MSc in Business, Language and Culture Business & Development Studies

Social Education Through Travel: How Intentions to Volunteer Abroad Are Formed

Application of the Theory of Planned Behavior

Master Thesis

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Abstract

Volunteer tourism combines short-term volunteering activities with traveling abroad. By this, travelers obtain the chance to contribute to social change while exploring exotic countries and meet local community members.

The purpose of this thesis is to explore what motivate US-American college and university students to participate in a volunteer tourism experiences abroad, specifically in Mexico. Through application of the theory of planned behavior (TPB), factors that contribute to the formation of volunteering intentions are investigated. Ajzen's (1988) theory of planned behavior is a common concept to study and explain human behavior. According to the theory, intentions are a predictor variable for actual behavior. Furthermore, intentions are created based on positive or negative attitudes towards the behavior in question, seized social pressure, and perceived behavioral control.

To begin research, literature on voluntourism is reviewed. Then, a pilot study was conducted, using items from different disciplines that were adapted to the context of volunteer tourism. Results suggest that self-efficacy consists of two different constructs, that can be defined as cultural and impact self-efficacy. Data analysis, however, shows that the collected responses from German students and young professionals was not completely consistent with the theory of planned behavior. Hypotheses derived from the TPB model were only partly supported. The impact of subjective norms was found to not be significant.

Yet, perceived social pressure is an important antecedent in the original theory and should be maintained as explanatory variable. As consequence, a post hoc model specification was undertaken. This revised version of the TPB model proposes an indirect effect of social norms that is assumed to mediated via attitude and self-efficacy. Data from the pilot study supports this adjusted hypothesis.

For the final study, an online questionnaire was distributed amongst US-American college and university students. A total of 126 valid responses were collected. Findings from the final study are in line with the results gathered during the pilot study. Again, the influence of service attitude and both self-efficacy constructs is significant and thus consistent with the theory of planned behavior. Contrasting to the theory, however, findings only show an indirect effect of perceived social support on volunteering intent. Service attitude, cultural self-efficacy, and impact self-efficacy mediate the relationship between subjective norms and volunteering intent.

The sample consists of students aged 18 to 34 years. A group comparison based on age groups shows different estimates for the predicting power of each antecedent. For younger students (18 to 25), favorable service attitude seems to have the strongest influence on volunteering intentions. For older students (26 to 34), however, findings indicate that intentions to volunteer abroad are mostly based on favorable impact self-efficacy.

In sum, findings of the study suggest that the theory of planned behavior is a useful tool to explain international volunteering intentions amongst US-American students. Yet, it is recommended to revise the model in a way that accounts for the indirect effect of subjective norms. Further research is required to test the post hoc model specification on a larger sample and in different contexts.

Content

1.	Introduction	1
	Motivation and Problem Statement	1
	Research Focus and Research Questions	2
	Thesis Structure	3
2.	Literature Review	5
	The Concept of Volunteer Tourism	5
	Good Intentions Are Not Enough: Challenging Views on Volunteer Tourism	6
	Orphanage Tourism: More Harm Than Good	9
	Voluntourism or International Volunteering?	10
	Experiential Learning Experiences: a Responsible Alternative?	11
3.	Theoretical Framing	13
	Theory of Planned Behaviour	13
	Theory of Planned Behavior and Volunteering.	16
	Applying the Theory of Planned Behavior to International Volunteering	16
4.	Methodology	19
	Research Philosophies	19
	Research Approach	20
	Research Design	20
	Data Collection and Sample	20
	Measures	22
	Data Analysis Methods	24
	Survey Accuracy: Exploratory Factor Analysis in SPSS	24
	Hypothesis Testing: Structural Equation Modeling in AMOS	25
5.	Pilot Study	29
	Data Analysis and Empirical Results	29
	Refining the Measurement Items	31
	Measurement Model	34
	Structural Model	36
	Post hoc Model Specification.	38
	Structural Model	40
	Results of the Pilot Study	41
6.	Final Study	43
	Data Analysis and Empirical Results	43

Measurement Model	45
Structural Model	46
Post hoc Model Analysis	48
Model Comparison Based on Age	49
Results of the Final study	51
7. Incentives Through Résumé Building	53
Measurement Items	53
Empirical Results	54
Implications	58
8. Discussion and Findings	59
Limitation, Contribution and Implication for Further Research	62
Implications for Practice: Advice for Volunteering Organizations	63
9. Conclusion	68
10. References	i

Table of Figures

Figure 1: The Theory of Planned Behavior	14
Figure 2: Structural Model of the Theory of Planned Behavior	15
Figure 3: Structural Equation Modeling	26
Figure 4: Amos CFA Output (Pilot Study)	34
Figure 5: Structural Model (Pilot study)	37
Figure 6: Post hoc Model Specification	39
Figure 7: Post hoc Model Specification (Pilot Study)	41
Figure 8: Structural Model (Final Study)	47
Figure 9: Results Final Study (Post hoc Model)	49
Figure 10: Model Comparison Based on Age Groups	50
Figure 11: Relation between Résumé Building and Intentions to Volunteer Abroad	1.54
Figure 12: Structural Model Including Résumé Building	56
Figure 13: The Indirect Influence of Résumé Building on Intention	57
Table of Tables	
Table 1: Chapter Overview	4
Table 2: Demographic Profile of the Pilot Study	29
Table 3: Factor Analysis of the Pilot Study (SPSS Output)	30
Table 4: Fit Indices of the Measurement Model (Pilot Study)	35
Table 5: Correlations between Latent Variables (Pilot Study)	35
Table 6: Fit Indices of the Structural Model (Pilot Study)	37
Table 7: Fit Indices for the Post hoc Model (Pilot Study)	40
Table 8: Demographic Profile of the Final Study	43
Table 9: Items Final Study	44
Table 10: Model Fit Indices of the Measurement Model (Final Study)	45
Table 11: Correlations between all Latent Variables (Final Study)	46
Table 12: Model Fit of the Structural Model (Final Study)	47
Table 13: Model Fit Indices of the Post hoc Model (Final Study)	48
Table 14: Hypotheses Tested in the Final study	52
Table 15: Model Fit Indices for Résumé Building (Model I)	55
Table 16: Model Fit Indices for Résumé Building (Model II)	55
Table 17: Model Fit Indices for Résumé Building (Model III)	57

1. Introduction

According to sustainable tourism expert Nancy McGehee, "as many as 10 million volunteers a year are spending up to \$2 billion on the opportunity to travel with a purpose" (Popham, 2015). Volunteer tourism is a booming industry with large potential as alternative way to contribute to growth in developing countries.

The concept of volunteer tourism combines short-term volunteering activities with traveling abroad. Most literature adapts Wearing's popular definition, referring to so-called volunteer tourists, as travelers "seeking a tourist experience that is mutually beneficial, that will contribute not only to their personal development but also positively and directly to the social, natural and/or economic environments" (Wearing, 2001: 1) of the travel destination.

Motivation and Problem Statement

Over the last two decades, gap year traveling has become a prevalent phenomenon that contributed to the "emergence of 'third world' volunteer-tourism programmes, which seek to combine the hedonism of tourism with the altruism of development work [... and] make the practice of international development doable, knowable and accessible to young travellers" (Simpson, 2004: 681). Volunteer tourism, is advertised as an alternative form of tourism and when adapting a favorable attitude "can be viewed as a development strategy leading to sustainable development and centring the convergence of natural resource qualities, locals and the visitor that all benefit from tourism activity" (Wearing, 2001: 12).

Despite valid criticism, which will be discussed in the next chapter, volunteer tourism attracts young people, families, active seniors, and corporate volunteers alike (Monshausen, Plüss, & Maurer, 2015). Participants are motivated by altruistic motives to help and actively contribute to reducing poverty. At the same time, they follow a more egoistic interest in exotic cultures and learning about everyday life in other countries (Willson & Suhud, 2016; Monshausen et al., 2015).

While an increasing body of literature focuses research on the phenomenon of volunteer tourism, only few studies address individual's intention and their stage of readiness to participate in volunteering experiences abroad (Suhud, 2013). In addition, most studies investigate past participants but neglect to consider potential participants and their motivations and expectations towards volunteering internationally (Knollenberg, McGehee, Boley, & Clemmons, 2014). Yet, understanding inspirations of these potential participants are crucial for volunteering organizations to attract more volunteers and design their programs accordingly (Ooi & Laing, 2010).

Research Focus and Research Questions

Short-term volunteering is most common among college or university students who use their summer breaks to spend time abroad (Butcher & Smith, 2010). To gain deeper insights into the various factors that influence students' volunteering intentions, the theory of planned behavior was used in this thesis. Following the theory, intentions serve as proxy for actual behavior and can help understand which factors predict future action (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Ajzen, 1991). Accordingly, the following research questions are derived:

- (1) Under what conditions do students choose to participate in international volunteering programs in Mexico?
- (2) What factors influence the formation of volunteering intentions?

Volunteer experiences are often advertised as means to touch up one's résumé and positively contribute to a student's future career (Holdsworth, 2010; Foller-Carroll & Charlebois, 2016). Yet, critiques express the risk of volunteering for the wrong reasons, when being based on personal goals to increase future career opportunities (Rothwell & Charleston, 2013). Résumé building reflects the idea, that students' intent to enhance their résumés and increase their future job opportunities, in this case through participating in volunteer tourism experiences abroad. This aim stems from the understanding that volunteering will help to build leadership and communication skills and increase self-confidence and adaptability which allows personal growths and contributes to student's employability (Korkeakoski, 2012; Wright, 2013). To further investigate the

influence of volunteer tourism on student's curriculum vitae, the following third research question was included:

(3) How does résumé building motivate students and influence their intended participation in volunteer experiences abroad?

Thesis Structure

The paper is structured as follows (see table): chapter two provides a review of recent literature on volunteer tourism, shortly discussing both the positive and negative impacts this form of alternative travel may have on the developing world. A thorough definition of the concept of volunteer tourism is also provided. Chapter three consists of the theoretical framework for analysis. The theory of planned behavior is explained and adapted to the context of volunteer tourism. Chapter four elaborates on the methodology of the data analysis and explains the statistical tools that are used to evaluate the data collected through an online questionnaire. A pilot study was conducted to refine the proposed questionnaire and assess the validity of the measurement items. A detailed overview of the results from the pilot study is provided in chapter five. Chapter six consist of the data analysis of the final study and investigates whether the hypothesised causal relationships are supported by the collected responses. Chapter seven examines the role of résumé building as incentive to volunteer abroad. Chapter eight discusses the results of this study and places them within existing literature. Limitations of the study, an outlook on future research and practical implications for volunteer organizations are also provided. Finally, the findings from this investigation on international volunteering intentions are summarized in chapter nine.

1	• Introduction
2	• Literature Review
3	Theoretical Framing: Theory of Planned Behavior
4	Methodology: Data Collection and Analysis Tools
5	Data Analysis of the Pilot Study; Refining the Measurement Items
6	Data Analysis of the Final Study
7	• Résumé Building as Incentive to Volunteer Abroad
8	 Discussion of the Results; Limitations of the Study Future Research and Implications for Practice
9	Concluding Remarks

Table 1: Chapter Overview

2. Literature Review

The Concept of Volunteer Tourism

Combining volunteering with traveling rooted in the nineteenth century, when missionaries, doctors, or teachers used their vacation to travel abroad and help the less fortunate (Benson, 2010). Since then, volunteer tourism has grown to become a global phenomenon, consisting of a diverse range of programs targeting individuals, families, students and the corporate world alike. While earlier literature was mainly characterized through 'saving the world' language (e.g. Brown & Morrison, 2003; Butcher, 2005), recent research tends to underline the ethical status of this alternative form of tourism (e.g. Benson, 2010; Wearing, 2001; Wearing & McGehee, 2013). The growing trend of volunteer tourism is attended by a general growth in the tourism industry. But — more importantly — it also depicts a new social movement among concerned citizens who wish to support those in need and "strive for equality and justice within economic, social and political spheres through networks formed between like-minded individuals and organisations" (Mustaffa, 2015: 70).

Pioneering in the field of volunteer tourism research is the work of Stephen Wearing (2001) which serves as foundation for most subsequent studies. This paper adapts Wearing's definition who refers to *volunteer tourism* as a concept that "applies to those tourists who, for various reasons, volunteer in an organised way to undertake holidays that may involve the aiding or alleviating of the material poverty" (Wearing, 2001: 1). According to Mittelberg and Palgi (2011), volunteer tourism is often driven by the motivation to contribute to society and to improve the quality of life of a local community in the destination country. Programs equally focus on volunteering and tourism in an international context, often involving a flow of unskilled workers from the Global North to the Global South (Rosenholm, 2015). As such, volunteer tourism can be defined as an experience product, normally short-term, and generally advertised as being mutually beneficial for both tourists and the host community. When participating in volunteer tourism, travelers can directly immerse themselves and participate in development work abroad. As a result, they are transformed into engaged and active global citizens (Foller-Carroll & Charlebois, 2016).

In practice, the term *voluntourism* is often used as synonym for volunteer tourism (Benson, 2010). Regardless of the generic term, voluntourism or volunteer tourism, experiences are understood as a clear alternative to widely spread mass tourism (Wearing, 2001). Since it enables intercultural interactions, volunteer tourism can facilitate cross-cultural understanding and social contact with the local community. As such, programs can increase cultural awareness and create respect towards other cultures, which is of great importance in an increasingly diverse world (Ismail, 2010; Knollenberg et al., 2014). When applying for voluntourism programs, tourists search for a temporary escape from their daily routine and seek the experience of a different environment. At the same time, they hope to broaden their perspective on different cultures, their norms and values (Wearing, 2001). Hence, volunteer tourism can also be seen as a journey of personal discovery, that – through separation from the 'familiar' - gives participants the opportunity to discover, expand and reconfirm their selfidentity (Dykhuis, 2010; Wearing, 2001). As consequence, through active civic engagement, mutual understanding is fostered and valuable social relationships in an intercultural setting are created.

