that recruitment of these youngsters can be done with minimal costs once an organization has gained a high reputation in their network. This study does emphasize that, in order to recruit and retain disadvantaged youth, which in turn helps to gain a high reputation, an organization should actively target and celebrate diversity.

Keywords: rational prospecting theory, youth volunteering, disadvantaged youth, recruitment, resource theory, diversity

Abstract (NL)

De ondervertegenwoordiging van kansarme jongeren in vrijwilligerswerk kan deels verklaard worden door de wervingstrategieën en methoden van organisaties, met name wanneer organisaties alleen jongeren uit hun eigen netwerk werven. Deze studie had als doel na te gaan wat er nodig is om kansarme jongeren succesvol te werven. Semi-gestructureerde interviews zijn hiervoor gehouden met zestien medewerkers die verantwoordelijk waren voor de werving in organisaties die succesvol zijn in het werven van kansarme jongeren. De gegevens zijn geanalyseerd met behulp van concepten afgeleid van de *rational prospecting theory*. Uit de resultaten bleek dat bijna driekwart van de organisaties jongeren werft via hun eigen sociale netwerk. Andere methoden, die meer tijd en geld kosten, werden vooral gebruikt wanneer hun eigen netwerk (nog) niet opgebouwd was. Organisaties konden kansarme jongeren werven doordat ze hen actief probeerden te bereiken in al hun wervingsmethoden. De resultaten van deze studie geven aan dat werving van deze jongeren met minimale kosten kan worden gedaan, zodra een organisatie een hoge reputatie heeft opgebouwd in zijn

netwerk. Deze studie benadrukt wel dat, om kansarme jongeren te werven en te behouden, wat op hun beurt weer kan bijdragen aan een hoge reputatie, een organisatie zich actief op diversiteit moet richten.

Kernwoorden: rational prospecting theory, jonge vrijwilligers, kansarme jongeren, werving, resource theory, diversiteit

Engaging Disadvantaged Youth in Volunteering: What Works in Recruitment?

“Young people are lazy and self-absorbed”, a phrase that most likely does not sound new to anyone. However, when we look at the facts, the opposite seems true. Youths are most active when it comes to volunteering. According to data from CBS, 59% of the Dutch youngsters in the age of 15 to 18 have volunteered at least once in the year 2017, this is 10% more than the average adult (CBS, 2018).

Young people gain a lot from participation in volunteer work. Volunteering has the ability to increase citizenship, reduce anti-social behaviour, and improve health, mental well-being, academic skills and socio-economic success (Jones, 2000; Kim & Borgül, 2017). Research on extracurricular activities, volunteering being one component of that, show that these benefits appear to be even greater for youth from lower socioeconomic backgrounds (i.e. disadvantaged youth). Effects are stronger in this group regarding positive academic results, better self-concept (Bromfield & Barber, 2011) and positive well-being (Hull et al., 2008). Since volunteering can lead to various developmental outcomes which benefits youngsters in their adult life, it is important for everyone, and particularly disadvantaged youth to have access to it.

Unfortunately, there is an underrepresentation of disadvantaged youth in most organizations that work with young volunteers (Dean, 2016; Kay & Bradbury, 2009). As recent Dutch statistics show (Schmeets & Arends, 2018), non-migrant high-educated individuals are the ones dominating the charts when it comes to volunteering. Studies on the most consistent predictors of volunteering confirm this by concluding that these are education, income and social networks (e.g., Weber, 2011; Wilson, 2000). This pattern of volunteer participation is problematic because it has the potential to trigger accumulated advantage for young people that are more fortunate. The question arises why disadvantaged youth seem to miss this opportunity for great outcomes.

