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The Dark Side of Volunteering: When Helping Might Hurt

By:

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Abstract**The Dark Side of Volunteering: When Helping Might Hurt**

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This paper examines the relationship between implicit theories of intelligence and social dominance orientation (SDO) in the context of volunteering. While there is still little research on the subject, it has been shown that un- and undertrained volunteers often do more harm than good in the community. Community-based learning courses that send students out into vulnerable communities are common at most colleges and universities today; so examining the reasons why students volunteer as well as how effective they believe volunteering to be is important in order to help them avoid causing harm to vulnerable populations. Survey data from 261 college students was analyzed, and implicit theories of intelligence were found to have an indirect effect on both volunteer efficacy and motivation through SDO. These findings are significant because mindsets can be manipulated, suggesting that increasing a growth mindset of intelligence will decrease SDO and increase a sense of volunteer efficacy and volunteering for values.

Keywords: implicit theories of intelligence, social dominance orientation, obligation, volunteering, community-based learning

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Volunteering is generally thought of as a selfless, positive act; however, there are situations in which volunteers may actually do more harm than good. These situations include, but are not limited to, volunteers establishing and then quickly breaking relationships (short term service), not understanding the communities they are working with, and imposing their vision of what is right and wrong on the community instead of working with them to better understand their needs (Rhodes, Liang, & Spencer, 2009). Over time, in the field of education specifically, volunteering has become commodified as a measure of student success, and this commodification of volunteering in recent years has made it more complicated to draw ethical lines between volunteering as beneficial to oppressed groups in society and volunteering as harmful to these groups (Perna & Titus, 2005).

Currently, volunteer experience is necessary both to gain admittance to prestigious colleges, as well as to get into most law, medical, and graduate school programs (Paul, 2011; Smith-Barrow, 2013). After realizing how important volunteering experience is for future success, many colleges and universities have encouraged student volunteering through various campus initiatives; one of the more popular volunteer initiatives being community-based learning (CBL). CBL courses are offered at many universities and require students to commit a certain number of hours during the semester to volunteering at a relevant service site to enhance their classroom learning (“Community-based,” 2015).

While it can be assumed that students who volunteer seek to better the communities in which they work, volunteers who are un- or undertrained to work with vulnerable populations may cause substantial psychological harm to these communities (Rhodes, Liang, & Spencer, 2009; Corbett & Fikkert, 2009). The potential for harm in CBL classes is high because students

are often inadequately trained to work with vulnerable populations, and they often do not stay in the community for more than one semester at a time (Tyron et al., 2008). While there are many popular articles and blogs about the potential for harm in these kinds of volunteering and similar “voluntourism” programs, there is currently a lack of scholarly research on the subject (Sin, 2009).

Framing our research

The increase in college CBL programs coupled with the lack of scholarly research on the potentially harmful effects of volunteering provided a unique opportunity to do novel research on the subject using an implicit theories framework. Using implicit theories (fundamental ways of seeing things in the world as either fixed or malleable) as our framework allowed us to gather information on college students’ mindsets about other people, and how these relate to fundamental beliefs about the nature of groups in society, as well as their volunteer behavior and beliefs about volunteering.

Each person has implicit beliefs about the world that often go unnoticed and unexamined, and these beliefs have important consequences for behavior. However, implicit theories can be manipulated through interventions designed to foster more positive mindsets. An implicit theories framework is useful for examining volunteer motivation and behavior because it helps examine whether people’s motivations and beliefs about volunteering are driven by their underlying beliefs about the world, and in turn, it provides the opportunity to create an intervention to cultivate more positive mindsets in order to improve peoples’ beliefs about volunteering in the process. This opportunity to change peoples’ mindsets is vitally important because it justifies all mindset research: increasing growth mindsets leads to a host of individual as well as societal benefits.

Implicit theories of intelligence

Mindsets matter because the way people see the world shapes both their beliefs and their actions. In 2008, Carol Dweck developed the psychological concept of implicit theories—fundamental ways of seeing things in the world as either unchanging (fixed mindset) or malleable (growth mindset). Dweck argued that people have implicit theories about everything from intelligence to racism, and that people can have growth mindsets about some things while holding fixed mindsets about others. What made Dweck's research on mindsets so valuable was her notion that they can be changed through psychological interventions and practice (Blackwell, Trzesniewski, & Dweck, 2007).

People who have fixed mindsets are referred to as entity theorists, while people who have growth mindsets are referred to as incremental theorists. The way people think about the world has important consequences for their interactions with others. Research has shown that entity theorists are more likely to process information in terms of specific traits, while incremental theorists are more likely to process information with regard to the situational context (Bastian & Haslam, 2008). This is important because it means that entity theorists are more likely to generalize and label people as good or bad, while incremental theorists are more likely to consider mediating factors like intentions before jumping to conclusions about others (Heyman & Dweck, 1998).

