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# Challenges with indentifying the effects of volunteering

Dr. Stuart Fox  
University of Exeter



# Why is Volunteer Impact Important?

‘**Volunteer Impact**’ → the effects of volunteering

- Volunteering always has many effects – even if we’re only interested in a few
- There are different types of effect → *direct vs. indirect, volunteer vs. community*
- Different effects are important for different people

The effects of volunteering are important for many reasons, including...

- Help us understand the **value of volunteering** & find **ways to improve**
- Provide **evidence** to recruit volunteers and/or attract funding
- Volunteering isn’t an unqualified good: we need to **mitigate the downsides**

**Anybody here for another reason?**

# Volunteer Impact Masterclass

How is impact typically measured?

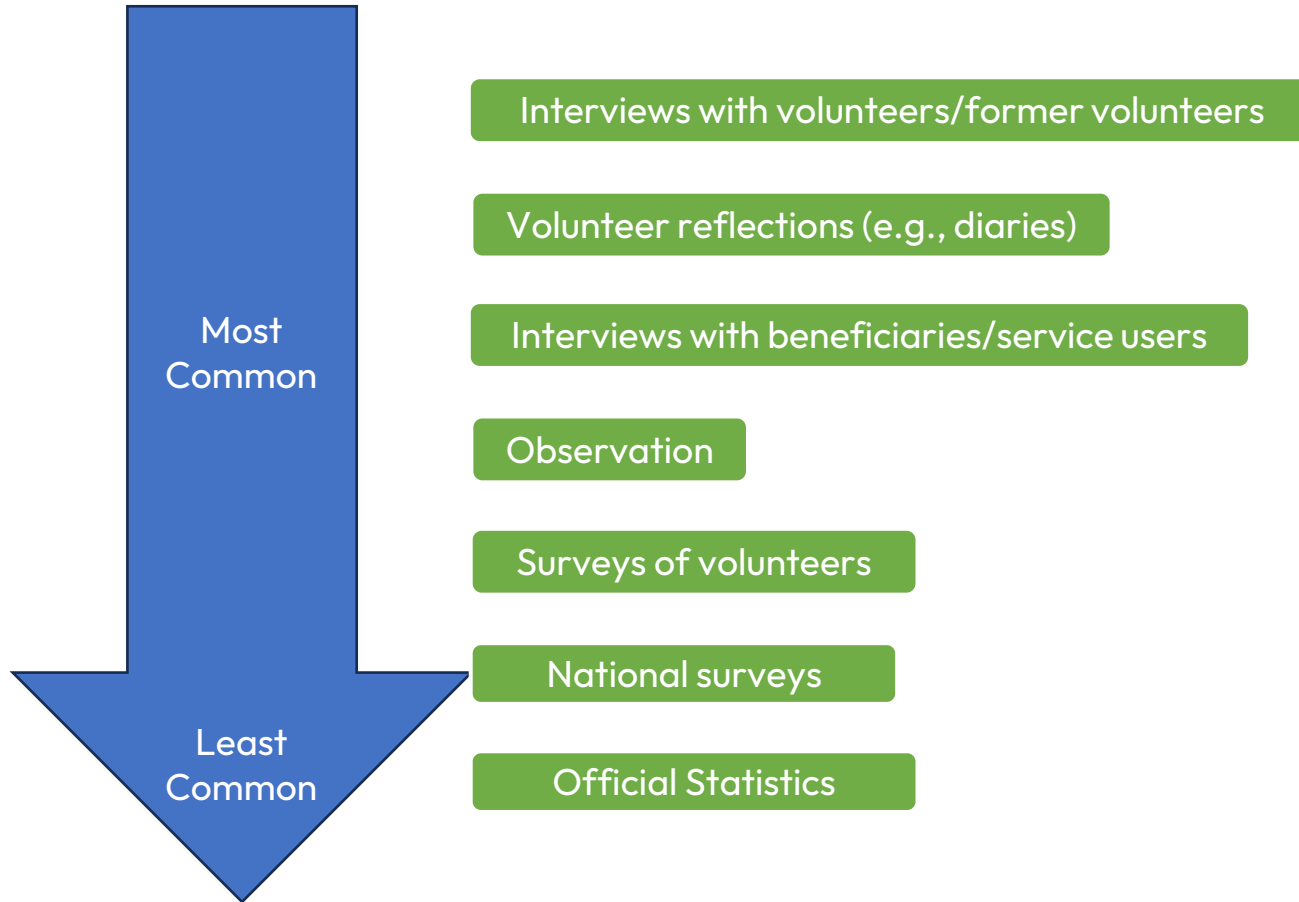
Major challenges confronting research about volunteer impact

- **Defining & measuring impact**
- **Measuring volunteering**
- **Causality conundrum**

Addressing the challenges: research designs

What can we do?