One of the barriers to volunteering often mentioned by non-volunteers is the lack of knowledge about the possibilities of volunteering (Birdwell, Birnie, & Mehan, 2013; Hill, Russell, & Brewis, 2009). This seems to be mentioned more by young people than any other age group (Low, Butt, Ellis, & Smith, 2007). When examining how youngsters that do volunteer got involved with volunteering, being asked by someone seems the most common reason (Birdwell et al., 2013; Musick, Wilson & Bynum, 2000; Yörük, 2008). What stands out from the study of Musick et al. (2000), in which the difference in participation rates between white and black Americans is examined, is that when being asked was accounted for

in the analysis, the race effect became insignificant. While there are far more white volunteers, than any other racial group, the results suggest that this is the product of recruitment strategies, and not because minority volunteers have lower commitments than their white peers. These results emphasize the importance of an in-depth examination of the recruitment process of young volunteers.

With this context in mind, this study aims to explore the unequal involvement of youngsters in volunteering by investigating how the recruitment of these volunteers occurs. The theoretical framework consist of the resource theory (Wilson & Musick, 1997) and the rational prospecting theory (Brady, Schlozman, & Verba, 1999), these theories play a leading role in explaining the different participation rates among people from diverse backgrounds.

Theoretical framework

Wilson and Musick's 'resource model' (1997) argues that formal volunteering (e.g. volunteering within an organizational context) requires the availability of social, human and cultural capital. The model indicates that support to volunteering organizations is given more often by those who have more resources; person's social resources such as social ties and support, human resources such as income and education, and cultural resources such as beliefs and values.

Studies on young volunteers confirm that access to these resources make volunteering more likely. For example, Van Goethem et al. (2014) revealed that adolescents were more likely to volunteer when their best friend and parents volunteered, and volunteered more frequently when their family had a stronger civic orientation. When looking at human resources, Bonnesen (2018) concludes that the importance of education in young people's civic engagement has gained in strength in the last decennia, with higher education having a large significant impact on a young person's likelihood of volunteering. Lastly, research (Dean, 2016) shows that middle-class young people have often been socialized in an environment where voluntary participation was common practice. As these youngsters have grew up with volunteering, they have learned how to behave in that field of work and are therefore more likely respond to the call to volunteer.

The rational prospecting theory (Brady et al., 1999) builds on the resource theory by stating that recruiters of volunteers search actively for people that have access to the aforementioned resources. Recruiters of organizations can be seen as rational prospectors who try to expend their time and effort as efficiently as possible to minimize their search costs. Their strategy in recruiting people requires targeting those people that they think are most

likely to 1) become involved after being asked to and 2) participate effectively after becoming involved. In order to know who these people are, they target people with the same characteristics of the people that are already overrepresented as volunteers. Since having leverage, a degree of personal connection, over a target enhances the likelihood to receive assent, the recruiter is most likely to recruit people from their own social network.

Thus, the more resources a youngster has, the more attractive and approachable he or she is for an organization, and the more this organization will do to reach this person. Since disadvantaged youth often lack the resources that make them attractive for these recruiters, they are less likely to get asked to volunteer.

Research on recruitment

In a survey among organizations that offer possibilities for youth civic participation (Mason, Cremin, Warwick & Harrison, 2011), employees were asked what they considered to be the main barriers for recruiting young people from socio-economically disadvantaged communities. Financial constraints, time pressure, lack of confidence and negative attitudes of employees towards young people are mentioned as key barriers for recruitment. Moreover, the respondents point out that communicating opportunities for volunteering to young people living in areas experiencing socio-economic disadvantage is seen as challenging, as organizations often did not have existing links within these communities.

Dean (2016) found similar results in a qualitative study with youth brokerage workers. In order to meet recruitment targets with a limited budget, the brokerage workers mention that they focus on 'easier-to-recruit' youngsters from middle-class backgrounds. Moreover, they experienced disappointment of failed commitments and a lack of confidence working with youngsters from more disadvantaged groups, and made the rational decision not to invest time and resources in these less reliable young people. Even though this study did not mention the rational prospecting theory, the results do confirm that recruiters make decisions that favour those who are already likely to volunteer.

In sum, empirical research confirms that recruiters tend to act as rational prospectors when recruiting youngsters in volunteer work. There are several indicators of the recruitment strategy of rational prospecting: time and money constraints, lack of confidence of working with disadvantaged youth and negative attitudes of employees towards this group.