Because entity theorists tend to generalize and make assumptions about the nature of people, it follows that they also pay more attention to stereotype-consistent information than stereotype-inconsistent information and base their judgments of others on social group and trait-related information more so than incremental theorists (Bastian & Haslam, 2008; Plaks, Grant & Dweck, 2005). This tendency of entity theorists to make assumptions about people based on

stereotype-consistent information is troubling because stereotyping is inextricably linked to high social dominance orientation, the belief that some groups in society are inherently better than other groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

Social dominance orientation

Social dominance orientation (SDO), the extent to which individuals believe certain groups are better than others and favor hierarchy in society, is an interesting psychological concept. While most societies have some sort of group-based hierarchy, individuals vary in the extent to which they endorse these hierarchies (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 2001).

Higher levels of SDO are associated with endorsing ideologies and policies that maintain the status quo and perpetuate inequality rather than seek to redress it. Additionally, higher levels of SDO predict lower behavioral intentions of addressing global inequality (Reese et al., 2014). Thus, the relationship between SDO and volunteering is an important one – people high in SDO are not likely to believe in volunteer work as much as people low in SDO because they do not see a problem with the group-based inequality that many volunteer programs seek to redress. However, the more complex relationship between SDO, volunteering, and implicit theories has not previously been examined.

White standard

Similar to SDO, white standard (WS), or the belief that members of society should conform to a white Anglo-Saxon norm, is directly related to SDO in that it values one group above others. Whiteness and race in general are socially constructed ideas; not only do humans of all skin colors share 99.9 percent of their genetic material, but the same ethnic groups have been considered both white and nonwhite over the years, indicating the subjectivity of the notion of race (Painter, 2010).

From the mainstream White historians' attempt to Anglicize perceptions of ancient Greeks and Romans, to the inclusion of several light skinned ethnic groups into the White race category, white supremacy has been cultivated and preserved in the United States (Painter, 2010). Slavery, the most notable form of racial oppression, existed and thrived on a foundation of racial difference; as long as the oppressors (white people) could justify that the oppressed (black people) were fundamentally different and therefore inferior and deserving of their lot, the system continued (Painter, 2010).

Those who are societally defined as white have maintained this semi-fluid white standard for centuries in order to preserve their social dominance. In the 19th and early 20th centuries, white groups did this through several scientific and social through means including the pseudoscience of craniometry, IQ tests, and the eugenic practice of sterilization. Several scientists including Georges Vacher de Lapouge, William Z. Ripley, Samuel George Morton, and Pieter Camper contributed to the growing body of work on the relation between cranium size, intelligence, and race by concluding that white people had superior skulls and therefore intelligence, and that black people had inferior intelligence because their skulls were close to those of apes (Radford, 2009). Based on craniology, these scientists posited that the races had been distinct for three thousand years, there was a scientifically justifiable racial hierarchy, and moral character could be determined from cranium capacity (2009).

This pseudoscientific basis for racism justified both racist thinking the institution of racist laws and practices. One of those practices included eugenics: using selective breeding and sterilization to improve society (Eugenics). In Virginia specifically, over 7,000 black individuals were sterilized between 1924 and 1979 because they were deemed mentally ill or mentally

deficient (Dorr, 2006). It is easy to see how the faulty foundation of craniology and group hierarchy paved the way for this damaging racist social practice.

Still today, research supports the notion that there is a white standard in the United States of America. One study on the subject demonstrated that while all ethnic groups demonstrate strong explicit commitments to egalitarian principles, African and Asian Americans are significantly less likely to be associated with the national category “American” than are White Americans (Devos & Banaji, 2005). This tendency for the term “American” to be associated with whiteness is an important offshoot of SDO that matters immensely to studies of volunteer behavior; Americans high in SDO will likely also be high in WS.

Obligation

The white standard that has been in place for centuries has come into question in the last few decades. As minorities began to advocate for their rights and white people began to fight against the age-old white standard, a sense of white guilt and an obligation to right the wrongs of their ancestors emerged among white people (Steele, 1990). Because these concepts are complex, scientifically measuring this sense of obligation (OB) will aid in obtaining a more complete picture of how peoples’ attitudes about groups relate to their attitudes about volunteering.