Striking about volunteer tourism experiences is that participants are often required to pay for volunteering their time and skills. Fees are usually way higher than what a regular tourist would pay for a vacation in the same area (Wearing, 2001). Yet, high participation fees seem to be widely accepted and are rationalized by the need to support the host organization and local projects (Rosenholm, 2015). However, often only small portions of the program costs are actually redistributed to the local organization and projects. Instead, volunteer tourism has long turned into a money making business (Monshausen et al., 2015).

Good Intentions Are Not Enough: Challenging Views on Volunteer Tourism

With the growth of the industry and an excess in commercial providers offering short-term volunteer trips to low or middle income countries, negative externalities are growing, too. Various scholars agree that good intentions among volunteers are 'not enough' to automatically create benefits within the local communities in destination countries (e.g. Borland & Adams, 2013; Hartman, Paris, & Amizade, 2014). Volunteers

often sign up with rather unrealistic expectations regarding the impact they will be able to have as unskilled workers and during the limited time period (Korkeakoski, 2012). Especially in the many cases where locals are capable of fulfilling the tasks themselves, it becomes questionable to work with unexperienced foreign volunteers instead.

According to Hartman et al. (2014), projects should empower the local communities and provide sustainable solutions that both employ local people and protect the environment. It is therefore crucial, that organizations providing volunteer tourism opportunities focus on locally initiated and ethical initiatives that not only benefit the visitors but – more importantly – create positive change within the host country. Amongst the biggest concerns are the exploitation of the host communities and the abuse of unaware but well-intended foreign volunteers. Especially the lack of accurate stakeholder communication and poor resource management seem to overshadow potential positive outcomes voluntourism might have. According to Guttentag (2009), host communities are too little involved in the decision-making process. This may lead to failing projects and – even worse – a decrease in local employment opportunities.

Other scholars disapprove of volunteer tourism as it reinforces neo-colonialist relations between the Global North and the South (e.g. McGehee, 2014; Hartman et al., 2014; Loiseau, Sibbald, Raman, & Darren, 2016). Accordingly, volunteer tourism strengthens the dividing language of 'us versus them'. Volunteers often lack thorough knowledge of the host country and poorly managed placements tend to contribute to existing inequalities and create by-products of 'othering' (Dykhuis, 2010; Korkeakoski, 2012; Knollenberg et al., 2014). Most volunteers sign up for these experiences in order to increase their cultural understanding and because they wish to help local communities in the host country. Yet, short-term interaction often only allows for superficial connections that ignore the origins of real problems, such as inequality and marginalization.

According to Freidus (2016), many participants are astonished that the locals they meet during their stay abroad are happy and enjoying life although they are poor. This understanding leads to romanticising the concept of poverty, referring to poverty as a

concept of happiness based on the absence of first world problems and materialism. As stated in Ismail (2010), volunteering overseas should rather be understood as demeaning 'touristification' of the exotic 'others'. Both romanticising poverty and touristification of the local community reinforce unequal level of power between privileged wealthy Westerners and the local population (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016). Although the collaboration between visitors and marginalized local population may improve volunteers' understanding of prevailing challenges, interactions are often characterized by asymmetric power relations and may be quite misleading when accurate guidance from the host organization is missing (Borland & Adams, 2013; McGloin & Georgeou, 2016; Rogala, 2011).

Marketing material of voluntourism providers' stresses that volunteers will support locals that are in need of foreign development support. This creates an illusion is created that participants will actually have "the power and capacity to provide what the recipient 'lacks'" (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016: 409). By using emancipatory language of social change, program descriptions fuel false expectations and imply that volunteers have the necessary knowledge to help and actively contribute to development (Mustaffa, 2015). Volunteer tourism promises participants a 'real' travel experience with insights into an 'authentic' local lifestyle. Tough, volunteers often stay in accommodations and tourist enclaves that fulfil Western standards and thus delivers a completely false picture of local culture and traditions (Schwarz, 2016). In addition and quite ironically, Schwarz (2016) interviewed past participants that mentioned disappointment because the locals they collaborated with during their volunteering experiences were 'not poor enough'.

Common volunteer projects are the construction of houses or schools. Yet, most volunteers lack any experience in this field. Gagné correctly states that "you can't build a house in Togo if you have never built one in your country." (Gagné, 2013: 11). Accordingly, without being able to provide necessary skills and reasonable training, it seems quite unrealistic that student volunteers will have a meaningful effect on local development.

Other programs include teaching English to local adolescents. In a way, communities become "training grounds where volunteers are encouraged to teach the children of the developing world, yet, unqualified, are not trusted to teach our own" (Griffin, 2013: 868-869). Only the fact that volunteers come from the developed world, seems to make them experts in anything (Schwarz, 2016). At the same time, voluntourism creates the false impression, that "people in developing countries should [just] learn English in order to improve their socio-economic situation." (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016: 413). Critics, however, refer to volunteer tourism as some kind of 'guilt-offsetting' programs and all-inclusive packages that provide volunteer tourists with an reputable excuse to feel less guilty about spending \$2000 on a vacation (Gagné, 2013; Papi, 2012).

While volunteer tourism may be a positive and life-changing adventure for privileged Western participants, organizations tend to emphasize that the lives of local community members are also changed through the implemented short-term volunteer projects. However, often volunteers benefit more than the local community and in the case of orphanage tourism, which will be discussed in the next paragraph, projects might even worsen the situation (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016).

Orphanage Tourism: More Harm Than Good

One of the most popular forms of volunteer tourism – unfortunately – is orphanage tourism. It refers to short term volunteering stays at orphanages or day tours to play with children or watch cultural dancing performance orphans put on to entertain Western visitors (Tuovinen, 2014). Various sources provide shocking insights into what has become a money-making business in developing countries around the world (Ruhfus, 2012; Tuovinen, 2014). Institutional childcare is supposed to protect the most vulnerable members of the society. In the case of orphanage tourism, however, childcare is often misused as a source of income for profit-driven orphanage owners.

Evidence from Cambodia states, that about three out of four children at an orphanage have at least one living parent (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016). Yet, they have been separated from their families and are asked to entertain Western visitors and

befriend wealthy donors. At the same time, well-intentioned volunteers are exploited for the sake of generating donations.

By turning children into a tourist attraction, voluntourism is fueling family separation and child exploitation. Volunteers are given access to vulnerable children and are allowed to teach, without previous experience or undergoing a criminal record check. In addition, profit-driven owners might purposely sustain poor horrifying conditions to keep attracting more donor money, which leaves no benefits to the 'orphans' (Ruhfus, 2012).

Voluntourism or International Volunteering?

According to literature, there is a significant difference between voluntourism and international volunteer locations. Yet, both terms are often used synonymously (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016). In the 1990s, volunteer tourism emerged from the agenda of pro-poor tourism. The intention was to establish responsible tourism that favors the poor by integrating them into the economy. All-inclusive volunteer tourism packages are offered by profit-driven organizations that operate within an unregulated market, while international volunteering placements are available at non-profit organizations operating in the host country.

Many tour operators are based in the Global North and 'sell' development as a commodity, profitably sending volunteers to locations around the world. Placements can be easily obtained via online application. Volunteers normally do not need any previous experiences and are positioned in projects without considering available skills or interests (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016). McGloin & Georgeou (2016) find that commercial organizations aim to provide volunteers with the best experience possible and use language of humanitarian development to advertise and market the idea of 'helping' others who need assistance. Volunteer activities are diverse, but often include some sort of child care or teaching English (Young, 2016).

In contrast, international (development) volunteering is implemented directly within the civil society, with the aim to promote development in the Global South. Programs are often run by charities and promoted through government funding.

Although the time volunteers spend at the destination may vary between a couple weeks or several months, the volunteer organization typically has a long-term commitment within the host community (Korkeakoski, 2012). Central objective is to volunteer time to support sustainable development projects. Preferably, volunteers work with local partners from inside the community and assist local employees (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016). Within their specific project, volunteers have a pre-defined role working towards long-term development goals and contributing to sustainable social change. A detailed application process is implemented to ensure that volunteer skills are matched with local needs (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016; Young, 2016).

Analyzing narratives about personal volunteering experiences, Schwarz (2016) concludes that participants tend to describe their own experience as different from *other* volunteers. They strongly oppose being labeled *voluntourists* based on predominant negative connotation. Accordingly, the term might imply white superiority. Generally, participants place themselves as "having chosen the better (more ethical) approach to international volunteering" (Schwarz, 2016: 149). After receiving similar feedback from pilot study participants, this thesis follows Schwarz (2016) in her adaption of the term 'international volunteering' for the online questionnaire. Although it is not value-neutral either, it seems to be more in line of how participants identify themselves.

Experiential Learning Experiences: a Responsible Alternative?

Voluntourism has long been advertised as a new movement of sustainable and responsible travel and is thus understood as best practice in alternative tourism (Tuovinen, 2014). Researchers agree that cross-cultural interaction might foster mutual understanding and help breaking down stereotypes when friendships between voluntourists and local communities are established (e.g. Guttentag, 2009; Ismail, 2010). Yet, service programs may equally have negative effects of treating the 'voluntoured', thus members of the local community, in a disrespectful way (Guttentag, 2009; Ismail, 2010).

Volunteering abroad should be recognized as a transformative learning experience, that allows foreign participants to educate themselves about other cultures and may transform them into global citizens (Knollenberg et al., 2014). According to

Papi (2012), placements need to be filled based on volunteer expectations, skills, and project needs only. "It is all right to go abroad [...] but we must do so as a learner, not as a teacher/expert/worker" (Gagné, 2013: 11).

Trendsetting organizations are offering educational tours instead of volunteer travel, that bring together like-minded individuals who want to learn about global inequalities, the complexity of development work and unique challenges the country faces (Papi, 2012). In line with their goals, it is important to educate oneself about the specific context and needs, before being able to serve as a volunteer. Voluntourism participants are often young and from wealthy families, they are students attempting to gain competitive advantages for future careers, people who want to demonstrate civic engagement by doing humanitarian work for a couple weeks (Young, 2016). Yet, voluntourists should not expect to save the world, but rather to be changed themselves (Gagné, 2013).

Voluntourism cannot exist without a community suffering that can be 'helped' (Breckenridge-Jackson, 2013). Any international volunteer project must thus include close involvement of the local population and long-term commitment from the organization. "The only reason why volunteer programs should exist is to meet the needs of a local community [... and] it should be done in a sustainable way" (Korkeakoski, 2012: 17). Although, volunteering within their own communities at home might offer students equal benefits without intervening into the lives of people in other countries, many young adults choose to participate in volunteering abroad. Demand is growing, which makes it even more important to promote sustainable learning experiences over contra productive voluntourism at orphanages in the developing world.

The empirical part of this thesis aims to examine what factors motivate students to volunteer abroad. Many participants themselves seem to be aware of the negative connotations and possible harm of voluntourism (Schwarz, 2016), but yet choose to participate in volunteer tourism experiences. A better understanding of the motives will help volunteering organizations to attract qualified students and should help with their strategies to position themselves against commercial competitors.

3. Theoretical Framing

Part of the criticism of volunteer tourism and its unethical practices stems from the mismatch of 'unskilled volunteer efforts with skilled labour needs' (Loiseau et al., 2016). This and the unfavorable coordination on site often leaves the local community with little to no benefits. In order to implement long-lasting change, organizations need marketing initiatives that attract exactly those volunteers that come with the 'right' skillset and motivation to successfully execute any given activities. A logical next step is therefore to focus research on understanding the various factors that motivate potential volunteers to make a difference during their vacations and participate in volunteering and learning programs.

Past studies focus on the motivation of volunteers that are already current or past participants in volunteer tourism programs or at least have shown an affinity to the topic of volunteer tourism (e.g. Lee, 2011; Knollenberg et al., 2014). However, to fully understand motivation and how it can be used for effective marketing strategies, all potential participants, including those who have not expressed interest yet, should be considered. In addition, it is crucial to expand research and examine the factors that convince individuals to take action. The theory of planned behavior (TPB) represents a useful tool to understand how intentions to participate in a specific behavior are formed. The theory will be applied to student data to analyze the intention formation of potential volunteer tourism participation. The following paragraph explains the theory of planned behavior and positions the framework within the context of international volunteering.

Theory of Planned Behaviour

The theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1988) is an extension of Ajzen's and Fishbein's (1980) theory of reasoned action, a framework that introduced behavioral intentions as predictor for human action. The reasoned action framework combines personal beliefs towards a specific behavior with the individual's perception whether important people approve or disapprove of the behavior in question. In addition, the theory of planned behavior integrates a third element. The concept of behavioral control

represents an individual's judgment referring to the power they assume to have over their actions. The theory is well supported by empirical evidence and thus commonly used to predict and explain human behavior (Ajzen, 1991).

Fundamental to the theory is the assumption that an individual's intention towards a specified behavior can be used as a proxy for actual behavior. According to Ajzen (1991), intentions reflect all motivational factors that encourage any certain behavior and indicate people's willingness to try executing a performance. Strong intentions to execute a behavior make actual performance more likely. Beside personal motivation, the ability to perform the behavior in action is also crucial. Ajzen (1991) thus includes the construct of behavioral control, referring to the availability of essential opportunities and resources. The theory of planned behavior, adopts *attitude* and *social norms* from the reasoned action approach and additionally includes *perceived behavioral control* into the model. Perceived behavioral control (PBC) reflects how easy or difficult people expect performing any certain behavior will be (Ajzen, 1991). PBC is assumed to vary for different situations and actions. Besides influencing behavioral intent, expected behavioral control also directly affects behavior.