Current study

Many studies that investigate inequalities in youth volunteering have emphasized the importance of recruiting disadvantaged youth (e.g. Bonnesen, 2018; Haski-Leventhal, Ronel,

York, & Ben-David, 2008; Sundeen & Raskoff, 2000). However, recruitment itself as a research topic has barely received attention. The studies that have researched it, focused on the barriers and limitations of recruiting disadvantaged youth. Cases in which there are no problems with recruiting these youngsters are left aside in the literature, even though these might give us new insights into the potential to recruit more disadvantaged youth as volunteers. Therefore, the aim of this study is to answer how the recruitment of young volunteers takes place at organizations that are successful in recruiting disadvantaged youth. Specifically, the following research question will be addressed: to what extent does the rational prospecting theory apply to recruiters of organizations that are successful in recruiting disadvantaged youth as volunteers? As empirical research shows that there are several indicators to rational prospecting, it is essential to investigate if these indicators are present at successful organizations. Given the lack of knowledge on this area, a rich and in-depth qualitative approach is used to answer the research question

Method

Research design

In order to answer the research question, individual semi-structured in-depth interviews were held with recruiters of organizations that work with young volunteers. Qualitative research is useful in this concept as it has the potential to gain insight in the process of decision-making. To investigate recruitment strategies and methods of volunteering organizations, a deductive qualitative approach was used (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). This approach was chosen because current research into recruitment already gives us a theoretical framework to work with derived from the resource theory and rational prospecting theory.

Participants and procedure

Participants were 17 people responsible for the recruitment of young volunteers in 16 organizations. These participants were recruited through purposive sampling based on the organization they work for. Organizations were eligible if they were looking for young volunteers in the age of 15-27 and if the organizations were known for being good at recruiting disadvantaged youngsters. In order to know which organizations are good at this, two methods were used. The first one was with the help of the Ministry of Health, which commissioned this research. The Ministry granted access to their database of organizations that work with young volunteers. The organizations have all agreed to be contacted by people from the Ministry (N=5). The second method included volunteering centres of numerous cities, they were contacted for their suggestions of organizations that have a diverse group of

young volunteers (N=11). One or two person(s) were interviewed per organization. As the criteria for organizations were mainly based on assumptions, it was possible that this assumption did not turn out to be true. This was the case in one interview, this interview was excluded from this study.

The participants were approached through mail. In the mail was stated that the research is commissioned by the Ministry of Health, with the aim to improve the upcoming policy of the Dutch program called “maatschappelijke diensttijd”. This program is currently being developed to create more volunteering opportunities for young people. Participants were by no means obligated to participate in the research. Informed consent was obtained prior to conducting the research by briefing participants on the nature of the study and assuring their confidentiality and anonymity by the use of pseudonyms and changing potentially identifiable information about the participants or others discussed.

Data were collected through semi-structured interviews which lasted from 31 to 83 minutes (average of 49 minutes). These interviews were conducted by one researcher, in a quiet room at the location of the organization. The next topics followed each other consecutively during the interviews: (1) information about the organisation, (2) demographic variables of the current volunteers, (3) recruitment method and strategy, (4) success of the organization and (5) experiences of the recruiter. The interview questions provided structure but also allowed flexibility to respond to issues deemed important for participants. Notation was taken of any notable moments during the interview to give depth and insight to the setting of the interview. The interviews were tape-recorded.

Measures

The concepts of human, social and cultural capital, and rational prospecting seem to be successful in explaining the underrepresentation of youngsters in volunteering. Therefore, these concepts are used to set the context and direction for the interviews. The concepts “introduction” and “experiences of the recruiter” were added to this list as they help to better understand the organizations and to better answer the research question. The interview guides were piloted with the first three participants to ensure they would capture necessary information. During the pilot interviews, it became clear that organizations seemed to be very eager to talk about why they are as successful as they are. Therefore, some adjustments have been made in the questions to give all organizations the possibility to talk about this. These pilot interviews have eventually covered all the topics and were incorporated into the main

dataset for analysis. In appendix A all the concepts are operationalized into dimensions, interview topics and questions.