Similar to WS, OB is often rooted in racial tension and a sense of white guilt. White guilt is a complicated concept; it has been shown to increase White support for corrective affirmative action programs, but it does not increase White support for similar proactive programs (Iyer, Leach & Crosby, 2003). Another study on the effect of white guilt on white support of black programs found that white guilt might actually cause whites to respond antisocially to these programs unless it is followed by value-affirming behavior (Harvey & Oswald, 2006). This

happens because whites feel blamed and villainized for the transgressions of their ancestors and are only able to support black programs when they've reassured themselves that they are good people by affirming their egalitarian values.

Research in the area of volunteer motivation suggests that a sense of moral obligation leads to higher incidences of self-sacrificing volunteer behavior (Schwartz, 1970). However, recent research on the potential for harm in volunteering suggests that un- or undertrained volunteers can have detrimental effects on vulnerable populations despite their good intentions or feelings of obligation to help disadvantaged groups (Rhodes et al., 2009). The dual nature of volunteer obligation makes it an important factor to consider when studying volunteerism.

When helping might hurt

Though there is not yet much scholarly research on the potential for harm in service learning, Jonathan Kozol's notable speech at the 2001 National Service-Learning Conference caused two audience members to reflect that, "in some cases the motivation to serve may overlook the community voices and actual needs defined by the community being served. While the well intentioned goals of service learning may be to develop healthy, well-rounded citizens, is this being done at the expense of communities?" (Manchester & Baiocchi, 2015). In his speech, Kozol observed that "inner city kids have seen five generations of benevolent white people pass by by the age of ten" (Kozol, 2001), afterward remarking that "poor children were not created by God to be the research (subjects) of rich children" (2001).

Additionally, fixed mindsets also pose the threat of harm. Fixed theories of intelligence lead people to believe that neither they nor others can change their intelligence; therefore it follows that entity theorists of intelligence would not believe tutoring or similar academic

volunteering to be very efficacious. This potential exists not only with fixed mindsets of intelligence, but would logically be caused by several other fixed mindsets as well.

In order to contribute to the dearth of research on motivation for volunteering, we examined how the self-serving motivation to volunteer as well as a sense of obligation to help minority groups factor into volunteering, to get a better idea of when helping might hurt.

Situating our research

We conducted our research at the University of Richmond (UR): a small, private, liberal arts college with a robust CBL program and a campus culture that encourages volunteer work. While it may sound like a typical university, the University of Richmond has a unique history that must be considered before analyzing its current volunteer programs. The University was founded in 1830 in downtown Richmond as a Baptist seminary for men, and was re-chartered as a men's college in 1840. In 1914, the University relocated to the suburbs to expand Richmond College and to found Westhampton College for women (UR history).

During the City of Richmond's turbulent years of desegregation, massive resistance, white flight, and high rates of violence in the city, the University remained pleasantly isolated on its beautiful 350-acre campus (UR history - timeline). Over the years, the University's isolation from the city has caused members of the university to be seen as outsiders who do not care to engage with city residents. This perception, though slowly changing, is still alive and well, as evidenced by numerous examples from the community including the lack of "University of Richmond" pennants in local college-town coffee shops and the hesitancy of Richmond City residents to attend UR events.

Community-based learning

In August 2004, UR opened the Bonner Center for Civic Engagement (CCE) in an effort to create “a more intentional, integrated cross-campus approach to community engagement” (“History,” 2015). In addition to continuing to operate the existing community-based learning courses, the brand new CCE formed volunteer relationships with over 30 community partners, many of which were mentoring partnerships at local public schools. Today, the CCE’s community-based learning courses reach “about 1,000 students in courses annually (one-third of all students),” and many of these students serve as mentors each semester (“History,” 2015).

While the CCE’s mentoring and CBL programs are well intentioned in the spirit of the Center’s values of collaboration, intentionality, lifelong learning, and full participation; there is reason for concern. For example, nationally, CBL’s main problems include unprofessional student conduct, a poor fit between the course and the organizational objectives, and a lack of communication between instructors and organizations (Blouin & Perry, 2009). In addition to these common problems, one of the volunteer promotional materials calls the Center’s value of collaboration into question; one of the CCE’s “Mentor Meals” handouts included the program titles: “Mentoring and the Hero’s Journey,” and “Transitions and Reflections: Giving and Getting Thanks” (*Mentor*, 2015). These titles are problematic because they perpetuate the savior mentality of volunteering as well as the idea that one should volunteer for the good feelings she will get from it. Additionally, on a tip sheet from the CBL section of the CCE’s web site, students are instructed that their community-based learning experience “should be included in [their] resume or CV” (Montalvo, 2014). It seems that mentoring, CBL, and volunteering are marketed by UR to attract prospective students to the University as well as to bolster its good reputation as an institution that gives back to the community. While there may

