International development volunteers: A potential source of global experience, knowledge and enterprise

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Key Insights

- International development volunteers are skilled professionals who undertake demand-driven international volunteer assignments that aim to support locally-led capacity development in the organisations and communities with which they volunteer.

- These assignments present challenge, novelty, connections and meaning that can be personally and professionally developmental for the volunteers, many of whom seek (and achieve) subsequent transitions to prosocial careers and/or increased civic engagement.

- Nonetheless, not all assignments are developmental. Volunteers' technical expertise and professional networks may stagnate. Some volunteers struggle to translate their new capabilities and outlook into fulfilling professional and voluntary roles upon return.

- Volunteers, volunteer agencies, community organisations and employers may benefit from coordinated efforts to communicate the value and limitations of these assignments, to leverage the rich experiences and skills that these volunteers possess, and to facilitate connections between former volunteers, international volunteer cooperation organisations and community organisations that can use their energies and expertise.

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About International Development Volunteers

This review focuses on one type of international volunteer. **International development volunteers** (IDVs) are professionals with specialist expertise who accept voluntary work assignments in a host organisation (typically non-governmental organisations (NGOs)) in a developing country. These assignments vary in design but have the primary aim to contribute to positive sustainable development in the organisations, communities and nations that host them. They are often facilitated by international volunteer cooperation organisations (IVCOs) from volunteers' home countries, some of which are government funded (e.g. Australian Business Volunteers, Australian Volunteers International).[2]

In general, IDVs are:

- Highly educated, globally oriented, and strongly engaged in social, civic and political issues prior to their placement.[3]

- Motivated by a mix of personal, social and/or professional objectives that include making a difference, gaining professional experience or skills, having an adventure, progressing a career and/or experiencing a different culture.[4]

- Diverse in age, profession and career stage, ranging from early career (often as a stepping-stone to enter international development work) to retirees,[5] and from professional fields as diverse as science, health, education, management, law, information management, engineering and finance.

Several features distinguish IDV's assignments from comparable forms of domestic volunteering, unskilled international volunteering (e.g. voluntourism) and paid international development work:

- A formal demand-driven position which utilises volunteers' expertise toward specific development objectives.[6]

- Large opportunity costs, with IDVs foregoing (home) careers, salaries, networks and relationships, and instead committing to an overseas voluntary role for a specified period (typically 1-2 years).[7]

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2   By way of example, in 2019-20 (pre-COVID), the *Australian Volunteers Program* oversaw 933 volunteer assignments of Australian IDVs involved with 572 partner organisations in 26 nations. These were supported with $36.5m under the Australian Government's development cooperation program. <u>Source</u>: Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2022.

3   Fee et al., 2022.

4   Meneghini, 2016; Okabe et al., 2019.

5   Clarke & Lewis, 2017; Fee et al., 2022; Hudson & Inkson, 2006.

6   This use of volunteers' expertise for targeted development outcomes can be contrasted with 'supply-driven' international volunteering opportunities designed around volunteers' interests, which tend to emphasise intercultural relations and/or volunteers' growth. See, for instance, Sherraden et al., 2006.

7   Starr, for instance, likens the experience of Peace Corps volunteering to a 'psychological

- A deep immersion in a new (usually very different) culture.[8] Local living conditions,[9] collaborative work structures,[10] emotional connections with host-country nationals,[11] and adapting solutions to local needs[12] are common expectations.

- While contested,[13] a designated "volunteer" identity and lifestyle that is seen to facilitate solidarity, trust and equality with locals[14] and so, structurally, conducive to reciprocal (volunteer-local) knowledge sharing and learning.[15] Despite this, most IDVs do, in fact, receive a stipend that – while small - is sometimes larger than their local counterparts' salaries.[16]

- A "complex global-local interface"[17] comprising an employer organisation in the host country and an IVCO in the home country, and challenging assignment conditions necessitating high levels of structured and discretionary support from both organisations.[18]

International development volunteering has been criticised for reinforcing inequalities[19] and neo-colonial attitudes.[20] Yet it is generally recognised as an effective development mechanism.[21] It is also commonly reported as being personally and professionally developmental for IDVs.[22]

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moratorium' that has parallels in military service due to the cultural exposure, separation from normality and potential for impact. Source: Starr, 1994.