Data analysis

Each of the interviews in this study was carefully transcribed verbatim. The transcripts were analysed following the principles of a direct content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005) with the help of NVivo. The transcribed interviews were encoded in two rounds; in the first round, codes set in advance by means of the literature search have been assigned to fragments in the interviews. Text that seemed important for the research question but could not be coded into one of these codes, was coded with another label. In the second round, only the coded passages have been taken into account. The coded data were examined in order to find patterns that could be formed into a code family (see Appendix B). Finally, the fragments from the same code families were put together per interview, a summary of them was made and all the summaries of the interviews were compared with each other.

Results

Participant's background

Characteristics of the interview participants are presented in Table 1. All participants (N=16) were well known with the organization's recruitment strategies and methods, but none had the job title of recruiter. Most were the head of an organization or project (N=12), others were youth workers (N=3) or an intern and former volunteer (N=1). Three participants, of which two came from the same organization, worked at a nationwide organization. All others operated locally.

The need for diversity

Diversity is an important aspect of almost all organizations (N=14) that are successful in recruiting disadvantaged youth. There are different reasons mentioned for that, a diverse group might: 1) make a wide range of youngsters feel welcome at the organization's activities, 2) help youngsters become more open-minded citizens, 3) represent the population of all youngsters in society more accurately, 4) be more in favour of stakeholders.

We thought . . . we really have to start targeting youngsters from different cultures and other environmental situations. We also received feedback in evaluations of professionals who told us ‘hey I also have others youngsters that are a different than the highly educated or university-educated youngsters of your group. (Organization 5)

Table 1. Demographic characteristics of participants.

Participant Characteristic		Organization	n
Gender	Male	4, 6, 7, 8, 10, 13, 14	7
	Female	1, 2, 2, 3, 5, 9, 11, 12, 15	9
Job title	Head of the organization	5, 10, 12, 13	4
	Head of the volunteering project	1, 2, 2, 3, 4, 7, 9, 11,	8
	Youth worker	6, 8, 14	3
	Intern, former volunteer	15	1
Organization’s level of operating	Locally	1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15	13
	Nationwide	2, 2, 5	3

Having a diverse group of volunteers seems to be a choice that the organizations made. These organizations believe that having a diverse group of young people will contribute to the fulfilment of the organization’s goals. To maintain this diversity, they continuously check if there are certain background characteristics of young people under- or overrepresented. As a result, they actively search for a diverse group of young people.

Something that was mentioned by almost all participants (N=13) is the investment that is needed in retaining this diversity. Diversity is retained by 1) offering individual guidance to their volunteers according to the needs of that youngster and 2) supporting a positive group dynamic by making sure that everyone embraces each other’s differences and no one gets excluded. For example, organization 6 mentioned: “*Sometimes we have to explain to the group ‘oh that boy is a bit different because’ . . . The group then really takes care of each other.*” It is emphasized that the moment an organization stops investing time in their group of volunteers, the number of active and diverse volunteers goes down.

Recruitment strategy

The strategy of rational prospecting, in which recruiters try to spend their time and effort as efficiently as possible, has been mentioned by a couple participants. However, this strategy was not explicitly mentioned to be used in order to minimize search costs. In three

organizations, the recruiters mentioned that they have no need to put time and effort in the recruitment.

. . . for volunteer recruitment we really do not have to make any effort. We do not even have time for that. We have already proven ourselves in our network and spread the word and it goes word of mouth. We really get all sorts of people. (Organization 7)

The quote above also shows the aspect of rational prospecting which states that recruiters are most likely to recruit people from one's own social network. This is not surprisingly since having leverage, a degree of personal connection, over a target enhances the likelihood to receive assent. This recruitment strategy is especially important when recruiting disadvantaged youth, as one recruiter (organization 8) said: *"It seems very difficult to me to implement this program if you are not yet rooted in that municipality. . . . They [disadvantaged youth] have some suspicion and paranoia in their nature, so you have to have crossed that threshold first."*

Another aspect of the strategy of rational prospecting includes recruiting people that they think are most likely to 1) become involved after being asked to and 2) participate effectively after becoming involved. This was mentioned to be the case by two organizations that offer specific volunteering tasks.