# How are volunteer impacts typically measured?



All of them work  
& all have flaws

What matters is  
**trade-offs**: which  
flaws are  
acceptable for  
our priorities?

# Challenges: Defining & Measuring Impact

Major challenge to much research stems from failure to clearly **define** & sometimes even **measure** impact – or **volunteering**!

- Bekkers and Verkaik (2015) reviewed 400 articles mentioning ‘effects of volunteering’; fewer than 10% contained both the measure of volunteering & it’s theorised impact!

Must also be clear about the **nature** of the impact we’re interested in – different types need to be measured in different ways:

- **Direct**: deliberate or intended consequence of volunteering
- **Indirect**: impacts besides the deliberate/targeted, potentially unintended

**A pre-requisite to valid identification of volunteer impact is a clear definition & measure of it, and of the volunteering thought to cause it!**

# Challenges: Measuring Volunteering

‘Volunteering’ is **multi-faceted & complex**: it is impossible to measure perfectly

We aren’t aiming for perfection: we’re aiming **to learn something important & sacrifice complexity** to achieve it

Key is to be **clear about those sacrifices & their implications for our research**

In essence, researchers take **3 approaches to measuring ‘volunteering’**:

- 1) Instance specific**: defined by participation in program, activity, event
- 2) Generalised**: defined by researcher for use in broad reach data collection
- 3) Membership count**: defined by ‘membership’ of organisation, programme etc.

# Challenges: Measuring Volunteering

Most volunteer impact research uses **instance specific** from a sample of volunteers defined by participation in a specific activity, organisation, event

❑ *E.g., evaluation study, interview with participants in European Solidarity Corps*

Evidence of impact from **opinions, experiences, recollections of volunteers**

❑ *Interviews, focus groups, diaries, online forms, volunteer-surveys*

These approaches have **numerous advantages**:

- Clarity of definition: what is meant by 'volunteering' can be **clearly defined** and **accurately recorded** in a way that **captures diversity** of activities, roles, contexts etc.
- Efficiency: **certain** data is collected from **relevant volunteers** & they are easy to recruit
- Causal validity: able to prompt and/or draw **clear links** with **impact of interest**

# Challenges: Measuring Volunteering

The **drawbacks** include:

- Difficulty of comparison with **non-volunteers** or volunteers from other events, orgs etc.
- Data analysis limited to whatever was **directly collected**
- Numerous sources of **bias** which threatens **accuracy** and/or **generalisability**
  - ❑ **Selection:** sample has something in common that might not apply to other people
    - Volunteers are (statistically speaking, at least) weird – most people don't volunteer!
  - ❑ **Recall:** ability to remember what we did, how it affected etc. is flawed in varying ways
    - Age, how important volunteering was, mental health
  - ❑ **Response or social desirability:** responses shaped by desire to please
    - Someone who's just volunteered is unlikely to tell the organiser it was rubbish
  - ❑ **Attribution:** people focus on immediate or prompted potential cause of something
    - 'Do you think this volunteering programme has improved your self confidence?'

# Challenges: Measuring Volunteering

Most common alternative for academics are **generalised measures**

❑ *Most common form: 'Have you volunteered for an organisation in last 12 months?'*

Impact identified based on **associations between characteristics in data**

❑ *Correlation between volunteering & voting in elections*

Main **advantage**: used in **large surveys of nationally representative samples**

- Allows **generalisation** from the survey data to larger populations
- Allows **comparisons** that can identify impacts e.g., with non-volunteers, volunteers for different types of organisations, volunteers who differ by age, gender, health
- Easier to study **indirect impacts** of volunteering or those **not experienced by volunteer**
- Less susceptible to **attribution & response** bias