8   Fee & Gray, 2011; Schech, 2017.

9   IDVs typically live (and are encouraged to live) in basic housing within the host community; however, safety and security concerns sometimes preclude this. See, for example: Fee & McGrath-Champ, 2017.

10   Fee et al., 2017.

11   Chen, 2018; Fee & Gray, 2011; Fee et al., 2017; Howard & Burns, 2015; Schech, 2022; Thomas, 2002

12   Hawkes, 2014. Also see Howard & Burns, 2015.

13   See, for instance, Trau, 2015.

14   McWha, 2011.

15   Schech, 2017.

16   Volunteers' receipt of a stipend means that the label 'volunteer' stems primarily from the professional opportunity costs they incur rather than the absence of compensation. While the stipend they receive is typically much smaller than the market rates for their expertise, the fact that it exceeds the salaries of local colleagues in similar positions is sometimes a point of contention (McWha, 2011).

17   Trau, 2015.

18   Fee & Gray, 2022. Also see Barrett et al., 2017.

19   Trau, 2015.

20   For example: Baillie Smith & Laurie, 2011; Haas & Moinina, 2021.

21   Schech 2017, p. 3.

22   Much research, especially since the *International Year of the Volunteer* in 2001, has emphasised professional capital accrued by IDVs. By way of example, studies have aligned the learning outcomes of IDVs to the content of their résumés (Hudson & Inkson, 2006), employability skills identified by the Australian Chamber of Commerce, and the Business Council of Australia (Brook et al., 2007), and the 'professional management skills' necessary in a globalised, knowledge economy (Cook & Jackson 2006). Sources: Brook et al. 2007; Cook & Jackson, 2006; Hudson & Inkson, 2006.

Learning and Change in International Development Volunteers

Research into the learning and/or changes experienced by IDVs is abundant although constrained by a reliance on self-report data, cross-sectional research designs and (less rigorous) in-house evaluations. Nonetheless, evidence from a range of settings indicates that IDVs can and do develop personally and professionally, and that structural features of their assignments may be distinctively developmental. Recent wide-ranging longitudinal studies in Australia, UK and Canada have begun documenting how IDVs capitalise on these changes after their assignments.[23] Less common are robust causal studies linking IDVs' specific in-country experiences or conditions with certain changes and post-assignment outcomes.[24]

Notwithstanding these limitations, Figure 1 summarises the research on the personal and professional impacts experienced by IDVs.[25] It distils the main learning and changes associated with IDVs (the four highlighted boxes at the centre of Figure 1), the features of IDVs' volunteering experiences that, research suggests, contribute most strongly to these (left) and the ways in which IDVs subsequently apply their new skills, knowledge and experiences after their assignments (right).

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23   Clarke & Lewis, 2017; Fee et al., 2022; Tiessen et al., 2021.

24   See, for instance, Fee, 2017.

25   The body of research summarised in Figure 1 is diverse. Terminological inconsistencies and limited methodological and sample details hamper the extent to which some findings might be transferred to different settings. For instance, some studies involve (but fail to differentiate) multiple types of volunteers. Others include limited supporting evidence to support their analysis (often in-house evaluations). For this reason, Figure 1 focuses on the most rigorous (peer reviewed) findings and includes only antecedents, experiences, outcomes and impacts that are reported by multiple studies and in multiple contexts (i.e., across volunteering programs and/or home countries).

Figure 1: Main learning and individual changes experienced by IDVs and their causes and outcomes

Main contributors (during assignment) → **Main learning and individual changes (during assignment)** → **Main outcomes (after assignment)**

1. Non-work context

a. Deep immersion in a foreign culture & context [→ 4c, 4e, 5, 8]

b. Regular contact with diverse groups: volunteers (shared values), other expatriates & host-country nationals (emotional connections) [→ 4b, 4e, 5, 8b, 9b, 10]

2. Host organisation context

a. Language barrier & information asymmetries [→ 4a-d]

b. Achieving outcomes with limited or unfamiliar resources [→ 4c-d]

c. Unfamiliar workplace practices, procedures & leadership [→ 4a-d]

d. Exposure to local & international stakeholders [→ 4a-b, 5, 6, 7a-b, 9c-e, 10c]

e. Supportive & welcoming work environments [→ 4e, 5a-b]