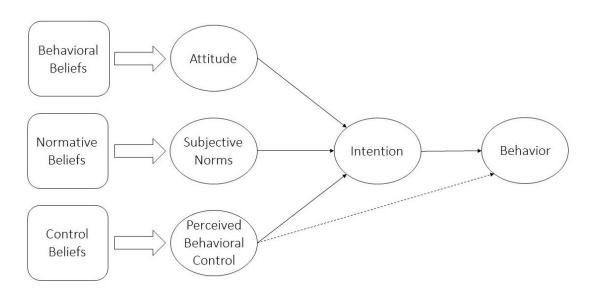


Figure 1: The Theory of Planned Behavior based on Ajzen (1988, 1991)

All three antecedents of intention are based on salient behavioral beliefs (see *figure 1*). Each behavioral belief "links the behavior to a certain outcome" (Ajzen, 1991: 191) and imputes a positive or negative value which is automatically manifested in an attitude toward the behavior. Normative beliefs "are concerned with the likelihood that important referent individuals or groups approve or disapprove of performing a given behavior" (Ajzen, 1991: 195). Accordingly, subjective norms consider to which extent important others would favor the execution of a given behavior and reflect the social pressure individuals perceive in any certain context.

Salient control beliefs combine past experience with second-hand information which are retrieved form observing behavior of others and combined with additional factors that determine the effort needed to perform the behavior in question. "The more resources and opportunities individuals believe they possess, and the fewer obstacles or impediments they anticipate, the greater should be their perceived control over the behavior" (Ajzen, 1991: 196). In the model, intentions then mediate the relationship between three predictors and the actual behavior. However, intention can only lead to actual behavior, when the individual has full control and can make a self-sufficient decision whether or not to perform. A structural diagram of the model is shown in *figure 2*.

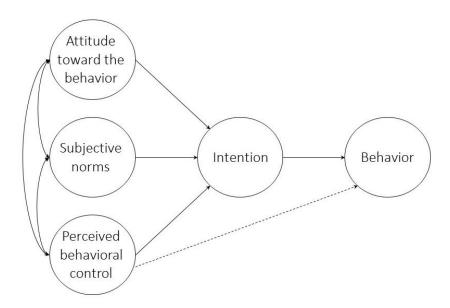


Figure 2: Structural Model of the Theory of Planned Behavior based on Ajzen (1991)

Theory of Planned Behavior and Volunteering

The theory of planned behavior is broadly applied in various disciplines and has also been used in several studies to examine the intention formation towards volunteering. These studies reinforce the usefulness of the model to explain student's intention to volunteer (Hyde & Knowles, 2013; Abdulelah, Sallam, Safizal, & Osman, 2015) as well as event volunteer retention (Lee, Won, & Bang, 2014). Following the example of Lee (2011), the theory of planned behavior should therefore be applicable to the context of volunteer tourism.

Based on the literature from the field of both volunteerism and tourism, Willson and Suhud (2016) found evidence for the role of subjective norms, attitude, and motivation on what they refer to as stage of readiness to be involved in volunteer tourism. In earlier research, Lee (2011) analyzed the applicability of the theory to the concept of volunteer tourism and investigated intended participation of students. The responses collected from members of different voluntourism providers, show evidence for the reasoned action approach, while the theory of planned behavior was not validated. As such, PBC was not found to be a significant predictor of voluntourism intention. To reassess Lee's results and contribute to existing literature, the survey in this thesis has been distributed among both past participants and students without any past experience with volunteer tourism. Through this approach, the author attempts to gain a more extensive understanding about students' intention to volunteer abroad.

Applying the Theory of Planned Behavior to International Volunteering

The following paragraphs aim to elaborate on the dependent variable intention and the three TPB predictors – namely attitude, social norms, and self-efficacy – in the specific context of international volunteering.

Intention to Volunteer Abroad. According to Ajzen (1991), "intentions are assumed to capture the motivational factor that influence a behavior; they are indicators of how hard people are willing to try, or how much effort they are planning to exert, in order to perform the behavior" (p.181). Intentions are the central factor of the theory of planned behavior. The stronger one's intentions, the more likely is the actual

performance. As shown in *Figure 2*, however, behavior not only depends on intentions to perform, but also the level of control an individual has to act upon his or her intentions. The ability to conduct a behavior therefore also depends on various factors such as time, skills, or money (Ajzen, 1991). Consequently, intention can be understood as a conscious plan to execute a certain behavior in the future (Ernst, 2011). According to the TPB, intention is determined through attitude, subjective norms, and perceived behavioral control.

Attitude Towards the Behavior. The first antecedent of intention, attitude, "refers to the degree to which a person has a favorable or unfavorable evaluation or appraisal of the behavior in question" (Ajzen, 1991:188). Attitude reflects an individual's positive or negative assessment that comes to one's mind when thinking about the behavior. Attitude as such is automatically available as beliefs are formed about a specific object. Yet, these beliefs are highly biased and based on both selective and self-serving information.

In the context of this study, students with a tendency to respond with a favorable attitude toward volunteering during their travels are assumed to more likely participate in volunteer programs abroad. Accordingly, the following hypothesis is derived:

Hypothesis 1: Potential participants' attitude toward volunteering travel is positively related to their intended participation in international volunteering experiences in the future.

Subjective Norms. Subjective norms refer "to the perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behavior" (Ajzen, 1991: 188). They reflect the personal prediction of expected feedback from the social environment and an assumption of what would be acceptable behavior within the society. People are shaped by their surroundings. The pressure stemming from subjective or social norms might change personal intention and prevent potential behavior.

When planning to volunteer abroad, students are thus likely to consider and rely on what their families and peer groups think about their involvement. In case of negative attitudes towards volunteering and voluntourism, the opinion of others might detain individuals from participating. Accordingly, the following hypothesis is derived:

Hypothesis 2: Perceived subjective norms toward volunteer work abroad are positively related to respondent's intended participation in the future.

Perceived Behavioral Control or Self-efficacy. The initial version of the theory of planned behavior suggests perceived behavioral control as one of the determinants of behavioral intention. Using self-efficacy as substitution for behavioral control is based on the idea that "peoples behavior is strongly influenced by their confidence in their ability to perform it" (Ajzen, 1991: 184). Researchers such as Mair and Noboa (2003) use self-efficacy as proxy to measure perceived behavioral control. According to their findings, both constructs echo past experiences as well as anticipated difficulties and refer to the same latent construct.

Wearing (2001) states that "being able to accept and deal with one's environment is an important element in the development and it can be through volunteer tourism that an individual must learn to rely on him or herself' (p.8). Volunteering in an unfamiliar environment, surrounded by unacquainted customs and a foreign language is challenging. Whether or not students believe they have control over their actions and can cope with challenges stemming from volunteering abroad will likely influence their intended participation. Accordingly, the following hypothesis is derived:

Hypothesis 3: Potential participants' self-efficacy is positively related to their intended participation in international volunteering in the future.

4. Methodology

The purpose of this study is to test several indicators that influence the intention formation of potential participants in international volunteering programs. This section further elaborates on the research design of the study and explains the tools used for the data analysis.

Research Philosophies

Research philosophy summarizes how the researcher sees the world and what general assumptions are made about the research objects (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009). Accordingly, each paper and study can be positioned within an adopted ontology and epistemology.

Ontology. All researchers make assumptions about the world and the nature of reality (Saunders et al., 2009). Subjectivism stresses that social phenomena are constructed based on "the perceptions and consequent actions of social actors" (Saunders et al., 2009: 111). Consequently, individuals may interpret different situations in a different manner, based on their own world view. It thus is important to consider the specific context and subjective reality in which a studied individual makes his or her decisions. Social interaction as such is constructed and constantly changing (Saunders et al., 2009).

Epistemology. Epistemology deals with the knowledge that is considered acceptable in a any particular study area (Saunders et al., 2009). According to Bhaskar (2010), critical realism is common in business research. In general, a realist position recognizes that there is a "reality quite independent of the mind" (Saunders et al., 2009: 114). While direct realism states that "what you see is what you get", critical realism argues that "what we really see are sensations, which are representations of what is real" (Saunders et al., 2009: 114-115). Following Dobson (2002), all existing information about reality results from social conditioning and, thus, cannot be understood without considering all social actors that are involved. A multi-level analysis is recommended to included both the individual and the group/organizational level and consider that the social world is constantly changing (Saunders et al., 2009).

Research Approach

For this thesis, both an inductive and deductive research approach were combined. The data collection was based on the theory of planned behavior, which is widely developed throughout academic literature. With a deductive approach, the relationship between important variables was examined and analysed. Yet, after testing the theory with the collected data, a post-hoc model specification was undertaken to better explain the observed responses.

Research Design

This thesis is characterized by explanatory research, designed to analyze and explain the relationships between the various factors that determine students' intentions to volunteer abroad. Quantitative data analysis was used to investigate potential causal relationships between attitude, subjective norms, self-efficacy, and the intention to volunteer abroad.

The empirical part of this study was designed as an online survey with surveyxact and conducted in English. The collection of standardized data through a survey allows for easier comparison of the results (Saunders et al., 2009). The general aim was to generate representative findings that allow for generalizable conclusions which would be true for the whole population. A pilot study was run to test measurement instruments and increase reliability of the final study.

Data Collection and Sample

Pilot Study. A pilot study was distributed among personal, mainly German, contacts of the author and serves only to test the measurement items and to refine the questionnaire for the final survey.

Final Study: Sample Choice. For the final study, students from the United States of America are chosen as respondent population. This has various reasons. In general, students are considered to be the main consumers of volunteer tourism programs (Butcher & Smith, 2010). Built on the assumption that context has a powerful influence on individual behavior and intentions, it makes sense to focus the research on volunteer

tourists in Mexico. Due to proximity and accessibility, most foreign tourists in Mexico come from the US. It is therefore assumed that American college and university students are also more likely to participate in volunteering programs in Mexico than for example Europeans. Previous literature found that the majority of volunteers are under 30 years old and usually possess a college education (Korkeakoski, 2012). In 2016, around 20.5 million students attended American colleges and universities (NCES, 2016). The center for educational statistics differentiates between younger students between 18 and 24 years and mature students aged 25 to 34. These age groups were adopted as target group for the study on hand. In addition, the US is among those countries that send most volunteer abroad, based on program participation and hours spent on projects (Tomazos & Butler, 2009; Tuovinen, 2014). All these reasons support the sample choice of the final study.

Final Study: Data Collection. To collect representative responses, the author reached out to three university professors in the USA. A professor of Social Entrepreneurship at Northern Illinois University, a professor of Economics at Ohio Wesleyan University, and a professor of Microfinance at Tufts University were provided with the survey link and shared it with their students. In addition, past participants in experiential learning programs in Mexico were directly contacted via email using the database from Human Connections, a social enterprise that connects international travelers and local entrepreneurs across Latin America. Finally, personal contacts in the US were contacted via Email and social media and provided with the survey link to answer and share it among their networks.

Consequently, respondents can be classified into two different groups. First, students (such as Human Connections Alumni) who have past experiences with international volunteering and are considered highly interested in these types of programs (about 56 % of the sample). Second, students who have a general interest in social entrepreneurship or microfinance but no previous experiences in volunteering abroad (about 44 % of the respondents). More detailed information about the data collection for both the pilot and the final study can be found in the designated chapters.

Measures

To measure intention formation in the case of international volunteering, existing items were collected from the literature and adapted to the specific context. Items were taken from the literature on volunteerism, volunteer tourism, and from social entrepreneurship research, because the field frequently uses theory of planned behavior to assess entrepreneurial intent. The following section gives an overview of the items used to measure the dependent variable (intention) and the independent variables (attitude, subjective norms, and self-efficacy). All items were tested in a pilot study and than revised accordingly before conducting the final study. Most items use 5-point Likert-scales. Only the control variables (age, gender, prior experience, and prior visits to Latin America) were measured differently.

Volunteering Intention. Since research was exclusively focusing on international volunteering in Mexico, the question asked in the survey clearly indicated the emphasis on participating in a 'volunteering project in Mexico'. Items to measure intended participation in volunteer tourism experiences are based on TPB literature (Lee, 2011; Hockerts, 2015) and have been adapted in the wording to fit the context of this study:

- I'm interested in participating in a volunteer tourism experience in Mexico.
- I intend to participate in a volunteer tourism experience in Mexico.
- I expect I will be participating in a volunteer tourism
 experience in Mexico that aims to solve social problems.

Attitude Towards Volunteer Travel. Within the industry, volunteer tourism is understood as an alternative type of tourism. To further investigate why students sign up for these programs, it is necessary to understand how they value different traveling activities. Items used to test attitude are based on the literature (Veludo-de-Oliveira, Pallister and Foxall, 2015; Lee, 2011) and were adapted to fit the context of this study:

During my holidays, I would really enjoy...

- To help people in need.
- To make a difference.
- To contribute to a social cause.
- To share a skill with the local community.
- To meet people and make new friends. (dropped after pilot study)
- To build meaningful relationships. (dropped after pilot study)
- To have fun. (*dropped after pilot study*)
- To relax on the beach. (*dropped after pilot study*)

Subjective Norms. In the pilot study, four items were used to measure subjective norms, hence, what friends and family would say about participating in a volunteer experience in Mexico. Items are based on the literature (Lee, 2011; Hyde & Knowles, 2013) and were rephrased to the following:

- My immediate family would approve of my participation in a volunteer tourism experience in Mexico.
- Important relatives would approve of my participation in a volunteer tourism experience in Mexico.
- My friends would approve of my participation in a volunteer tourism experience in Mexico.
- People who are important to me think I should not participate in a volunteer tourism experience in Mexico. (reversely coded)

Self-efficacy. Items to measure self-efficacy reflect both the perceived difficulty to participate and have an impact while volunteering abroad. The four items testing self-efficacy are based on measures taken from previous literature (Hyde & Knowles, 2013; Lee, 2011) and have been adapted to:

 I believe I have the ability to go to Mexico for a volunteer tourism experience in the future.