Young people who are suitable for these types of roles are already visible to someone else, so the moment you know where to find them, it turns out that many young people will naturally be asked for the project. It is just logical and strategic thinking. (Organization 11)

Six organizations mention that they make use of multiple methods in order to have a higher yield. According to these organizations, you need different methods in order to reach diverse youngsters. Quoting organization 9: *"you simply produce very little if you use one method in this target group. . . . We use every possible entry to approach these peers."* Having a good promotional plan is hereby important. However, due to money constraints, having someone who is specialized in making those plans can be an issue and is therefore often not present. As one recruiter (organization 13) said: *"It is indeed a budget thing, a money issue. Matter of choosing a professional who works for the youngsters and the goals [of the organization], or*

do you choose for someone who can sell that PR story well.” To deal with this constraint, they have to prioritize their methods of recruitment.

Recruitment method

There are two main methods of recruitment mentioned, see Table 2 for an overview. These methods differ in their choice and amount of time investment.

Table 2. *Main method of recruitment*

				Time spent on		
				Reaching young people	Inspiring young people	Getting in touch with partner organizations
Main recruitment method			% of total			
Passive	Intermediary	Intern	20%		X	
		Extern	33%		X	X
	No recruitment	20%		X		
Active	School environment		20%		X	X
	Promotional activities		7%	X	X	

Passive. The first one is a passive form of recruitment. This form of recruitment is applied by the majority of the organizations (73%). Most young people get recruited through an intermediary that already has close contact with a youngster, this can be either someone from within the organization or someone from a partner organization. This method asks of organizations to invest time in inspiring a young person to become a volunteer since they have to convince the young person that it is something for them.

Everything starts with inspiration, inspiration leads to activation. If someone enters this location and the building is boring, he is not treated well, he feels used, has a bad experience in the activities, than that person is not going to be activated to learn or keep learning. (Organization 6)

To have a diverse group, the focus is on working together with partners that have these disadvantaged youth in their network such as youth (care) workers, social workers or teachers. When the intermediary is intern, activities are organized that attract these disadvantaged youngsters and the intermediary reaches out directly to them. Intermediaries have first built a trust relationship with a youngster, before asking them to volunteer.

Another pathway to volunteering is when young people come to the organization on their own (no recruitment). As one participant (organization 3) mentioned: “*We don’t do anything in the recruitment, we don’t do anything about promotion. . . . And we consciously don’t do that because we cannot offer those young people a place anymore.*” Disadvantaged youngsters are familiar with the organizations because they are situated and active in deprived neighbourhoods, or hear about the volunteering possibilities through word-of-mouth. These organizations all believe in the importance of having inspired youngsters since the volunteers are the ones who give the organization its reputation.

Active. The other method of recruitment is more time-consuming; organizations actively look for places where youngsters congregate and inspire them to become a volunteer. This can be either done at schools, which was mentioned by both nationwide organizations, or through promotional activities. Promotional activities often take place by visiting youth centres, handing out flyers at festivals and/or talking to young people on the streets. In order to reach the disadvantaged youngsters in this way, it is imperative to use role models that will attract these young people. These can be young volunteer themselves, adults that have the same cultural or social background as a specific group or key figures in a certain subculture.