3. Volunteers' work role

a. Unfamiliar context &/or sector [→ 6, 7, 9]

b. Higher levels of responsibility & broader scope of work [→ 4a-d, 4f, 6, 9]

c. Collaborating with & developing capacity of host-country nationals [→ 4, 5, 7, 9, 10]

d. Adapting behaviours & outcomes to local needs & changing circumstances [→ 4a, 4d, 5a, 6, 9a]

Formal support & training from volunteer agency [→ 4, 5, 7, 10]

4. Personal attributes and 'soft skills'

a. Advanced communication skills (e.g. listening, verbal elaboration) [→ 9a-b, 9d, 10a]

b. Interpersonal skills (e.g. collaborating, conflict resolution) [→ 9a-b, 9d]

c. Resilience, patience & tolerance [→ 9a-b]

d. Advanced cognitive skills (cognitive complexity, perspective taking, creativity, problem solving, flexibility) [→ 9a-b]

e. Changed or strengthened values or ethical principles [→ 8, 9c, 10]

f. Supporting others' learning (e.g. mentoring, knowledge sharing) [→ 9]

g. Self-awareness (self-efficacy, cultural identity) [→ 8,9c-e]

5. Intercultural competencies

a. Host-country knowledge & capabilities (including language skills) [→ 9a-b, 10b]

b. Openness & empathy towards others [→ 8, 9a-c]

c. Global outlook & intercultural confidence [→ 8b, 9, 10]

6. Technical capabilities relating to professional area

a. Domain-specific knowledge & capabilities [→ 9, 10a]

b. On-the-ground experience in a different context [→ 9,10c]

7. International development literacy

a. Understanding of complexities & practicalities of international development & development volunteering [→ 9c-d, 10]

b. Understanding specific development issues more deeply [→ 9c-e, 10]

c. Recognising challenges of achieving development outcomes & strategies that are suited or adapted to effectively develop capacity [→ 9c-e, 10]

8. Personal life

a. Positive lifestyle changes (e.g. environment & sustainability, priority to relationships & community)

b. Expanded & more diverse social networks [→ 9a-d, 10c]

9. Career and education

» **Professional development**

a. Use of new knowledge & capabilities in current work

b. Access to more senior and/or expanded roles or projects (including international work) [→ 10c]

» **Career**

a. Exposure to & motivation for a new career direction

b. Experience, skills or networks to facilitate a transition to a new role or sector (including international development)

» **Education**

a. Impetus to pursue further study in new or current profession [→ 9b, 10c]

10. Civic engagement and activity

a. Commitment to civic & voluntary action (including future international volunteering)

b. Awareness of & advocacy for social & political issues

c. Engagement with and/or participation in international development (including professionally)

d. Use of social capital to advocate & support civic action

Figure 1 (Continued):

Examples of supporting research

Main Contributors:

1. Non-work context: Fee et al. 2022; Fee & Gray 2011, 2012, 2013; Schech 2017, 2022.

2. Host organisation context: Barrett et al. 2017; Chen 2021; Fee et al. 2018, 2022; Fee & Gray 2011, 2012, 2013; Hawkes 2014; Hudson & Inkson 2006; Thomas 2002.

3. Volunteers' work role: Fee et al. 2017; Fee & Gray 2011, 2013; Heizmann et al. 2018; Hudson & Inkson 2006; Schech 2017; Thomas 2002.

Main Learning & Changes:

4. Personal attributes and 'soft skills': Cook & Jackson 2006; Fee & Gray 2011, 2012, 2013; Fee et al. 2013; Hudson & Inkson 2006; Kelly & Case 2007; Schech 2016, 2017; Sherraden et al 2008; Starr 1994; Thomas 2002; Tiessen et al. 2021.

5. Intercultural competencies: Fee & Gray 2011; Hudson & Inkson 2006; Sherraden et al. 2008, 2010; Schech 2016, 2017; Tiessen et al. 2021; Universalia 2005.

6. Technical capabilities relating to professional area: Cook & Jackson 2006; Fee & Gray 2011, 2013; Hudson & Inkson 2006; Universalia 2005.

7. International development literacy: Fee et al. 2022; Lough et al. 2014; McBride et al. 2012; Tiessen et al. 2021; Universalia 2005.

Main Outcomes:

8. Personal life: Clark & Lewis 2017; Fee et al. 2022; Lough 2011, 2014; McBride et al. 2012; Tiessen & Heron 2012; Universalia 2005.