- I am convinced that through volunteer tourism I can make a contribution to the local community.
- I have confidence in my ability to overcome language barriers when participating in a volunteer tourism experience in Mexico.
- Through volunteer tourism, I can help to solve the problems of marginalized community members in Mexico.

Data Analysis Methods

Structural equation modeling (SEM) was chosen to analyse the collected data and evaluate whether the relationships among the observed variables suit the presented theoretical framework. SEM is a common tool in behavioral science and allows to combine path analysis techniques with theoretically based latent variables (Hair, Anderson, Babin, & Black, 2009). An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) run with the statistic software SPSS 24 serves to determine the existing correlation among the variables in the sample data and determine the underlying unobserved factors. As a next step and to confirm the importance of the proposed underlying latent variables, a confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) was run in Amos 24 (Analysis of Moment Structures). Both methods serve to reduce the collected data to their independent latent constructs. As last step, Amos was used to test the hypothesis of this research. Most methods covered in the next few paragraphs and fundamentals on structural equation modeling were taken from the reference works of Hair et al. (2009) and Schumacker and Lomax (2004).

Survey Accuracy: Exploratory Factor Analysis in SPSS

To identify the underlying constructs of the survey items and measure the accuracy of the collected sample, a factor analysis of the collected data was conducted in SPSS. The factor analysis summarizes all measured variables into a smaller number of factors, representing the underlying structure and how these items are correlated (Thompson, 2004).

The Bartelett's test of sphericity and the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) test serves to identify the adequacy of the data sample and count as basic preconditions to run a factor analysis (Hair et al., 2009). The KMO index has a range from 0 to 1. Values below 0.50 are unacceptable, values above 0.80 are great. The Bartelett's test can be consulted to determine whether a factor analysis is appropriate for the collected data. If the measured Bartlett's p-value is below the .05-significance level, a factor analysis is valid (Hair et al., 2009). The common factor analysis was run based on the latent root criterion. Accordingly, only factors with an eigenvalue above one were considered significant.

Principal axis factoring was used as extraction method to identify the underlying latent constructs. Extracted factors reflect the shared variance of the measured items. To simplify the structure and reduce ambiguities, factor solutions were rotated. Based on the assumption, that underlying constructs are correlated, promax rotation was carried out (Costello & Osbourne, 2005).

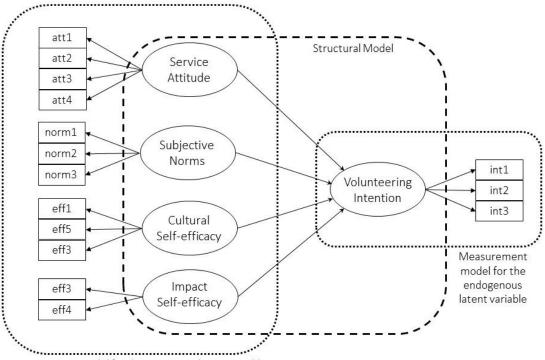
Acceptable factor loadings depend on the sample size. According to Hair et al. (2009), for a sample size of 60, factor loadings of 0.70 or higher are needed to achieve statistical .05-level significance. For a sample size of 100, factor loadings of 0.55 are assumed acceptable. When interpreting the pattern matrix, the goal is to minimize cross-loadings with other constructs. Items that have many high cross-loadings should be considered as candidates for deletion.

Cronbach's alpha is a widely-used coefficient to validate the extracted factors and assess reliability and internal consistency of the measurement scales (Hair et al., 2009). Accordingly, most researchers agree that a Cronbach's alpha value of .70 or higher is needed for items to be reliable. When found reliable, similar measures will consistently generate similar results.

Hypothesis Testing: Structural Equation Modeling in AMOS

Structural equation modeling is conducted in two steps, which are both displayed in *figure 3*. The measurement model (step 1) consists of the latent variables and all observed variables that were used to measure the factors. The structural model (step 2) refers to the

relationship between all dependent and independent variables of the study. (Schumacker & Lomax, 2004)



Measurement model for the exogenous latent variables

Notes: depicted items are taken from the final study; errors and covariances were excluded for better presentation

Figure 3: Structural Equation Modeling

Measurement Model (Step 1)

The measurement model is assessed via confirmatory factor analysis, that depicts the relation between all observed variables and the underlying unobserved constructs. This study initially included 19 observed items and four control variables. The CFA was run in Amos 24, using maximum likelihood as estimation method. It is expected to receive the four latent variables suggested by the theory.

Validate the EFA via CFA. To verify the factors extracted during the EFA, a CFA was run in Amos. In this step, measures are evaluated based on how well they represent what they are supposed to measure (Hair et al., 2009). Following Hair et al. (2009), convergent validity affirms that all items within a single construct are highly correlated. It can be assessed by investigating corresponding factor loadings. As stated above, sufficient factor loadings depend on the sample size. For a sample size of 60, factor loadings of .70

are required for statistical significance. If *discriminant validity* is ensured, all factors in the analysis are distinct and uncorrelated (Hair et al., 2009). Correspondingly, items should factor more strongly on their own factor than on another construct.

Model Fit Parameters

Researchers use various goodness-of-fit indices to estimate how well the specified model manages to reproduce the observed covariance matrix among the indicator items (Hair et al., 2009). Model fit indices, thus, indicate how well the theorized model can explain the observed variables.

 χ^2 Test. A common test for model fit is the χ^2 test, which calculates the discrepancy between the sample and the proposed model. The degrees of freedom (df) represent the mathematical information that is available to estimate the various model parameters. An insignificant χ^2 test (p-value for the model >.05) traditionally reflects moderate divergence and thus indicates good model fit (Hair et al., 2009). Hence, the observed data is similar to the values that were expected based on the theoretical model. Yet, due to its sensitive reaction to sample size, a variety of other fit indices with rule-of-thumb thresholds can be called upon to assess model fit. Hair et al. (2009) name the likelihood ratio chi-square test among others, that divides χ^2 through the degrees of freedom to get a normed value. For χ^2 /df (cmin/df), all values below 3.0 are considered to indicate good model fit.

Comparative Fit Index. The Comparative Fit Index (CFI) considers sample size and supplies reasonable results also when analyzing small datasets (Hair et al., 2009). The index compares the sample covariance matrix with a null model that assumes all latent variables to be uncorrelated. Traditionally a cut-off value of CFI > 0.90 was accepted. Meanwhile, values above 0.95 are understood as representative of good model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Root-mean-square Error of Approximation. The root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA) index assesses how well the chosen model parameters reflect the true model. Values within the interval of 0.05 to 0.08 indicate good model fit (Hox & Bechger, 1998; Schumacker & Lomax, 2004).

Structural Model (Step 2)

The structural model reflects the hypothesized relationships that are based on the theory of planned behavior. Like the measurement model, model fit and validity has to be assessed using the indices mentioned above. The squared multiple correlation coefficient (R²) is a statistical measure representing the amount of variance explained by the tested model (Hair et al., 2009). Hence, the higher the values for R² extracted, the better the model fit. Sometimes the relationship between the independent and dependent variable is mediated through an additional hypothesized effect. Amos offers the so-called 'bootstrapping' method to test for mediation and calculate the indirect effects of a variable.

5. Pilot Study

To test the selected measurement items, a pilot study was distributed among friends via Email and social media. A total number of 90 questionnaires were distributed from which 69 valid answers were received and analysed. *Table 2* shows the demographic profile based on the control variables included into the pilot study. 60.87% of the respondents were female, only 39.13% were male. While 59.42% of the study participants have been in Latin America before, only 17.39% have participated in any type of volunteer tourism before.

Variables	Categories	Frequencies	Percentage
Gender	Female	42	60.87 %
	Male	27	39.13 %
Age	18 - 25	22	31.88 %
-	26 - 34	47	68.12 %
Have you been in Mexico or	Yes	28	40.58 %
another Latin American country	No	41	59.42 %
before?			
Have you already participated in	Yes	12	17.39 %
any volunteer tourism	No	57	82.61 %
experiences?			

Table 2: Demographic Profile of the Pilot Study

Data Analysis and Empirical Results

First, an exploratory factor analysis with SPSS was used to test the suitability of the different measures. Reliability on item-level was measured through calculation of Cronbach's alpha. According to Hair et al. (2009), the reliability coefficient should be above 0.70 for all factors. Consequently, Cronbach's alpha of 0.869 for the 19 items of the pilot study, allows to move forward with the investigation. The factor analysis based on eigenvalues was conducted using principal axis factoring and promax rotation. Running a factor analysis for this pilot study is appropriate based on a KMO of 0.748 and a significant Bartlett's test ($\chi^2 = 698.5$, df = 171). A total number of six factors (*table 3*) were extracted, together explaining 63.63 % of the observed variance.

	Items	1	2	3	4	5	6
int1	I'm interested in participating in a VT.	0.148	0.267	0.491	0.045	0.051	0.024
int2	I intend to participate in a VT.	-0.015	0.015	0.966	-0.022	-0.024	-0.032
int3	I expect I will be participating in a VT that aims to solve social problems.	0.028	-0.055	0.866	0.061	-0.012	0.013
att1	Help people in need	0.913	0.033	-0.123	0.047	-0.030	0.055
att2	Make a difference	0.881	0.049	0.054	-0.080	-0.082	0.023
att3	Contribute to a social cause	0.924	0.182	-0.028	-0.098	-0.115	-0.009
att4	Share a skill with the local community	0.812	-0.158	0.115	-0.007	-0.025	0.031
att5	Meet people and make new friends	0.272	-0.043	-0.040	0.126	0.581	-0.030
att6	Build meaningful relationships	0.437	-0.230	0.076	-0.002	0.382	-0.022
att7	Have fun	-0.177	0.133	-0.001	-0.072	0.869	-0.009
att8	Relax on the beach	-0.085	0.054	-0.016	-0.115	0.540	0.116
norm1	My immediate family members would approve of my participation in a VT.	-0.014	0.798	-0.127	0.114	0.047	-0.008
norm2	Other relatives who are important to me would approve of my participation in a VT.	0.184	0.580	-0.018	0.007	0.083	-0.189
norm3	My friends would approve of my participation in a VT.	0.071	0.490	0.134	0.147	0.080	0.022
norm4	People who are important to me think I should participate in a VT.	-0.180	0.597	0.156	-0.214	-0.037	0.156
eff1	I believe that I have the ability to go to Mexico for a VT in the future.	-0.064	0.021	-0.054	0.889	-0.062	0.100
eff2	I am convinced that through VT I can make a contribution to the local community.	0.105	0.157	-0.122	0.043	0.034	0.768
eff3	I have confidence in my ability to overcome language barriers when participating in a VT in Mexico.	-0.055	0.030	0.113	0.821	-0.070	-0.052
eff4	Through VT, I can help to solve the problems of marginalized community members in Mexico.	0.004	-0.160	0.091	0.017	0.059	0.842

Table 3: Factor Analysis of the Pilot Study (SPSS Output)

Refining the Measurement Items

The purpose of running a pilot study was to assess the chosen measurement items and adjust them – when needed – for better fit in the final study. On this account, each construct is examined individually in the next section. Based on the results, some items were excluded from the final study, while others were refined to reduce ambiguity. In addition, feedback from survey participants regarding the term *volunteer tourism* was considered. In line with previous literature, many respondents had a negative perception towards the concept of volunteer tourism, yet showed interest in the same activities when labeled differently. Accordingly, questions in the final survey were phrased to be more explicit and items were constructed without using the term volunteer tourism.

Intended Participation in International Volunteering. The pilot survey included three items to measure intended participation in volunteering experiences abroad. While the factor analysis supported one unidimensional factor (component three in table 3), only two of the three items had significant loadings above 0.70. Yet, a Cronbach's alpha of 0.874 shows reliability on item level. As consequence, all three items were retained for the final version of the questionnaire, but based on feedback, slightly adapted to:

- I am very interested in international volunteering.
- I intend to participate in volunteer work while traveling abroad.
- I expect that at some point I will be part of a responsible volunteering project abroad.

Attitude Towards Volunteer Travel. Eight items were used to measure attitude in the pilot study. The factor analysis shows loadings on two different components (construct one and five in table 3). Attitude-items can be grouped into service and fun, with Cronbach's alphas of 0.919 (service) and 0.705 (fun) indicating reliability for both constructs. Based on the sample size of 69, three items of fun did not fall under the guideline that factor loadings of 0.70 or higher are needed to ensure .05-significance (Hair et al., 2009). Accordingly, the items 'meet people and make new friends', 'build meaningful relationships' and 'relax on the beach' were deleted, which would leave

the factor with only one item 'have fun'. As consequence, only the four items for service attitude were retained for the final survey:

During my holidays, I would really enjoy ...

- ... to help people in need.
- ... to make a difference.
- ... to contribute to a social cause.
- ... to share a skill with the local community.