# Challenges: Measuring Volunteering

## Drawbacks:

- National surveys suffer from **social desirability** & **selection** bias
- ‘**Imposes homogeneity on diversity**’ (Mohan 2024): requires considerable **simplification** of volunteer experiences, motivations, activities, contexts etc.
- That simplification assumes **common understanding of ‘volunteering’...**
  - ❑ *Most people don’t use the word ‘volunteering’ to describe their activities*
  - ❑ *Common understandings of ‘volunteering’ vary between cultures & over time*
- ...and how we choose to do it can **substantially affect results**
  - ❑ *Higher volunteering rates if you prompt specific activities*

# Challenges: Measuring Volunteering

Most common for economists & civil servants is '**membership count**'

❑ *E.g., How many members of Action Aid Ireland + Birdwatch Ireland etc.*

Impact evidenced by **association between aggregated statistics**

❑ *Correlation volunteer membership & crime; volunteer hours as paid labour*

**Advantages** include:

- It is (relatively) **easy & cheap** to access and analyse such data
- Enables study of **volunteering & impacts** using statistics **valued by policymakers**
- Can recognise **membership of different organisations**
- Easier to study **indirect impacts** of volunteering or those **not experienced by volunteer**
- Not at all affected by **recall, attribution or social desirability** bias

# Challenges: Measuring Volunteering

## Drawbacks:

- **Simplification:** will not capture diversity of experiences within organisations
- **Accuracy:** not every organisation **defines 'members'** in the same way; not every member will be **active** & many people **join more than one** organisation
- **Research limited to fields** about which other aggregated statistics are available – which isn't true for many impacts we are interested in
- **Ecological Fallacy:** relationship at aggregate level doesn't necessarily indicate causal effect of volunteering at individual level

# Challenges: Causality Conundrum

Final challenges relate to how we can **identify the causal effect of volunteering**, i.e., how do we know volunteering **caused** the impact we identify?



- Does volunteering make people happier, or are happier people more likely to volunteer – or both?
- Does having more volunteers reduce crime, or do people volunteer in neighbourhoods with low crime? Or is it both?

‘Proving’ causality is extremely difficult –  
**especially for volunteering** – and this issue is  
ignored in most research

# Challenges: Causality Conundrum

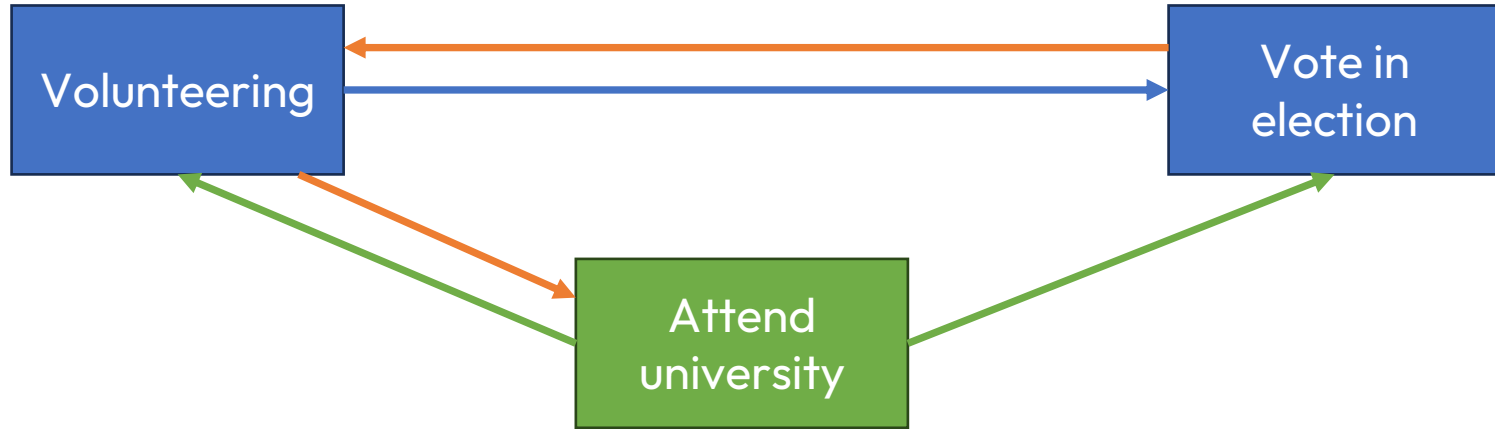
Many characteristics identified as **benefits** of volunteering also **encourage** it

- ❑ Volunteering associated with improved **mental health, educational qualifications, income, political engagement** and **social capital**
- ❑ Superior **mental health, educational qualifications, income, political engagement** and **social capital** are all associated with increased likelihood of volunteering



# Challenges: Causality Conundrum

Many of the **drivers** and **impacts** of volunteering are also **related to each other**



How can we be confident that **volunteering caused the impact**, rather than **both volunteering and the impact** being caused by **something else**?