9. Career and education: Clark & Lewis 2017; Cook & Jackson 2006; Fee et al. 2022; Kelly & Case 2007; McBride et al. 2012; Thomas 2002; Tiessen et al. 2021; Universalia 2005.

10. Civic engagement and activity: Bentall 2020; Clark & Lewis 2017; Fee et al. 2022; Kelly & Case 2007; Lough et al. 2014; Lough et al. 2011; McBride et al. 2012; Schech 2022; Sherraden et al 2008; Starr 1994; Tiessen et al. 2021.

The data in square brackets in Figure 1 indicate where research has made causal links between specific variables (contributors, changes and outcomes). For instance, IDVs' deep immersion in a foreign culture and context (1a) has been associated with IDVs enhancing their resilience[26] (4c), reporting changed values[27] (4e) and developing intercultural competencies[28] (5), as well as implementing subsequent changes to their lifestyle[29] (8a) and establishing important new social networks[30] (8b). The bottom of Figure 1 cites examples of literature supporting the variables and relationships that are mapped here.

Taken collectively, the results demonstrate that IDVs can and often do return from their assignments with valuable professional experiences, new capabilities, intercultural proficiencies and networks, and increased commitment toward civic action and engagement. One consequence of this is that volunteers cultivate a more nuanced understanding of, interest in, and agency towards global development and other social

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26   Hudson & Inkson, 2006; Thomas, 2002.

27   Clark & Lewis, 2017; Fee & Gray, 2011, 2013; Hudson & Inkson, 2006; Kelly & Case, 2007.

28   Fee et al., 2022; Lough et al., 2014; McBride et al., 2012; Universalia 2005.

29   Fee et al., 2022.

30   Hudson & Inkson, 2006; Fee et al., 2022.

issues such as inequality and diversity.[31] Many IDVs at different career stages are inspired by their experiences or new capabilities to transition to "prosocial" careers in international development or elsewhere.[32] Volunteers' civic activity is often affected by (and in many cases increases after) their assignment as a result of increased confidence and knowledge.[33] Nonetheless, barriers to more productive civic engagement include financial precarity, work/life demands, and finding suitable (domestic or international) outlets with which to volunteer.[34]

Several additional features not evident in Figure 1 are worth highlighting:

- Structural features of IDVs' volunteer assignments appear to broaden the scope of personal and professional learning opportunities available. These features include being embedded in host communities, collaborating as equals with host-country nationals, and adjusting to local practices. Compared to most workplaces, IDVs' learning is more transformational[35] and occurs more regularly in non-work settings and when performing non-routine work tasks like mentoring or assuming roles with expanded scope or responsibility.[36]

- Many of IDVs' most valued outcomes stem from developing higher-order "soft" capabilities such as interpersonal and intercultural awareness, resilience and flexibility, and communicating more effectively. Such capabilities are highly portable (i.e. not confined to particular professions, sectors or firms) and highly-valued in many professional and volunteering roles. The characteristics of IDVs' intercultural contacts (equal status, interdependence, reciprocity) appear to make their assignments especially potent for developing these capabilities.[37]

- Some evidence exists of the personal and career (post-assignment) benefits of the diverse networks that IDVs establish as they integrate into new social systems during their assignments.[38] In short, IDVs seem to establish important and strong networks with fellow volunteers and others, built on common values/interests and shared experiences. One recent pre-post longitudinal study of Australian IDVs described these networks as "the most vibrant manifestation of volunteers' assignments" that continue after the assignment and which "direct and sustain many beneficial changes" in volunteers' civic, personal and professional lives.[39]

31   Clark & Lewis, 2017; Fee et al., 2022; Kelly & Case, 2007; Schech, 2017; Tiessen et al., 2021.
32   Clarke & Lewis, 2017; Fee et al., 2022; Tiessen et al., 2021.
33   Clark & Lewis, 2017; Fee et al., 2022; Schech, 2017; Sherraden et al., 2008; Tiessen et al., 2021.
34   Bentall, 2022; Fee et al., 2022; Tiessen et al., 2021.
35   Fee & Gray, 2013; Fee & Gray, 2012; Fee et al., 2013; Tiessen et al., 2021.
36   Clark & Lewis, 2017; Fee & Gray, 2011, 2013.
37   Fee & Gray, 2011, 2013; Fee et al., 2017; Lough et al., 2014.
38   Fee et al., 2022. Also see Lough et al., 2014; McBride et al., 2012.
39   Fee et al., 2022.