Subjective Norms. The factor analysis of the four items assessing subjective norms, confirmed one unidimensional factor. However, only 'my immediate family would approve of my participation' shows acceptable loading of 0.798. The reliability with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.722 is acceptable and would not improve by removing the critical items. However, looking at the content, the second item asking about 'relatives who are important' may actually be measuring the individual's family size instead of perceived social norms. Respondents with small families might not consider relatives beyond the immediate family when taking decisions. Based on ambiguous items, the reversely coded measure is dropped from the analysis. For the final study, three the following three items are used:

- People around me would approve my decision to become a volunteer.
- People around me would support my trip to Mexico.
- People around me would agree to support people in need.

Self-efficacy. Two constructs were extracted via the factor analysis (factor four and six in *table 3*), showing no relevant cross-loadings for any of the four self-efficacy items. The two constructs differ with regards to the content and can be classified as impact and culture self-efficacy as described below.

Impact Self-efficacy. Factor six can be labeled as impact self-efficacy. It represents the ability to contribute to change within the local community. This perceived self-efficacy is the personal 'judgment of capability' (Bandura, 2006), the

belief in being able to create impact by achieving the goals of the volunteering program. Based on the sample size of 69, both items fulfill the requirement of minimum factor loadings of 0.70 (0.768 and 0.842) to ensure .05-significance (Hair et al., 2009). In addition, the factor was found reliable based on a Cronbach's alpha of 0.780. Both items were retained for the final study and supplemented with a new item:

- I am convinced I can make a contribution to the local community.
- Through volunteering, I can help to solve the problems the local community faces.
- I believe that volunteering projects can help empower marginalized community members.

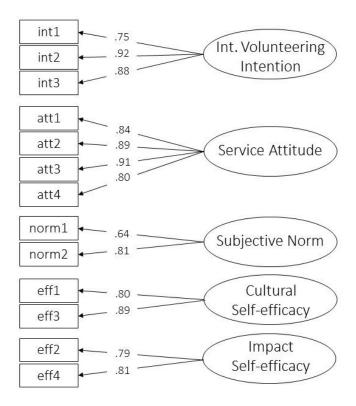
Cultural Self-efficacy. Factor four can be labeled as cultural self-efficacy. It represents the capability to cope with challenges faced when volunteering abroad, the belief to be able to deal with language barriers and handle unfamiliar customs. The concept of cultural self-efficacy refers to an individual's own perception of his "capability to function effectively in situations characterized by cultural diversity" (Briones, Tabernero, & Tramontano, 2009: 109). Personal confidence and the perception of possible socio-cultural adaption are important factors when engaging in cross-cultural interactions (Fan & Mak, 1998; Quine & Hadjistavropoulos, 2012). A Cronbach's alpha of 0.832 affirms the reliability of the factor. Both items were retained and also supplemented with a third item for the final study:

- I believe I am capable of going to Mexico for a volunteering experience.
- If I get guidance, I will solve any difficulties that might come up during volunteering abroad.
- I am confident that I can overcome language barriers and cultural differences.

Measurement Model

Based on the extracted factors, a confirmatory factor analysis was run in AMOS, using maximum likelihood as estimation method. Following predominant thresholds in the literature, the goodness of fit of the proposed measurement model were examined. An insignificant χ^2 test ($\chi^2 = 59.551$, df = 55, p = 0.314) is an indicator for good model fit (Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Figure 4 gives an overview of the factor loadings which – except one – were above the suggested threshold of 0.70. All covariances were below the suggested 0.8, but excluded from the figure for better presentation. Table 4 shows other fit indices that are frequently used in the literature. Combining the results of all fit indices leads to the conclusion, that the tested measurement model has good model fit. In total, the CFA supports all proposed latent variables, including the two new factors for self-efficacy.



Notes: N=126, arrows represent factor loadings; covariances and error terms were excluded for better presentation

Figure 4: Amos CFA Output (Pilot Study)

Table 5 summarizes the correlations between all tested latent variables. Convergent validity is established, as evidenced by the average variance extracted (AVE) being above 0.5 for all constructs (Hair et al., 2009). Since the square root of AVE is greater than any inter-factor correlation of the matrix, discriminant validity seems not to be an issue. The reliability of the factors is based on a composite reliability (CR) value above 0.7 (Hair et al., 2009). Only for subjective norms, the test for reliability and validity shows concerns (CR of 0.695). Yet, following Hair et al. (2009), a CR between 0.6 and 0.7 is acceptable when all other validity indicators are within the suggested thresholds.

Fit Indices	Model	Cut-off Values
CMIN/DF	1.083, p=.314	< 2, p >.05
RMSEA	.035	< .05 good fit
CFI	.990	> .95 great fit

Table 4: Fit Indices of the Measurement Model (Pilot Study)

	CR	AVE	MSV	MaxR(H)	Cultural efficacy	Intention	Service attitude	Norms	Impact efficacy
Cultural efficacy	.834	.716	.128	.848	.846				
Intention	.890	.732	.317	.942	.358	.855			
Service attitude	.919	.740	.317	.967	.063	.563	.860		
Norms	.695	.536	.219	.969	.257	.468	.406	.732	
Impact efficacy	.782	.642	.143	.972	.255	.378	.179	.122	.801

Table 5: Correlations between Latent Variables (Pilot Study)

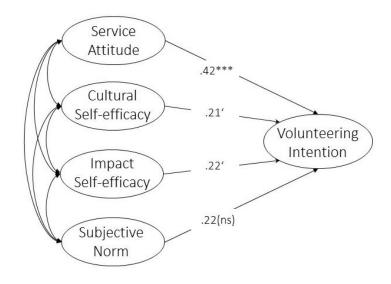
Common Method Bias. Common method variance is a bias stemming from self-reported questionnaires. It refers to the "variance that is attributable to the measurement method rather than to the constructs the measures represent" (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, & Lee, 2003: 879). To test for possible common method bias, the Harman's single factor test is performed. Therefore, a factor analysis is run in SPSS, constraining all

items to one single factor. In case of a systematic measurement error, the observed relationships between the latent variables may be inflated or deflated and thus needs to be accounted for (Chang, Van Witteloostuijn, Eden, & Eden, 2010). In case of this pilot study, however, a single factor would account for 38.42% of the variance. This value is well below the recommended cut-off of 50%. Consequently, common method bias seems to not be an issue within this study.

Structural Model

The structural model is based on the proposed hypotheses and assigns relationships from one construct to another accordingly. *Figure 5* plots the structural model to test the study hypotheses, namely the influence of attitude, subjective norms, and self-efficacy on predicting international volunteering intent. Hereby, both self-efficacy constructs were included separately. Model fit needs to be evaluated, every time the model changes. For the structural model, an insignificant χ^2 test ($\chi^2 = 59.551$, df = 55, p = 0.314), in line with the other fit indices (see *table 6*) below or above the cut-off values, suggests good model fit.

When simultaneously testing the effect of the TPB antecedents on volunteering intention, only three of the four latent variables were found statistically significant. Service attitude has a positive effect (0.423***) on the intention to volunteer abroad. Both self-efficacy constructs are approaching significance and this seem to positively influence volunteering intent, with the following values for impact self-efficacy (0.220, p = 0.081) and cultural self-efficacy (0.221, p = 0.077). Yet, the predicting power of subjective norms was not significant (p = 0.153) in the pilot study. A R² of 0.5 states, that only 50% of the variance in intention was explained by the four latent variables.



Notes: N=69, arrows represent standardized regression weights ('<0.1, *<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001, ns=not significant); controls, items and error terms were excluded for better presentation

Figure 5: Structural Model (Pilot study)

Fit Indices	Model	Cut-off Values
CMIN/DF	1.083, p=.314	< 2, p >.05
RMSEA	.035	< .05 good fit
CFI	.99	> .95 great fit

Table 6: Fit Indices of the Structural Model (Pilot Study)

Control Variables. Age, gender, prior experience with voluntourism and prior visits to Mexico or Latin America were included as control variables throughout the analysis. Noteworthy is the negative effect (-0.225, p = 0.026) that age has on intention. According to that, with increasing age, the intention to participate in volunteer tourism activities abroad decreases.

Post hoc Model Specification

Structural equation modeling provides support for the predicting power of attitude and approaching significance for both cultural and impact self-efficacy. Yet, the analysis fails to provide significant evidence for the relationship between subjective norm and volunteering intentions. Certainly, subjective norms are an important antecedent of the theory of planned behavior which explicitly argues for the significance of its influence. While "most studies demonstrated that subjective norm has a direct significant impact on behavioral intention" (Willson & Suhud, 2016: 288), other researchers report no evidence for a significant association between both constructs (e.g. Rhodes et al. (2015), Metawie & Mostafa (2015)).

According to Linden (2011), one reason for insignificant results could be the failure to include accurate measures. As such, subjective norm measurements often refer to the perceived approval or disapproval of the behavior in question instead of considering whether individuals feel socially pressured to act in a certain way. Instead, Linden identifies moral norms (originate from social groups but independently influence individual behavior) as only norm predictor for donating intentions. Willson and Suhud (2016) link subjective norm to individual's attitude and motivation towards volunteer tourism and report evidence that norms significantly influenced attitude. Metawie and Mostafa (2015) test students' intention towards charity donations in Egypt and propose a revised TPB model, that includes the relationship between social norms and attitude. Their study then provides evidence that subjective norms serve as 'good predictor of favourable attitude towards donating to charity' (Metawie & Mostafa, 2015).

According to Cialdini and Trost (1998), people refer to other's behavior "to decide the most effective course of action when a situation is novel, ambiguous and uncertain" (p.155). Correspondingly, the beliefs of the close surrounding play a role in forming personal perceptions about the difficulty or ease to perform the behavior in question (Park & Ha, 2014). Hence, it can be summarized that subjective norms influence perceived behavioral control and as such self-efficacy.

Similarly, attitude is affected by the environment and the people around someone (Petty & Cacioppo, 1996). Individuals are motivated to express attitudes that are perceived as 'correct' within their social environment. Accordingly, the perception of what people who are important consider as appropriate performance will influence someone's attitude towards a behavior (Park & Ha, 2014).

Following the literature, it can be assumed that the effect of subjective norms on volunteering intent is mediated through attitude and self-efficacy. Hereupon the author decided to conduct a post hoc model specification ($figure\ 6$) and proposed the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 4: There is a significant relationship between perceived subjective norms toward international volunteering and intended participation mediated by both attitude and self-efficacy.

- **4.1:** Subjective norms are positively related to service attitude.
- **4.2:** Subjective norms are positively related to cultural self-efficacy.
- **4.3:** Subjective norms are positively related to impact self-efficacy.

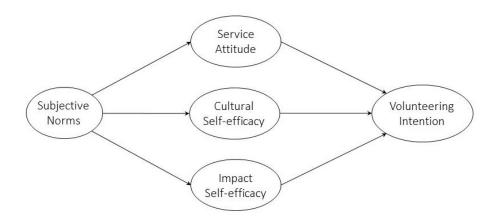


Figure 6: Post hoc Model Specification

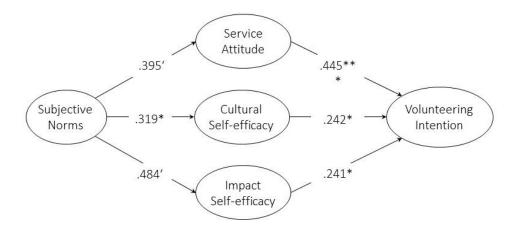
Structural Model

To test the indirect effect of subjective norm on intention, the revised structural model (see *figure 6*) was executed with Amos 24. The insignificance of the χ^2 test ($\chi^2 = 114.723$, df = 102, p = 0.183), in line with the other fit indices (see *table 7*), suggests good model fit.

	Cut-off Values
1.125, p=.183	< 2, p >.05
.043	< .05 good fit
.974	> .95 great fit
	.043

Table 7: Fit Indices for the Post hoc Model (Pilot Study)

Mediation was tested via bootstrapping. Bootstrapping is a resampling technique that calculates an approximation of the indirect effect by repeatedly estimating the indirect effect within the dataset (Preacher & Hayes, 2008). Results of the analysis are summarized in *figure* 7. The indirect effect of subjective norms on intention was found significant (p = 0.006). In addition, the direct effects of subjective norms on all three latent variables were found significant and suggest a positive relationship based on the following values: service attitude (0.395, p = 0.059), cultural self-efficacy (0.319, p = 0.032) and impact self-efficacy (0.484, p = 0.072). Consequently, the effect of subjective norms on volunteering intent is mediated through service attitude, as well as cultural and impact self-efficacy. The relationship between service attitude and international volunteering intent is found significant and positive (0.445***). The positive direct effects of self-efficacy are approaching significance wit the following values: cultural efficacy (0.242, p = 0.048) and impact efficacy (0.241, p = 0.031). Despite the significant effects and good model fit, however, R² of intention decreased to 0.467. The accuracy of this post hoc model specification will be reassessed in the final study.



Notes: N=126, arrows represent standardized regression weights ('<0.1, *<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001); controls, items, and error terms were excluded for better presentation

Figure 7: Post hoc Model Specification (Pilot Study)

Control Variables. The four controls mentioned above were retained for the post hoc model specification. Besides the negative effect of age on intention, the following correlations are noteworthy. Male respondents have lower levels of service attitude than female respondents (-0.252, p = 0.025). Respondents who have already participated in volunteer tourism experiences, possess stronger impact self-efficacy (0.311, p = 0.033), but lower service attitude (-0.202, p = 0.08). Finally, a positive correlation between age and impact self-efficacy (0.348, p = 0.033) was observed. This means that with increasing age, respondents felt more confident about their contribution within the local community when volunteering abroad.

Results of the Pilot Study

The main purpose of the pilot study is to test the chosen measurement items and evaluate their use in measuring the TPB antecedents. In addition, the collected data is used to test the proposed hypotheses.