This method takes a lot of time and money because the employees of the organization have to invest manpower for the activities and inspiring takes a lot of effort since the organization is totally unfamiliar to the young person. The one organization that has this as their main method of recruitment (organization 9) acknowledges that they often start with twenty volunteers, but end up with only three of them staying involved. Other organizations mention to have used this method at the start of their organization—organization 9 was also currently reorganizing itself—or still use it in times of need when there is a shortage of volunteers. For example, one recruiter mentioned the following when he had to start a completely new project:

I once spent a whole evening at a shopping mall, there you had a lot of loitering youth, I put down a standing table with drinks and set up a banner. We talked to young people who came by and asked ‘do you want something to drink, it will take 5 minutes and you get a free drink’. And then I got them in like that. (Organization 10)

Combining recruitment strategy and method

The strategy of using multiple methods is mentioned by organizations that have a mix of passive and active recruitment. However, due to money constraints, these organizations have to prioritize their methods of recruitment. Organizations that are grounded well in their social network (N=4), choose to recruit mainly through intermediaries. Organizations that are not yet grounded well and/or temporarily in a shortage of volunteers (N=2), choose to recruit mainly by organizing promotional activities or by visiting schools. This method is quicker in reaching young people, but it takes more effort to keep a youngster involved. Therefore, this method is not commonly used.

The organizations that recruit youngsters through an intermediary or through their own youngsters, all have a recruitment strategy similar to the one of rational prospecting. They have chosen this strategy because of 1) time and money constraints, 2) it's ability to reach the disadvantaged youth and 3) the overcapacity of youngsters that want to volunteer. It asks of organizations to think strategically about which people can contribute in the recruitment. Partner organizations will be willing to redirect youngsters once an organization has gained a high reputation. Both recruitment strategies include maintaining this (diverse) group of volunteers through the investment in individual guidance, positive group dynamics and inspiring youngsters.

Discussion and conclusion

The goal of this study was to explore the relationship between the recruitment strategies of organizations and the underrepresentation of disadvantaged youth in volunteering. In this study, employees of organizations that have a successful recruitment of disadvantaged youth were interviewed in order to investigate their recruitment strategy and corresponding method. Previous research has shown that a recruitment strategy of rational prospecting can explain why organizations only recruit young people with availability to social, human and cultural resources (Brady et al., 1999). The results of this study, however, indicate that rational prospecting can also lead to a diverse group of volunteers including disadvantaged youth. Most of the organizations interviewed mention to have a recruitment strategy similar to rational prospecting. An important indicator for the use of this strategy is an organization's high reputation; they had proven themselves to their network. This reputation was obtained by, initially, investing a lot of time and effort in reaching and retaining the disadvantaged youth.

Organizations have a grounded reason for this initial investment of time and effort. For instance, 14/16 recruiters of organizations believe that diversity contributes to the achievement of the organization's goals. The organizations openly acknowledge the importance of having volunteers with different cultural, social and educational backgrounds, and actively recruit youngsters that are still underrepresented. For this, they have made a plan on how to reach and inspire them. These findings suggest that diversity is not something that coincidentally happens. This seems to be confirmed by a national survey in Australia in which is found that organizations that actively recruit people from different cultural backgrounds, have almost twice as much cultural diverse employees than organizations that say that their doors are open for everyone (Australian Multicultural Foundation, 2007). They conclude by stating that having a targeted recruitment strategy is a major success factor for attracting diverse volunteers.

This targeting of disadvantaged youth seems to be done in all methods of recruitment. At the start of an organization, an active form of recruitment—such as visiting schools or youth centres, handing out flyers at festivals and/or talking to young people on the streets—is mentioned to be most effective. To recruit disadvantaged youth in these activities, it is important to be visible at places where disadvantaged youth congregate and to inspire them by using role models in approaching these young people. Once an organization's reputation has been built, partner organizations who have these disadvantaged youth in their network come into the picture. Recruitment then appears to be most successful when intermediaries, who have already gained the trust of a youngster, redirect these youngsters to the volunteering position. The success of this method can be explained by the fact that disadvantaged youth often have a bit of distrust in them towards authorities (Bortree & Waters, 2014; Bradford, Hills, & Johnston, 2016) and having leverage over these youngsters might therefore be extra important in encouraging them to volunteer volunteering. A passive form of recruitment is for this reason mentioned to be most effective in reaching disadvantaged youth, making it most favourable by organizations.