- Although Figure 1 reports mainly favourable outcomes, this is not the case for all IDVs or all assignments. While evidence is equivocal, some studies suggest IDVs' professional (technical) expertise and networks may atrophy through lack of mentoring, feedback or opportunities.[40] Moreover, the right fit between volunteers, roles, and host organisations, the extent and type of support volunteers receive (bottom left of Figure 1), as well as antecedents such as volunteers' motivations and pre-assignment cultural awareness, all influence whether and how volunteers benefit.[41]

Policy Implications

Capitalising on returned volunteers' skills, knowledge and motivations

The research reviewed here suggests that many (although not all) volunteers return as "responsible, employable and cosmopolitan"[42] with much to offer Australian workplaces and communities. Many succeed in converting positive volunteering experiences to improve their work and non-work lives upon return. The widespread use of international corporate volunteering programs by some (mainly multinational) firms suggests that employers do see value in similar programs.[43] Nonetheless, while some have argued that IDVs' new knowledge and skills make them more employable,[44] domestic employers do not always understand or appreciate (former) IDVs' experiences.[45] Consequently, **efforts to help volunteers to articulate and communicate the value of their experiences and the outcomes they achieve, and to assist employers to understand these, are likely to make international development volunteering more attractive and impactful.** Part of this may involve efforts to delineate (highly-skilled) development volunteers from other forms of international volunteering whose impacts are more contentious.

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40   Fee & Gray, 2011; Fee et al., 2022; Thomas, 2002.

41   By way of example, IDVs' pre-assignment cultural awareness and language proficiency have been shown to enable personal outcomes (e.g. self-awareness) and professional benefits (e.g. professional networks). <u>Sources</u>: Fee et al., 2022; Fee & Gray, 2013; Schech, 2016.

42   Schech, 2017.

43   Cook & Jackson, 2006.

44   Cook & Jackson, 2006; Schech, 2016.

45   Brook et al., 2007; Fee et al., 2022. It is worth noting that this is an experience common to returning expatriates of all types (e.g. Indeed & Advance, 2019). Nonetheless, this may be magnified for IDVs due to employers' misperceptions about international volunteering (e.g. that most is unskilled and non-developmental), volunteers' lack of recent local (domestic) knowledge and networks, and difficulties verifying volunteers' in-country achievements due to language/cultural barriers and the relatively small-scale operations of some host organisations. See, for instance, Clark & Lewis, 2017; Fee et al., 2022.

> **RECOMMENDATION 1:** That the National Strategy for Volunteering consider ways to communicate the contributions and developmental nature of international development volunteering as a distinctive form of international volunteering, so that communities understand and can benefit from the global experience, knowledge and enterprise these volunteers offer.

Related to this, the literature indicates that IDVs often return with many pre-conditions for positive civic contribution, such as strengthened motivation to make an impact, increased sense of confidence and agency, valuable skills, and a more nuanced awareness of the practicalities of civic action (Figure 1). Many former volunteers are motivated to seek (and often achieve) prosocial career transitions and other voluntary service opportunities following their assignments.[46] Yet others report social, personal, financial and other barriers, including difficulties finding suitable community organisations aligned with their values, lifestyle and expertise.[47] In this, **volunteers, community organisations and communities are likely to benefit from coordinated efforts to assist former volunteers (and the IVCOs who support volunteers' assignments) to connect with suitable community organisations in need of volunteers' skills.** Taking these findings collectively:

> **RECOMMENDATION 2:** That the National Strategy for Volunteering consider ways to leverage the rich experiences and insights that (former) IDVs possess so their experiences, knowledge and capabilities can be productively applied in relevant domestic contexts, including civic service.

Helping organisations enhance developmental experiences for volunteers

Several structural elements of IDVs' assignments contribute to their personal and professional development (Figure 1). These include the training and support provided before, during and after their placement, the nature of their work (e.g. the importance placed on interpersonal trust, knowledge sharing, and locally-led solutions) and the characteristics of their relationships with locals (founded on strong connections, interdependence and relative equality).