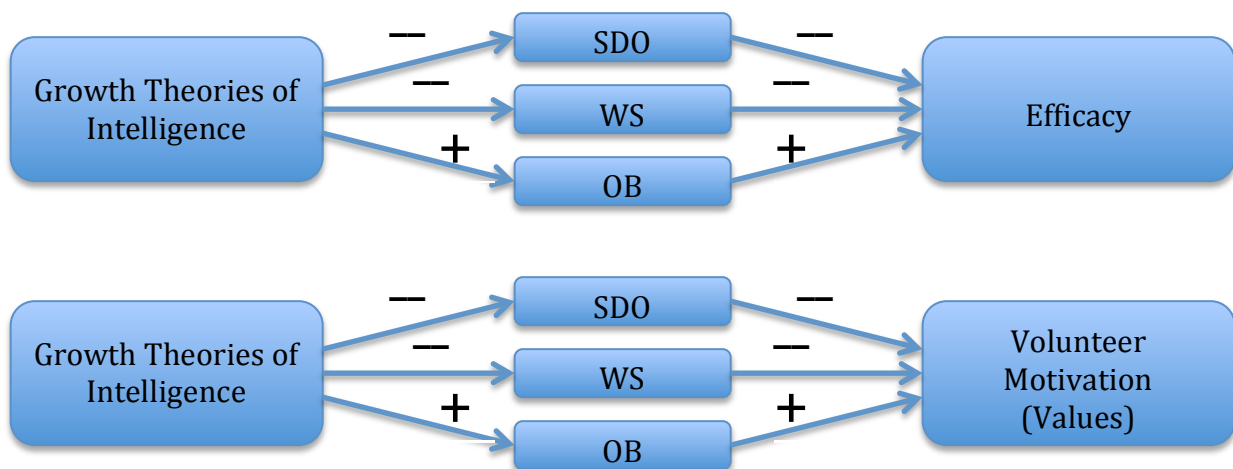
be nothing inherently wrong with this, and it is true that many CCE programs provide support to communities in need, the CCE’s programs are not above reproach.

The present study

Because volunteering and CBL are such integral parts of student life at the University of Richmond, and because potentially problematic mindsets can be modified, we decided to test the relationship between students’ implicit theories of intelligence, their social dominance orientations, and how effective they believe volunteering to be as well as how much they are motivated to volunteer by their personal values.

Predictions. In this study, we tested the model (see Figure 1 below) that people’s implicit theories of intelligence predict three things: their social dominance orientations (SDO), the extent to which they believe society should be held to a white standard (WS), and the extent to which they believe the dominant group in society is obligated to help minority groups (OB); all of which in turn predict how effective they believe volunteering to be (Efficacy) and whether they are motivated to volunteer by personal values (Volunteer Motivation/Values).

Figure 1.



Chapter 2: Method

Participants

College students (N = 261) from all class years and majors at the University of Richmond were recruited for the study through SpiderBytes (the daily campus events email), SONA (the online system for required research participation for Psychology 100 students), the Bonner Center for Civic Engagement and the Jepson School of Leadership Studies weekly listservs, the Alpha Phi Omega, Mortar Board, Delta Sigma Pi, and SEEDS Facebook groups and email listservs, and by word of mouth. The chance to enter a drawing to win one of two fifty-dollar Amazon gift cards was used as an incentive for participation.

Demographics

Participants in our study represented a diverse array of demographic factors including gender, race, political orientation, and others; 23.5% of participants identified as male, 59.5% as female, 1% as other, and 16.1% of participants chose not to provide information on their gender. Participants were 6.4% black, 13.2% Asian, 50.5% white, 4.5% Latino, 0.6% Native American, 8.7% other, and 16.1% of participants chose not to provide information on their race. 55.4% of participants identified as politically liberal, 27.7% identified as politically conservative, and 17% chose not to answer. Participants came from varied economic backgrounds; 17.7% reported household incomes between \$0-40,000, 20% reported incomes between \$40,000-80,000, 28.6% reported incomes between \$80,000-150,000, 16.4% reported incomes above \$150,000, and 17.4% chose not to provide household income information. Finally, participants came from each class year; 27.3% were first-year students, 19.6% were second-year students, 17.4% were third-year students, 18.3% were fourth-year students, 1.9% were fifth-year or other non-traditional students, and 15.4% chose not to answer.