In order to be able to recruit passively, partner organizations have to be willing to work together with the organization. According to research, a growth in client satisfaction is an important indicator for growth in ability to partner with other organizations, and both factors indicate a higher reputation of the organization (Padanyi & Gainer, 2003). The results of this study show that organizations that have a high reputation, do not only ensure that they reach these youngsters, they are also able to ensure a positive experience within the organization. To achieve this, different things have been mentioned: 1) the organization itself

is inspiring and welcoming, 2) positive and equal group relations are encouraged 3) individual guidance is provided. The relevance of these factors is supported by Bortree (2010), who states that when the aforementioned factors are present in an organization, a youngster will be more likely to have a positive experience and this in turn will lead to increased trust towards the intentions of the organization, greater satisfaction, and increased involvement in the organization. Thus, enhancing a positive experience will make the volunteers more satisfied, but might also make other clients of the organization more satisfied as the volunteers show more involvement, and this all increases the willingness of partner organizations to work together with the organization.

There are some limitations of this study that have to be taken into account. First of all, the organizations were recruited by asking the Ministry of Health and voluntary centres who they think are successful in recruiting disadvantaged youth. This implies that all the organizations mentioned are already known and appreciated by these institutions. Since having a high reputation was one of the main indicators for passive recruitment, organizations that are not known by these institutions might have a different recruitment strategy and method. In addition, this study mainly focused on local volunteering organizations. Both nationwide organizations differed in their main method of recruitment in comparison to most of the local organizations. Therefore, recruiting these youngsters nationwide might require a different method than recruiting locally and this makes the results of this study not generalizable to nationwide organizations. Future research on this topic should overcome the limitations of the current study by having a strategy of participant recruitment that includes a wider range of organizations and thereby insight into other methods of recruitment.

Disadvantaged youth should have as equal an access to volunteering as everyone else, and even though some barriers they experience are practically unchangeable, not being recruited is not one of them. As several studies have shown, disadvantaged youth are less likely to be asked by recruiters to volunteer due to, among other things, time and money constraints (Dean, 2016; Mason et al., 2011). However, this study argues that recruitment of these youngsters can be done with minimal costs once an organization has gained a high reputation. This study does emphasize that, in order to recruit and retain disadvantaged youth, having an open door policy is not enough. Organizations that succeed in reaching this specific group of young people and making sure they have a positive experience, all actively target and celebrate diversity. Hence, successful recruitment of these youngsters seems to be dependent of the diversity management in an organization. To develop a full picture of this relationship, further research should be undertaken to examine more closely the links between

diversity management and recruitment of disadvantaged youth. Moreover, this study shows that seeing the value of diversity is an important indicator of successful recruitment of disadvantaged youth. Therefore, future policy should be aimed at making organizations aware of the benefits of diversity amongst their young volunteers.

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Appendix A

From Key Concepts to Interview Questions

<i>Key concept</i>	<i>Dimensions</i>	<i>Topics</i>	<i>Interview questions</i>
Introduction	About the organization	Type of organization	Zou je wat meer over de organisatie kunnen vertellen? Wat is jullie missie? Hoeveel vrijwilligers hebben jullie? Hoeveel daarvan zijn jongeren? Met welke doelgroep(en) werken jullie voornamelijk?
		Recruiter(s) of organization	Wat is jouw eigen functie binnen de organisatie?
		Volunteering functions for youngsters	Wat voor een vrijwilligersfuncties hebben jullie voor jonge vrijwilligers? Wat is de gemiddelde tijdsbesteding van een jongere in jullie organisatie? Hoe ziet een gemiddelde werkdag van zo'n jongere eruit?
Resource theory (<i>human, social and cultural capital</i>)	Current volunteers	Age group	Wat is de gemiddelde leeftijd van jullie jonge vrijwilligers?
		Socioeconomic status (indicators: ethnicity, educational level, neighbourhood)	Wat voor een jongeren doen vrijwilligerswerk bij jullie? Zijn er bepaalde demografische kenmerken (etniciteit, opleidingsniveau) die veelvoorkomend zijn? Zo ja, welke? Zijn er bepaalde demografische kenmerken (etniciteit, opleidingsniveau) die ondervertegenwoordigd zijn? Zo ja, welke?
		Involvement volunteers	Hoe zijn jullie vrijwilligers in aanraking gekomen met de organisatie?
	Recruitment strategy	Target group	Wat is de doelgroep waar jullie je op focussen bij het werven van nieuwe vrijwilligers?