Data analysis supported all TPB hypotheses except the impact subjective norms have on volunteering intention (H3). Although the direct predicting power of subjective norm was found to be not significant, the variable should somehow influence intention formation. A post hoc model was thereupon specified and tested with the pilot data. Results support the newly derived hypotheses. Accordingly, subjective norms are assumed to have an indirect effect on intention which is mediated by the other TPB

predictors, namely service attitude, culture self-efficacy, and impact self-efficacy (H4, H4.1-H4.3). Implied relationships were tested when analysing the data from the final study.

The results are limited based on the sample that consists of mainly older (68% over 25 years old) students. Although about half of the respondents have been to Latin America before, less than 20% have participated in any kind of volunteering experiences before. In addition, most of the respondents are from Germany. As said before, context matters when investigating volunteering and volunteering experiences abroad. Hence, it is expected that results in the final study distributed among US-American students will differ.

6. Final Study

For the final study, a total number of 382 questionnaires were distributed via Email and social media. 149 responses were received, leading to a response rate of 39%. Out of those, a total of 126 valid answers were obtained and then analyzed. All respondents are current students or alumni of US-American colleges or universities. Around two-thirds of the respondents were female and approximately two-thirds were between 18 and 25 years old. See *Table 8* for a full overview of the socio-demographic profile of the final study.

Variables	Categories	Frequencies	Percentage
Gender	Female	83	65.87 %
	Male	43	34.13 %
Age	18 - 25	78	61.90 %
	26 - 34	48	38.10 %
Have you been in Mexico or	Yes	85	67.46 %
another Latin American country before?	No	41	32.54 %
Have you already participated in	Yes	56	44.44 %
any volunteer tourism experiences?	No	70	55.56 %

Table 8: Demographic Profile of the Final Study

Data Analysis and Empirical Results

The EFA confirms the five factors from the pilot study, with internal reliability for each construct based on Cronbach's alpha values above 0.70. Together the five factors explain 71.85% of the variance. For the sample size of 126 respondents, factor loadings above 0.55 are acceptable (Hair et al., 2009). Based on a lower factor loading (0.455), the impact-efficacy item 'through volunteering, I can help solve the problems the local community faces' was deleted. A Cronbach's alpha of 0.818 confirms that two items are enough for a reliable construct. All other items were retained for further analysis. Factor loadings are summarized in *table 9*.

		Factor	Cronbach's	Variance
		loadings	alpha	explained
Intention: What is your general attitude to	wards			
volunteering? Would you like to participate		<u>-</u>		
I am very interested in international volunteering.	int1	0.677		
I intent to participate in volunteer work while traveling abroad	int2	0.817	0.940	15.41 %
I expect that at some point I will be part of a responsible volunteering project abroad.	int3	0.785		
Service attitude:				
During my holidays, I would really enjoy				
to help people in need.	att1	0.839		
to make a difference.	att2	0.758		
to contribute to a social cause.	att3	0.755	0.905	17.79 %
to share a skill with the local	att4	0.640		
community.		0.649		
Subjective norms: What would your friend	's and			
family say about volunteering in Mexico?	S cirici			
People around me would approve of my	norm1	-		
decision to become a volunteer.		0.970		
People around me would support my trip	norm2	0.500	0.504	10000
to Mexico.		0.599	0.784	12.96 %
People around me would agree to support	norm3	0.667		
people in need.		0.667		
Cultural self-efficacy: How well do you fee	o1			
prepared for the upcoming adventure?				
I believe I am capable of going to Mexico	eff1			
for a volunteering experience.	33	0.695		
If I get guidance, I will solve any	eff5			
difficulties that might come up during		0.693	0.813	13.45 %
volunteering abroad.				
I am confident that I can overcome	eff3	0.742		
language barriers and cultural differences.		0.742		
Impact self-efficacy: Do you think you can	heln			
The volunteering organization achieve their	-			
I am convinced I can make a contribution	eff2			
to the local community members.	<i>55</i>	0.627		
I believe that volunteering projects can	eff4		0.818	12.25 %
help empower marginalized community	**	0.980		
members.				

Table 9: Items Final Study

Control Variables. Just like the pilot study, age, gender, prior experiences with international volunteering, and prior vacations in Mexico or Latin America were included as control variables. Noteworthy is the negative correlation between prior experience and volunteering intention (-0.229, p = 0.007) which interestingly suggests that those respondents who already participated in volunteer work abroad are less likely to intend to participate again. The relationship between age and volunteering intent is significant, yet the negative effect is quite small (-0.035***).

Measurement Model

To assess the measurement model, a confirmatory factor analysis with maximum likelihood estimation was run in Amos 24. The measurement model suggested good measurement of the TPB constructs with significant large factor loadings. Traditionally, good model fit is specified through an insignificant χ^2 test. This is not the case for the tested data. Contrary, the CFA leads to a significant (p = 0.018) chisquare test (χ^2 = 109.836, df = 81). However, literature proposes various model fit indices as alternative to the χ^2 test, which is sensitive to the sample size. Hair et al. (2009) recommend a cut-off value of 2.0 for the χ^2 /df ratio (CMIN/DF). A χ^2 /df value of 1.356 and other common fit indices (*table 10*) thus lead to the conclusion that the model has a reasonably good model fit. Furthermore, the CFA confirms significant regression weights for all included items.

Fit Indices	Model	Cut-off Values
CMIN/DF	1.356, p=.018	< 2, p >.05
RMSEA	.053	< .08 adequate fit
CFI	.977	> .95 great fit

Table 10: Model Fit Indices of the Measurement Model (Final Study)

Full validity and reliability of the measurement can be confirmed based on composite reliability (CR) above .70, average variance extracted (AVE) below .50, and the square root of AVE greater than any inter-construct correlations for all factors. See *table 11* for details on the correlations of all latent factors included in the analysis.

	CR	AVE	MSV	MaxR(H)	Norms	Intention	Service	Cultural efficacy	Impact efficacy
Norms	.843	.643	.085	.865	.802				
Intention	.941	.843	.464	.958	.290	.918			
Service	.908	.713	.464	.972	.228	.681	.845		
Cultural efficacy	.829	.619	.444	.976	.291	.666	.556	.787	
Impact efficacy	.832	.715	.388	.980	.224	.623	.465	.484	.845

Table 11: Correlations between all Latent Variables (Final Study)

Common Method Bias. Harman's single factor test was used to evaluate common method variance. Therefore, a factor analysis was run while constraining all items to a single factor. The extracted unrotated variance of 41.08% lies below the suggested 50% cut-off. As result, common method bias seems to not be an issue in this study.

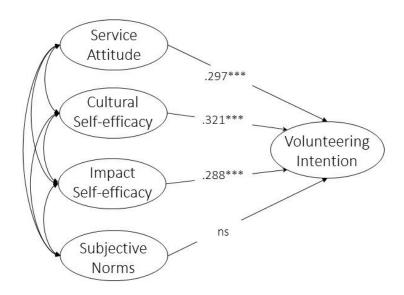
Structural Model

The second part of structural equation modeling is the assessment of the structural model that will then be used to test the hypothesized relationships between the latent variables. First, the initial theory of planned behavior is tested. Again, the χ^2 test is significant (χ^2 154.52, df = 102, p = .001). Yet, model fit is demonstrated through acceptable values for the other tested fit indices (*table 12*).

Fit Indices	Model	Cut-off Values
CMIN/DF	/DF 1.515, p = .001 < 2, p	
RMSEA	.064	< .08 adequate fit
CFI	.958	> .95 great fit

Table 12: Model Fit of the Structural Model (Final Study)

When testing the effect of attitude, self-efficacy and subjective norms on volunteering intention, only three of the four latent variables were found statistically significant (see *figure 8*). In line with the outcomes of the pilot study, service attitude has a positive, but lower effect (0.297^{***}) on international volunteering intentions. Likewise, cultural self-efficacy (0.321^{***}) , and impact self-efficacy (0.288^{***}) positively influence volunteering intent. However, the relationship between subjective norms and intentions to volunteer abroad was again found insignificant (p = 0.264). A R^2 of 0.706 states, that 70.6% of the variance in intention could be explained by the four latent variables.



Notes: N=69, arrows represent standardized regression weights (*<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001, ns=not significant); controls, items and error terms were excluded for better presentation

Figure 8: Structural Model (Final Study)

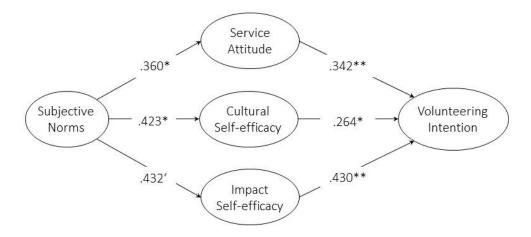
Post hoc Model Analysis

Another structural model was investigated, to test hypothesis 4 from the post hoc model specification of the pilot study, namely the mediated effect of subjective norms via attitude and self-efficacy. Mediation was tested via bootstrapping in Amos 24. *Table 13* summarizes the model fit indices that suggest good model fit, despite the significance of the χ^2 test (χ^2 250.794, df = 135, p = 0.000).

Fit Indices	Model	Cut-off Values
CMIN/DF	1.858, p = .000	< 2, p >.05
RMSEA	.083	< .08 adequate fit
CFI	.913	> .90 traditional

Table 13: Model Fit Indices of the Post hoc Model (Final Study)

The indirect effect of subjective norms on intention was found significant (p = 0.012). Consequently, subjective norms indirectly predict volunteering intent via attitude and self-efficacy. The following direct effects of subjective norms on the other three latent variables were detected via bootstrapping: service attitude (0.360, p = 0.033), cultural efficacy (0.423, p = 0.013), and impact self-efficacy (0.432, p = 0.012). Considering the underlying indirect effect of subjective norms, service attitude (0.342, p = .005), as well as cultural (0.264, p = 0.026) and impact self-efficacy (0.430, p = 0.005) are positively related to international volunteering intentions (see *figure 9*). Together, the four constructs explain 70.5 % of the variance in intention (R^2 of 0.705).



Notes: N=126, arrows represent standardized regression weights (*<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001); controls, items, and error terms were excluded for better presentation

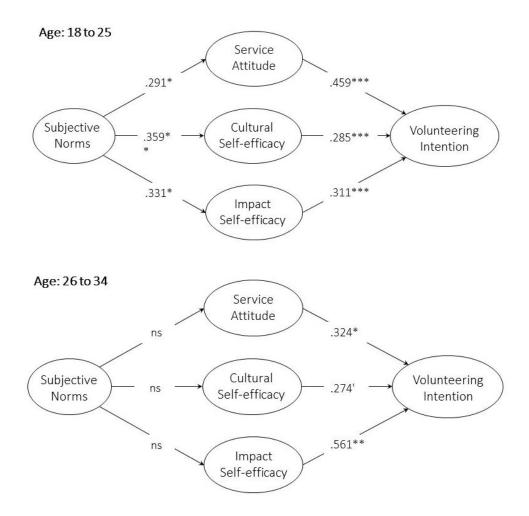
Figure 9: Results Final Study (Post hoc Model)

Control Variables. Again, the four controls (age, gender, prior experience, prior travels to Latin America) were retained for the post-hoc model specification. Here too, a negative effect of prior experience on volunteer intention (-0.267**) can be observed. Noteworthy is also the significant correlation between past stays in Latin America and perceived cultural self-efficacy (-0.393**) as well as on impact self-efficacy (-0.206*). People who have traveled to a Latin American country before actually feel less prepared to cope with the different culture and language barriers in the host country and assume to be less likely to contribute to the goals of the volunteering organization. Again, volunteering intent decreases with increasing age (-0.172**).

Model Comparison Based on Age

38.10% of the respondents were older than average participants in volunteer tourism experiences, which according to Wearing (2001) are mostly young adults, between 18 and 25 years old. So far, age was included into the analysis as control variable and showed a negative influence on volunteering intention in all cases, meaning that with increasing age, respondents were less likely to mention intentions to volunteer abroad. To further investigate the differences between younger and older students, model comparison was conducted using the multiple-group analysis tool in Amos.

Requirement to run a multi-group analysis is measurement model invariance, meaning that the factor structure is identical across both groups in question (Byrne & Stewart, 2006). A χ^2 difference test is a common tool to measure model invariance (Floh & Treiblmaier, 2006). Based on a p-value of 0.027 (<.05), the χ^2 difference test was found to be significant, indicating that estimated effects for both age groups were different. Consequently, the structural model was compared between both groups.



Notes: N=126, arrows represent standardized regression weights ('<0.1, *<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001, ns = not significant); controls, items, and error terms were excluded for better presentation

Figure 10: Model Comparison Based on Age Groups

Figure 10 shows the results when running the post hoc model separately for the two groups. Interestingly, for respondents older than 25, the effect of subjective norms on the three TPB predictors in not significant. When comparing, the explained variance in volunteering intentions, only 43.4% was explained for the older respondents, while

79.5% of the variance was achieved to be explained among the younger group. Consequently, intention formation for the older students between 25 and 34 years old is affected by various different factors that were not tested with this survey. In this area, further research is needed.

Additionally, differences in the influence strengths of the TPB predictors become apparent through this multigroup analysis. For the younger respondents (18 to 25 years old), service attitude was the strongest predictor for volunteering intentions (0.459***). In contrast, the older group's (26 to 34 years old) intention to volunteer was strongest influenced through impact self-efficacy (0.561***). Interpreting these results suggests, that younger students mainly intent to volunteer based on their altruistic beliefs to 'do good' while being on vacations. Older students, however, form stronger volunteering intentions when they think they can contribute to the goal of the particular volunteering organization and contribute to the local community. In addition, older students seem to form their beliefs towards international volunteering without considering social norms.