Some tension might exist between directing resources to help develop the capabilities of host organisations and host communities, on one hand, and developing the knowledge and capabilities of volunteers, on the other. Nonetheless, assignments that

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46   Bentall, 2022; Fee et al. 2022.
47   Bentall, 2022; Fee et al., 2022.

are developmental for IDVs may increase commitment, motivation and performance,[48] especially for IDVs with explicit professional/career motivations.[49]

Given this, **benefit is likely to come from supporting IVCOs and host organisations - without detracting from other objectives – to (better) design assignments and to match IDVs to assignments that support their positive changes and learning.** While this offers value for a range of stakeholders, it may be most pertinent for individual IDVs seeking to use their assignments to gain experiences, knowledge and capabilities, a growing proportion of the cohort.[50]

It is also feasible that many of the developmental experiences encountered by IDVs may be replicable in other Australian community organisations, especially (although not exclusively) those in remote locales and/or addressing issues in minority or culturally-diverse communities; organisations where many returned volunteers are motivated to apply their intercultural skills in subsequent volunteering endeavours.[51] In this, **IVCOs, which have expertise in preparing and supporting large numbers of IDVs through challenging and developmental assignments, may harbour experiences and insights that, if shared, could benefit other community organisations** managing volunteers seeking similar developmental benefits and/or in comparable contexts.

RECOMMENDATION 3: That National Strategy for Volunteering consider ways to help facilitate mutual knowledge-sharing connections between IVCOs and other volunteer-involved organisations that may benefit from IVCOs' insights into pertinent volunteer management issues. Such issues might include cultural awareness and/or safety/security training and support for volunteers, supporting adjustment (and learning) in cross-cultural environments, and/or mechanisms to support volunteers' learning and wellbeing in remote, novel or hybrid (online/face-to-face) settings.

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48   Ellström, 2011.
49   Clark & Lewis, 2017; Fee et al., 2022; Meneghini, 2016.
50   Fee et al., 2022; Meneghini, 2016; Okabe et al., 2019; Tiessen et al., 2021.
51   Fee et al. 2022.

Valuable Future Research Avenues

- Different models of international development volunteering exist and new forms are emerging.[52] COVID travel restrictions have accelerated the use of virtual or hybrid assignments.[53] These broaden participation opportunities for some individuals and organisations and have implications for attracting applicants and for IDVs' outcomes. Research to understand the trade-off of benefits (e.g. convenience, cost savings) and costs (e.g. efficacy, marketability) of these new forms of volunteering to IVCOs, host organisations and IDVs is warranted and has implications for the way these assignments are designed and for how volunteers are recruited, supported and managed.

- Studies examining causal relationships between assignment features (left of Figure 1) and IDVs' learning and outcomes (centre and right of Figure 1) are needed. This includes examining the impacts of different types of structured and discretionary support from POs and IVCOs before, during and after assignments.

- Emerging research suggests that foundational knowledge of and interest in the host country appears conducive to IDVs developing additional knowledge and capabilities during their assignments, and favourable outcomes afterwards.[54] These findings raise interesting questions about the relative benefits to diaspora IDVs, a cohort whose in-country experiences are yet to be researched in detail but whose assignments may be especially developmental.[55]

- Studies from a range of contexts and settings, including with IDVs from multiple international volunteer programs, enhance the transferability of the findings reported here. Nonetheless, sample compositions are frequently mixed or insufficiently detailed. Cross-cohort comparisons to delineate outcomes of different volunteer types and IDVs from different professions and age groups is warranted to better identify those assignment features and learning outcomes that are distinctive to IDVs.

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52   Chen, J. 2018; Sherraden et al. 2006.

53   For instance, after COVID temporarily closed its in-country volunteer program, the *Australian Volunteer Program* began offering (more) virtual or 'remote' volunteer assignments with international partner organisations. It now offers remote assignments to volunteers to work with organisations based in 26 nations (June 2022): https://www.australianvolunteers.com/volunteering/journey/why-remote-volunteering/

54   Fee et al. 2022.

55   Authors have suggested potential benefits of diaspora volunteers in terms of effective capacity development (e.g. Stuart & Russell 2011) but no studies could be found that examine the impact on this cohort of volunteers. Source: Stuart, M & Russell, DV 2011, 'Engaging the diaspora as volunteers in international development', *The Philanthropist*, vol. 24, no. 1, pp. 31-39.

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