Rational prospecting theory		Waarom is voor deze doelgroep gekozen?
	Process of recruitment	Hoe ziet jullie wervingsstrategie eruit? Waarom is gekozen voor deze strategie?
	Recruitment method	Channels of recruitment Algemeen: Op welke manieren proberen jullie jongeren binnen te halen in de vrijwilligersfuncties? Wat voor een middelen zetten jullie in om jongeren te werven? Hoe communiceren jullie de vrijwilligersfuncties naar de jongeren toe? Hoe reageren de jongeren op het vrijwilligerswerk dat jullie aanbieden? Offline: Benaderen jullie jongeren persoonlijk? Zo ja... Op welke plekken benaderen jullie jongeren? Waarom op die plekken? Hoe benaderen jullie ze op deze plekken? Vragen om voorbeeld. Online: Via welke kanalen benaderen jullie de jongeren?
	Possible constraints	Attitudes of staff members Wat is jullie ervaring met jongeren met een: - migratieachtergrond - laag opleidingsniveau - lage sociaal economische status
	Time and money	Hoeveel tijd en geld gaat in het wervingsproces zitten? In hoeverre heeft u het idee dat u alles uit de werving kan halen wat erin zit? Waar ligt dit aan?

		Wat zouden jullie nodig hebben om optimaal jongeren te kunnen werven?
<i>Experiences of recruiter</i>	Experience with recruitment	Hoe lang werven jullie de jongeren al op deze manier(en)? Welke manier wordt als meest succesvol gezien? Waarom?
		Vaak hoor je dat jongeren met een lage SES ondervertegenwoordigd zijn in vrijwilligerswerk. Dat is bij jullie niet het geval. Hoe zou jij dat verklaren?
	Experience with youngsters	Hoe lang werken jullie al met jonge vrijwilligers? Hoe ervaren jullie het werken met jongeren?
	Wishes	Hebben jullie als organisatie nog wensen met betrekking tot het werven of werven met jongeren?

Appendix B

Code Families

Code families	Subcategories	
Beeld vrijwilligerswerk	Beeld vrijwilliger Noemen van vrijwilliger	
Beschrijving vrijwilligers	Demografische kenmerken vrijwilligers Duurtijd vrijwilliger Hoeveelheid vrijwilligers Taak vrijwilliger Tijdsbesteding vrijwilliger Vergoeding vrijwilliger	
Doel organisatie	Functie geïnterviewde	
Ervaring werken met jongeren	Eigenschappen werknemers Geen 9-17 baan Jongeren uit hogere klasse Jongeren uit lagere klasse Overwerken Passie	
Voorwaarden succesvol	Begeleiding Flexibel Groepsdynamiek Jongeren serieus nemen Kansen bieden Motivatie jongere Niet verplichten Ontwikkeling jongere Rekening houden met jongere Team werknemers Waardering Wat bij anderen fout gaat	
Wervingsmethode	Actief	Eigen activiteiten Rolmodellen Zijn waar jongeren zijn
	Passief	Eigen netwerk Komen vanzelf Samenwerken partners Social media Via via jongere

Wervingsstrategie	Beredenering werving Gericht werven diverse jongeren Goeie naam Winst jongere Zichtbaar zijn Toegevoegde waarde diversiteit Verwachtingen duidelijk Investeren tijd en energie	Bereiken Jongere inspireren Partners
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