Results of the Final study

The final study was conducted based on the results from the pilot study. In line with the pilot study, the direct relationship between subjective norms and volunteering intention (H3) was not significant. *Table 14* summarizes the results from the final study. The suggested post hoc model specification was tested and results were consistent with the model. Similar to the TPB structural model, 70.5% of the variance in international volunteering intentions were explained. The indirect effect of subjective norms on intention was found significant, supporting hypothesis 4. Attitude and both self-efficacy constructs were significant mediators of this effect.

In addition, a test for model comparison was run based on age. When included as control variable, age negatively influenced volunteering intentions, stating that with increasing age, students are less likely to form intentions to volunteer abroad. Model comparison resulted in two different models for the age groups 18 to 25 and 26 to 34 year old's. Noteworthy is the role of subjective norms, which was found to have no significant effect for students older than 25. This indicates, that with increasing age,

students are less likely to consider social pressure when forming personal behavioral and control beliefs.

Hypothesis	Statement	Result
Н1	Potential participants' attitude toward volunteering travel is positively related to their intended participation in international volunteering experiences in the future.	Supported
Н2	Perceived subjective norms toward volunteer work abroad are positively related to respondent's intended participation in the future.	Supported
Н3	Potential participants' self-efficacy is positively related to their intended participation in international volunteering in the future.	Not significant
Н4	There is a significant relationship between perceived subjective norms toward international volunteering and intended participation mediated by both attitude and self-efficacy.	Supported
H4.1	Subjective norms are positively related to service attitude.	Supported
H4.2	Subjective norms are positively related to cultural self-efficacy.	Supported
H4.3	Subjective norms are positively related to impact self-efficacy.	Supported

Table 14: Hypotheses Tested in the Final study

7. Incentives Through Résumé Building

Literature suggests that résumé building, thus enhancing one's curriculum vitae, is one of the important motivational factors for students to spend their summer break volunteering abroad (Friedland & Morimoto, 2005; Foller-Carroll & Charlebois, 2016). Various scholars (such as Holdsworth, 2010) emphasize the educational aspect of volunteering and point towards learning opportunities and the professional experience gained. Volunteers build leadership and communication skills and increase self-confidence and adaptability which allows personal growths and contributes to student's employability (Korkeakoski, 2012; Wright, 2013).

Friedland and Morimoto (2005) found evidence that youth signed up for volunteering experiences for the purpose of 'resume-padding', while Foller-Carroll and Charlebois (2016) refer to voluntourism experiences as useful résumé boosters to increase competitive advantages among job seekers. When participating in volunteer tourism, young adults can showcase their civic engagement to future employers (Jakubiak, 2016). Volunteering abroad thus helps students to distinguish themselves form others and promote themselves as social responsible individuals (McGloin & Georgeou, 2016). Based on these assumptions, the following hypothesis was derived:

Hypothesis 5: Potential participants' aim of résumé building is positively associated with their intention to volunteer abroad.

Measurement Items

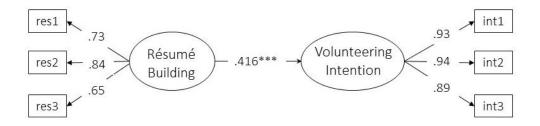
Some people argue that volunteering internationally will help with future job search. Following these beliefs, questions regarding résumé building were included into the questionnaire. After testing six items throughout the pilot study, three items were retained for the final study. Items to examine respondent's opinion regarding potential career benefits are based on previous literature (Handy et al., 2010; Smith et al., 2010; Cheng & Chu, 2014; Veludo-de-Oliveira et al., 2015) and were adapted to:

- Employers generally value applicants that have volunteering experiences.
- Participating in volunteering would boost my résumé (CV).
- When applying for a job, volunteering abroad would distinguish me from others.

Empirical Results

In the final study, résumé building was measured using the three items mentioned above. A Cronbach's alpha of 0.784 shows acceptable reliability (Hair et al., 2009). A glance at the extracted factor loadings shows acceptable values of 0.664, 0.842, and 0.722 for the three items. A confirmatory factor analysis in Amos, supports the solution of one unidimensional factor for résumé building.

In a first structural model (*figure 11*), the relation between résumé building and volunteering intention is investigated. Based on the results of the χ^2 test ($\chi^2 = 40.268$, df = 24, p = 0.02) and other common indices (see *table 15*), model fit can be approved. *Figure 11* shows the relationship between résumé building and intentions. The desire for résumé padding has a positive effect on volunteering intentions (0.416***) and accounts for about 17% of the variance ($R^2 = 0.173$).



Notes: N=126, arrows represent standardized regression weights (*<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001); error terms were excluded for better presentation

Figure 11: Relation between Résumé Building and Intentions to Volunteer Abroad

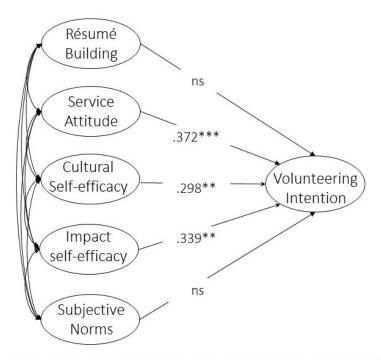
Fit Indices	Model	Cut-off Values
CMIN/DF	1.678, p = .02	< 2, p >.05
RMSEA	.052	< .08 adequate fit
CFI	.983	> .90 traditional

Table 15: Model Fit Indices for Résumé Building (Model I)

In a second structural model (see *figure 12*), résumé building was tested simultaneously with the TPB predictors (service attitude, subjective norm, cultural self-efficacy, and impact self-efficacy). Despite a significant χ^2 test ($\chi^2 = 164.547$, df = 121, p = 0.005), good model fit was accepted based on other common fit indices (*table 16*).

Fit Indices	Model	Cut-off Values
CMIN/DF	1.36, p = .005	< 2, p >.05
RMSEA	.054	< .08 adequate fit
CFI	.969	> .90 traditional

Table 16: Model Fit Indices for Résumé Building (Model II)



Notes: N=126, arrows represent standardized regression weights (*<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001, ns= not significant); controls, items and error terms were excluded for better presentation

Figure 12: Structural Model Including Résumé Building

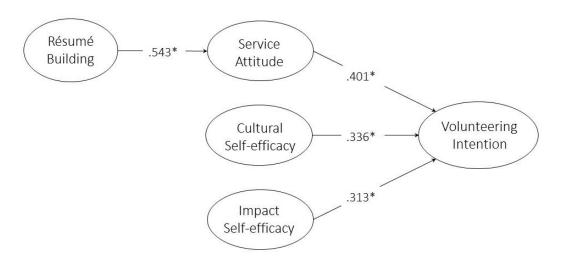
According to this second structural model (*figure 12*), the aim of résumé building was not found to be significant when attitude, social support, and control factors were included into the analysis. As such, it can be said, that despite individual correlation between résumé building and volunteering intention, a better insight about its insignificance can be obtained when considering a more holistic approach instead of isolation. This is in line with Goel, Jong, and Schnusenberg (2010), who found evidence for an influence of family support and control beliefs on the intention to participate in a study abroad program when being tested in isolation. Yet, when simultaneously considering behavioral beliefs (attitude), both constructs were found to not be significant anymore.

Indirect Effect. Instead of directly affecting volunteering intention, résumé building might be reflected within a positive attitude of students. As consequence, seeking to improve one's résumé might not directly impact volunteering intention, but instead lead to a positive service attitude among potential participants. This proposed indirect effect of résumé building on volunteering intentions, mediated via service

attitude was tested accordingly. A third structural model (*figure 13*) was plotted in Amos to tests this mediated relationship, using bootstrapping. A significant (p = 0.005) indirect effect of résumé building on volunteering intention was extracted. The direct effects between the latent constructs were all found significant on a .01-level. Model fit was accepted based on the fit indices shown in *table 17*, irrespective of the significant χ^2 test ($\chi^2 = 146.863$, df = 83, p = 0.000). This third model achieves to explain 61.2% of the variance in international volunteering intention ($R^2 = 0.612$).

Fit Indices	Model	Cut-off Values
CMIN/DF	1.36, p = .005	< 2, p >.05
RMSEA	.054	< .08 adequate fit
CFI	.969	> .90 traditional

Table 17: Model Fit Indices for Résumé Building (Model III)



Notes: N=126, arrows represent standardized regression weights (*<0.05, **<0.01, ***<0.001); controls, items, and error terms were excluded for better presentation

Figure 13: The Indirect Influence of Résumé Building on Intention

Implications

Although 89% of the respondents believe that employers generally value applicants that have volunteering experiences and 89% of the respondents assume that volunteering abroad would distinguish them from others, when applying for a job, résumé building was not supported as additional predictor in the theory of planned behavior.

Results from the third model specification suggest that the effect of résumé building is mediated via student's attitude towards volunteering intentions. This implies that students evaluate international volunteering not because of altruistic motivation but due to egoistic reasons based on the perceived positive effects on their personal careers. Similar results can be found in previous literature. Smith et al. (2010) find that career motivations and altruistic or social motives for volunteering do not differ statistically. Although they failed to provide empirical evidence for résumé building motivation as volunteer predictor, Handy et al.'s (2010) cross-cultural study proposes that undergrad students volunteer mainly to enhance their future careers and job prospects. In their opinion, students might be too embarrassed to admit their goal of personal benefits, when reporting their volunteering intention. Yet, their study shows that volunteering contributes to leadership ability and social self-confidence, which might be some of the reasons to sign up for volunteer programs abroad.

However, a more recent study states that student's perceptions regarding the main outcomes from volunteering programs focus mainly on leadership and teamwork skills (Rothwell & Charleston, 2013). Yet, in line with their findings, résumé padding is unlikely to be the only reason why individuals sign up for volunteering expeditions. Further research in this particular context is needed, to investigate the extent to which students are considering future career prospects when forming their attitude towards volunteering abroad. In addition, employers should be consulted for real work life evidence on how much volunteering experiences really matter when trying to distinguish oneself from other applicants.

Despite a positive evaluation of the effects international volunteering may have on someone's curriculum, résumé building was no significant incentive to form intentions in the current study. As result, hypotheses 5 was not supported.

8. Discussion and Findings

Despite the wide application of the reasoned action approach, application in the field of volunteering is quite limited. The quantitative research conducted within this thesis follows the objective to investigate under what conditions students choose to participate in international volunteering programs in Mexico. Thereby, this thesis aims to contribute to the literature and point towards areas of improvement. Based on the theory of planned behavior, different factors were tested regarding their influence on the formation of volunteering intentions.

Attitude Towards International Volunteering. Service attitude was found to be the strongest predictor of volunteering intent in pilot study. Results from the final study suggest a slightly smaller but significant effect on intentions (0.297***). The positive direct relationship between affirmative attitudes and students' intention to volunteer abroad is in line with Lee's (2011) on volunteering tourism. Results are also supported by previous studies in volunteering research, that found behavioral intentions to be directly influenced by individual's attitude and motivated by both altruistic and egoistic motives (Greenslade & White, 2005; Veludo-de-Oliveira et al., 2015).

Self-efficacy or Perceived Behavioral Control. As discussed in the pilot study, self-efficacy was measured via two different constructs. Impact self-efficacy reflects the ability to contribute to change within the local community and add to the long-term goals of the volunteering organization. Cultural self-efficacy mirrors the capability to cope with language barriers and other challenges stemming from cross-cultural interactions. Both constructs were found to be significant, meaning that both cultural self-efficacy (0.321***) and impact self-efficacy (0.288***) are found to positively influence students' intentions to volunteer abroad. Findings are in line with previous literature. For instance, Lee et al. (2014) found self-efficacy, in their case tested as PBC, to be the strongest predictor of event volunteer retention.

Similar results were derived from the post-hoc model specification, where self-efficacy in addition serves as mediator for the indirect effect of subjective norms on intention formation. For both constructs, positive effects of self-efficacy on

volunteering intention were derived. Interestingly, past stays in Mexico or Latin America, which was included as control variable, seems to have a negative effect on self-efficacy. As consequence, potential participants who have traveled to a Latin American country before actually feel less prepared to cope with the different culture and language barriers in the host country and assume to less likely contribute to the goals of the volunteering organization.

Subjective Norms. Studies in the fields of volunteering provide contrasting results regarding the concept of social norms. While Gage and Thapa (2012) found family to be the major reason for US-American undergraduate students to volunteer, Abdulelah et al. (2015) stated that subjective norm was the lowest predictor for undergraduate students in Malaysia to participate in volunteering activities. This master thesis found no significant direct relationship between perceived social approval and volunteering intention internationally. These findings are in line with findings from TPB application in the context of charitable donating intentions among Egyptian university students. Metawie and Mostafa (2015) report no direct connection between social norms and behavioral intentions. Instead, they provide evidence that perceived behavioral control and attitude are mediating the relationship. While the theory of planned behavior assumes, that behavior is manipulated by perceived social pressure, this study suggests that not the behavioral intentions, but attitude and self-efficacy are influenced by perceived beliefs of important others. As such, service attitude, cultural self-efficacy, and impact self-efficacy mediate the indirect effect of subjective norms on students' volunteering intent.

Strongest TPB Predictors. While the pilot study suggested attitude to be the strongest predictor for intention formation among the respondents, the final study extracted a different result. In the model following the traditional theory of planned behavior, cultural self-efficacy had the strongest influence on intention (0.321***). In the post-hoc model specification, however, impact self-efficacy was found to be the strongest predictor of international volunteering intentions (0.430**). Especially students between 26 and 34 depend strongly on perceived impact self-efficacy (0.561**) when considering applying for volunteering experiences. Students between 18 and 25, however, base their intention mainly on a positive service attitude

(0.459***). With regards to their age, it is also noteworthy, that older students less likely depend on perceived social norms in their intention formation, while for younger students, perceived social pressure indirectly influenced volunteering intention via attitude and self-efficacy. Gender was no significant indicator.