# Addressing the Challenges: Key Principles

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**Don't aim for perfection.** The purpose of research is to tell us something important we wouldn't otherwise know

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Be explicit about the **specific impact** you are investigating & make certain you **observe/measure it directly**

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Be explicit about the **way you measure volunteering** and how **sacrifices involved** affect your research & findings

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Exploit **advantages of different ways** of measuring volunteering & impact

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Use **lessons from previous research**: how they measured volunteering, minimised selection bias, overcame causality conundrum etc...

# Addressing the Challenges: Research Designs

## **Research design: strategy for collecting, organising & analysing data**

Many challenges – causality conundrum in particular – can't be 'solved' but are being mitigated by researchers using different research designs

### **Panel Studies**

- Collection of same data from **same individuals over time**
- Provides far greater confidence about volunteer effects by **directly observing change in the characteristic of interest within the same people**
  - ❑ *In my research, I compared the interest in politics of the same young people before and after volunteering to identify its effect on their political engagement*
- Can be used with national surveys, volunteer reporting, interviews – almost anything!

# Addressing the Challenges: Research Designs

## Comparative designs

- Comparative research uses **comparison to attribute (potential) causation**
  - ❑ *E.g., Compare mental health of volunteers with non-volunteers*
- Commonly employed in quantitative & survey-based research but less so in interviews & very rarely used in volunteer evaluation studies
  - ❑ *Could interview non-volunteers & compare with volunteers to identify impact*
- Combined with **panel design** can be powerful way of identifying volunteer impact & accounting for influence of confounding factors
  - ❑ *E.g., Compare mental health of volunteers & non-volunteers at time1, time2, time3 & see how trajectories differ*

# Addressing the Challenges: Research Designs

## Data Matching

- This one is very rare – but has serious & growing potential
- Involves matching of **similar** individuals across **different sources of data**
- Can **compensate** for our inability to measure all the characteristics we're interested in, to compare over time or between non/volunteers, or small sample size
- Cost of **specificity & precision** about the volunteers we study or attribute impacts to
  - ❑ *Interview a volunteer who is female, 24, with a degree, good mental health about their experience of participating in European Solidarity Corps*
  - ❑ *Identify 24-year-old women with degrees & good mental health who volunteered in Eurobarometer to learn other things about them e.g., income trajectory*

# Addressing the Challenges: Research Designs

## Quasi-Experiments

- Barely used but most effective tool for overcoming causality conundrum
- **Approximate experimental circumstances** based on access to ‘treatment’
- Builds on **comparative and panel design**: compare two otherwise (almost) identical people/communities who differ only in terms of volunteering (‘treatment’)
  - ❑ *Taylor (2023) used quasi-experimental design to study the effect of the UK’s National Citizen Service: matched young people based on gender, ethnicity, education, family socio-economic class, region, religion but who differed in terms of NCS participation*
  - ❑ *Found differences in political interest, knowledge, efficacy & anticipated participation stemmed purely from NCS*

# It's Easy for Me to Say...

Of course, there's another big challenge: **cost**

Any of these research designs would increase the time, expertise & money required to identify impact

**So, what can we do? Collaborate!**

Academics & practitioners are rubbish when it comes to collaborating to study of volunteering, but we have shared goals & can reduce each others' costs



SO WE'RE NOT GOING TO DISCUSS IT?

# It's Easy for Me to Say...

It's not straight-forward...

- **Goals need to align:** we need publications, you need results & the right results
- **Timelines need to align:** can take years to prepare a publication
- **Resources need to align:** skills, data, expertise

But we all have a shared interest in producing quality research on volunteering

**What else can we do?**



University  
of Exeter

# Challenges with Identifying the Effects of Volunteering

**To find out more:**

Email me: [S.Fox2@exeter.ac.uk](mailto:S.Fox2@exeter.ac.uk)

Sign up to my newsletter (drop me an email)

**Thank you  
for listening!**