Past Experiences. In this study, past experiences were included as control variable. In the final study, about 67% of the respondents reported prior travel experiences in Mexico or another Latin American country. Around 44% of the 126 respondents stated that they already participated in volunteering experiences abroad. Nonis and Relyea (2014) argue that prior travel experiences abroad are significant predictor for international volunteer projects. Interestingly, here past experiences in the area of volunteer tourism were negatively associated with intention formation.

Résumé Building. In a separate section, the role of résumé building incentives when forming volunteering intention was investigated. In contrast to the proposed hypothesis (H5), résumé building was not associated with volunteering intention, when the other TPB predictors (attitude, cultural self-efficacy, impact self-efficacy) were included into the structural model. A second model tested the indirect influence of résumé enhancement motivation, mediated via attitude. This effect was found significant, yet when including résumé building in the post-hoc model, the indirect effect of subjective norms on attitude turns out to be insignificant. Accordingly, résumé building reflects the perceived social pressure towards international volunteering stemming from the individual's surrounding and influences personal attitude respectively. This follows the assumption, that students probably refer to the same reference group in both cases, volunteering abroad and résumé building. Hence, including résumé building into the analysis does not increase predicting power of the model. As result, CV padding seems to not be as important as often assumed.

Limitation, Contribution and Implication for Further Research

The purpose of this study was to test the applicability of the theory of planned behavior to the context of international volunteering. As such, it contributes to literature by providing more empirical insights into understanding students' motivation behind participating in volunteering experiences abroad. While the analysis supports the influence of attitude and self-efficacy on intention formation, the results for social norms differ from the theory.

Limitation of Sample Choice and the Questionnaire Focus. Although the online questionnaire was spread via university professors, most answers were collected through personal contacts and their networks. This and the relative small sample size (N=126) reduced the generalizability of empirical findings. In addition, the study is focused on volunteering opportunities in Mexico and participants from the USA. While this restriction helped to narrow down research and formulate more detailed measurement items, it also constraints the explanatory power of its findings. As consequence, it is recommended to repeat the study with a sample from a different country and with a broader focus, including volunteering experiences in other developing countries.

Social Desirability Bias. A common bias influencing the validity of survey responses is the social desirability bias. The social desirability bias can be defined as a "systematic error in self-report measures resulting from the desire of the respondents to avoid embarrassment and project a favorable image to others" (Fisher, 1993: 303). Following Colton and Covert (2007), standard practice to reduce the social desirability bias was adapted. When "anonymity of an interview situation is increased, people tend to give more honest answers or disclose more embarrassing information about themselves than in a less anonymous setting" (Mühlenfeld, 2005: 994). Therefore, all responses were collected anonymously, assuring that response cannot be traced back to respondents. Yet, results should still be interpreted with caution taking into consideration this limitation.

Limitation Based on the Intention-behavior Gap. Intentions to volunteer abroad were measured based on the assumption that intentions are a good predictor for human behavior. Yet, various authors criticize the use of the theory of planned behavior for this purpose due to the possible behavior-intention gap. Studies show that only about 30-40% of the variance in the behavior can be predicted by intention (Sheeran, 2002). Accordingly, drawing conclusions only from the existence of favorable intentions is limited. Consequently, further research is suggested to investigate why people fail to act in agreement with favorable intentions. Therefore, a long-term assessment of actual volunteering behavior is suggested, that inquires both initial favorable intentions and actual participation in volunteering experiences abroad.

Theoretical Contribution. Although subjective norms are an important antecedent in the theory of planned behavior, no significant direct effect on intention formation could be observed in the conducted study. However, empirical results suggest that perceived social pressure has an indirect effect on intention formation which is mediated via attitude and self-efficacy. This confirms the results from Metawie and Mostafa (2015), who studied the antecedents of students' intention to donate in Egypt. In line with above presented findings, the effect of social norms was mediated through the other two TPB predictors.

Implications for Practice: Advice for Volunteering Organizations

The empirical part of this study analyses under which conditions student's form intentions to participate in volunteering experiences in Mexico. The following section aims to relate findings to the real-life context and elaborate on how this study may be helpful for volunteering organizations.

Service Attitude. Findings suggest that service attitude has an important influence on the intention formation of students to participate in international volunteering experiences. On that note, Lee (2011) suggest volunteer tourism providers to reinforce these positive attitudes and work towards building affirmative perceptions towards volunteer tourism. In addition, Lee concludes his study by turning towards potential participants with pre-existing positive attitudes and suggests to contact potential customers directly via affinity groups and service learning networks.

Findings of this study support these suggestions. It is therefore recommended to advocate for the positive aspects of international volunteering and provide potential participants with overview of possible ways to do good. As summarized in the literature review, views towards international volunteering are quite conflicting. Hence, volunteering organizations should aim to function as a resource hub to promote alternative ways of volunteering that include sustainable solutions and focus on local empowerment and learning experiences for participating students alike. Especially for younger students, it seems to be important to contribute to a social cause and make a difference when participating in volunteer opportunities abroad. Organizations should therefore provide definite programs that explicitly state how participants can share their skills with the local community and how partaking will allow them to establish meaningful relationships across cultures.

Volunteering organizations should focus their advertising on facts that provide proof of the positive impact participants students may have and how students contribute to positive social change. While convincing potential participants with pre-existing positive attitudes to sign up for their specific program, organizations at the same time will help increase positive attitudes towards volunteering internationally.

Cultural Self-efficacy. A positive association between cultural self-efficacy and intention formation was supported by the collected data. Volunteering organizations therefore should communicate to potential participants that they will provide necessary assistance to overcome challenges stemming from different cultural customs in the host country. Students seem to be more likely to form volunteering intentions when feeling prepared to overcome language barriers. Hence, it is recommended that organizations arrange for English speaking staff on-site and provide translation for conversations with local community members. When mentoring during the program is undertaken by an American staff, students may feel less nervous about spending time in an unfamiliar surrounding. At the same time, accommodation together with other volunteers in safe neighborhoods will allow students to feel more support when facing the various challenges throughout the volunteering and learning experiences abroad.

Impact Self-efficacy. Findings of this study suggest that students are more likely to form favorable intentions toward volunteering abroad when they feel they can have a positive impact within the local community and contribute to social change. Volunteer organizations therefore face the task to clearly identify the projects participants will be working on during their time abroad. Potential participants should be informed about what specific skills are needed to successfully complete necessary tasks. Organizations should base their application process on finding skilled individuals and matching them with worthwhile responsibilities and duties. It is recommended to advertise specific volunteering projects and emphasize the self-development that will take place throughout the learning experiences.

Subjective Norms. The theory of planned behavior suggests an influencing role that subjective norms have on determining volunteering intention. Past studies called for involving social pressure groups and the need to recognize the power that family, friends and co-workers have on individual's participation in volunteer tourism activities (Lee, 2011; McGehee & Santos, 2005). Yet, the current study did not support these results.

Instead, findings suggest that social groups have only an indirect effect on volunteering intentions, moderated via attitude and self-efficacy. Consequently, convincing family, friends and other opinion leaders might not be as helpful and influential as suggested in previous literature. Instead, volunteering organizations should directly focus on potential participants. Marketing strategies should thus directly target students with a general interest in volunteering abroad. Information channels include a modern and appealing web presence and active advertising via social media.

Age Differentiation. The sample group consists of students ranging from 18 to 34 years old. When including age as control variable, a negative effect of age on volunteering intention was examined. Accordingly, older students are less likely to form intentions to volunteer abroad. Yet, older students more likely possess useful skills that a volunteering organization is seeking in its volunteers, simply based on the years of education and experiences they were able to assemble. It was such decided to

run the data analysis separately for the two age groups, 18 to 25 and 26 to 34 respectively. Age comparison delivered different results for which factors strongly influence intention formation.

Findings suggest that impact self-efficacy was the strongest predictor for older students, while volunteering intent among younger students is strongly influenced by favorable service attitudes. As a result, it is recommended that volunteering organization provide different programs that cater to these different motivations.

When targeting younger students, organizations should strongly focus on the positive attitude students may have towards volunteering abroad. Similarly, when targeting older students, organizations should focus advertising on the impact participants may have during their time volunteering abroad. Therefore, tasks should be clearly defined and program announcements should openly communicate which skill-sets will be most effective to move the project forward. In addition, organizations should clearly state their long-term goals for potential participants to fully understand the purpose of volunteering their time and workforce.

Résumé Building. Other than suggested by previous literature (Friedland & Morimoto, 2005; Foller-Carroll & Charlebois, 2016), findings of this study did not confirm the hypothesis that the goal for résumé building is directly associated with international volunteering intentions. Yet, the gains from volunteering abroad go way beyond 'résumé padding'. Instead, students can practice their civic engagement (Jakubiak, 2016), and more importantly further develop soft skills such as leadership and communication skills, or teamwork (Wright, 2013; Korkeakoski, 2012).

Despite valid criticism, volunteering abroad is understood as a valuable learning experiences that fosters cross-cultural interaction (Knollenberg et al., 2014; Gagné, 2013). However, the role international volunteering plays in the professional development seems to not be fully recognized by the respondents. While students might simply refuse to talk about their résumé building goals, findings from this study suggest that volunteer organizations need to educate potential participants more about the professional skills acquired during their participation. A possible solution would be to

consult HR representatives of various companies and share their opinion towards the assimilated soft skills with potential applicants.

Another important thing to consider for practitioners in the field of international volunteering is the intention-behavior gap. While findings provide insights into how international volunteering intentions are formed, results are only an approximation to actual volunteering participation. One can distinguish between two groups of potential participants, those who lack favorable intentions and those who need to be convinced to act upon their favorable intentions. Elaborating further on different strategies to address both groups of potential participants should be subject of future research.

9. Conclusion

Volunteer tourism is a growing industry that attracts young people under 30 as much as families and retirees. Volunteering while traveling abroad becomes more popular every year. Voluntourists wish to actively participate in development and social change and spend their vacations in a 'meaningful' way. While commercial providers advertise fun ways to 'do good', programs are often not sustainable and in the example of orphanage tourism are proven to do actually more harm than good. Regardless of well-meant intentions, volunteer tourism unintentionally fosters neocolonial views of white supremacy.

During the past years, media and research have adopted a more critical view towards international volunteering and its actual contribution to development. As stated by Schwarz (2016) many participants themselves tend to describe their own placements as a sustainable and more ethical alternative. Their refusal to be labeled voluntourists, shows that students are aware about the critiques associated with the industry. Yet, large numbers of students from around the world spend their vacation or gap year volunteering in developing countries. Why have increasingly negative media and long-term studies proving the negative externalities no real effect on the ever-growing industry? What motivates students to become a voluntourist and with what expectations to they do abroad?

This master thesis focuses on the motivational aspect of international volunteering and aims to elaborate under what conditions students choose to participate in volunteer travel in Mexico. For this purpose, a quantitative study was conducted amongst US-American college and university students. Based on the theory of planned behavior, the study aims to identify which factors influence students' intention to volunteer abroad. Although the theory of planned behavior is commonly used to explain intention formation, TPB hypotheses were not completely supported throughout this analysis. While service attitude and self-efficacy seem to be positively associated with international volunteering intent, findings suggest, that perceived social pressure has no significant direct impact. As consequence, the TPB model is revised in a post hoc model. Findings advocate an indirect effect of subjective norms on

international volunteering intentions, mediated via service attitude, cultural self-efficacy, and impact self-efficacy. Realizing that perceived social pressure is less important than predicted would be an important contribution to the TPB literature. Results therefore call for further research in the field of volunteer tourism. Metawie and Mostafa (2015) extract similar results for charitable giving intention among Egyptian students. Further research should test this extension of the theory of planned behavior in different disciplines and for different target groups.

Various past studies name the incentive of résumé padding as important motivator for students to sign up for volunteer experiences abroad (e.g. Foller-Carroll & Charlebois, 2016). To account for this understanding, items to investigate résumé building were included into the questionnaire. The role of résumé building as additional TPB predictor is examined in chapter 7. Although 89% of the respondents stated that they expect to distinguish themselves from others through volunteer experiences abroad, adding the construct as additional TPB antecedent was not supported. Further research on this topic is recommended. Studies should also include employers and their opinion towards volunteer tourism as career booster.

The theory of planned behavior is a useful tool to gain knowledge about the various factors that influence intention formation and is commonly applied in various research fields. However, although favorable intentions are a good predictor for human behavior, only about 30-40% of actual behavior can be successfully predicted by intentions (Sheeran, 2002). Findings are thus limited by the intention-behavior gap.

To increase explanatory power of the research, it is recommended to conduct a long-term study that not only considers students' intention towards international volunteering, but also investigates actual participation. In addition, research should determine why some people fail to act upon favorable intentions. On that note, volunteer organizations should be advised how to ensure that students carry out favorable intentions to actual behavior and how to foster favorable intentions towards volunteering abroad in the first place.

Sustainable projects need to be focused on capacity building and empowering the local community to be self-sufficient. Therefore, the local community have to be part of the implementation process and should be consulted regarding prevalent needs. Volunteering experiences should focus on learning and inter-cultural exchange rather than saving the world. Besides the work on site, responsible organizations can adapt their programs and marketing strategies based on findings from this and other studies in the field. Through understanding what factors students to form volunteering intentions, organizations can ensure to become more attractive than their commercial competitors and recruit students with realistic expectations and the right skillset to support local workers.

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