Procedure

Participants took a fifteen-minute IRB approved Qualtrics online questionnaire that measured their implicit theories of intelligence as well as their attitudes and views on volunteerism and service (see Appendix A for all original measures). Participants provided their consent before beginning the survey, were able to exit the survey at any time or choose not to answer individual questions, and could choose to receive class credit or enter a drawing to win one of two \$50 Amazon gift cards after completing the survey.

Measures

We analyzed six measures from our original questionnaire (see Appendix B for a list of measures used). All six measures were reliable (see Table 1), and used a six-point Likert scale that ranged from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree,” except for the Volunteer Functions Inventory, which used a Likert scale that ranged from “not at all important/accurate” to “extremely important/accurate.” At the end of the survey, participants were asked to provide demographic information about their volunteer behavior, gender, race, political orientation, year in school, and household income.

Implicit theories of intelligence. Implicit theories of intelligence were assessed using Dweck’s eight-item Implicit Theories of Intelligence Scale (1999). Sample items included: *You have a certain amount of intelligence, and you can’t really do much to change it; You can always substantially change how intelligent you are.*

Social dominance orientation. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) was measured using Sidanius and Pratto’s Social Dominance Orientation-6 Scale (1994). Sample items included: *Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups; Group equality should be our ideal.*

White standard. The degree to which participants agreed that people should be held to a societal white standard was measured using a two-item researcher-created scale. Items included: *All people should be held to the standards that the mainstream white culture has set; Whites have the right to interfere with the lives of minorities for their own good.*

Obligation. The degree to which participants agreed that privileged white people have an obligation to help less fortunate minorities was measured using a two-item researcher-created scale. Items included: *Successful white people have an obligation to help less successful minorities; As the dominant group in society, white people should help minorities be more successful.*

Efficacy. An eight-item Volunteer Efficacy Scale created from four items from the Bales Volunteerism-Activism Scale (1996) and four researcher-created items to measure tutoring efficacy was used to assess how effective participants believed volunteering is. Sample items included: *Most people who get involved in social causes usually have some sort of personal problem; I know that when I'm working to help others, I'm also helping myself; Volunteering in an educational setting is useful; Student tutors can't do much to improve inner city students' educational outcomes.*

Values. To measure whether participants were motivated to volunteer by personal values, we used a modified version of the Values Subscale from Clary et al.'s Volunteer Functions Inventory (1998). Sample items included: *I am concerned about those less fortunate than myself; I feel it is important to help others; I can learn more about the cause for which I am working.*

Chapter 3: Results

Table 1 contains the means and standard deviations, as well as the reliabilities (Cronbach's alpha unless Pearson correlation as indicated) along the diagonal for each measure.

Table 1.

DV	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Implicit theories of intelligence	3.92	1.02	0.94					
2. Social dominance orientation	2.19	0.83	-2.11**	0.93				
3. White standard	2.15	0.94	-1.5*	0.37**	0.55 (Pearson)			
4. Obligation	3.96	1.03	0.18**	-0.37**	-0.06	0.52 (Pearson)		
5. Volunteer efficacy	4.58	0.55	0.17**	-0.47**	-0.33**	0.2**	0.83	
6. Volunteer values	4.83	0.79	0.1	-0.37**	-0.22**	0.3**	0.49**	0.9

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Indirect Effect Analyses

While there were no direct effects of implicit theories of intelligence on either efficacy or values, there were significant indirect effects on efficacy and values (see Figure 2).

Efficacy. To test the prediction that social dominance orientation (SDO), white standard (WS), and obligation (OB) act as mediators of mindset's effect on efficacy and values, we conducted indirect effect analyses using the Hayes Process Macro for SPSS. First, analyzing the outcome of efficacy, there were two significant indirect effects with 95% confidence intervals: there were significant indirect effects of implicit theories of intelligence on efficacy through SDO (indirect effect=.04; CI=.016-.075) and through WS (indirect effect=.02; CI=.004-.038). OB was not a significant mediator of implicit theories of intelligence on efficacy.

These effects suggest that people who hold growth mindsets of intelligence also have lower social dominance orientations and disagree with holding others to a white standard; which in turn predicts higher levels of volunteer efficacy.

Values. Next, examining the indirect effects of implicit theories of intelligence on values, all three indirect effects were significant with 95% confidence intervals: implicit theories of intelligence had an indirect effect on values through SDO (indirect effect=.04; CI=.016-.078), through WS (indirect effect=.01; CI=.002-.042), and through OB (indirect effect=.03; CI=.009-.065).

These effects suggest that people with growth mindsets of intelligence have lower social dominance orientations, disagree with holding others to a white standard, and believe that the dominant group in society has an obligation to help minorities, which in turn predicts higher levels of being motivated to volunteer by personal values.

Figure 2.

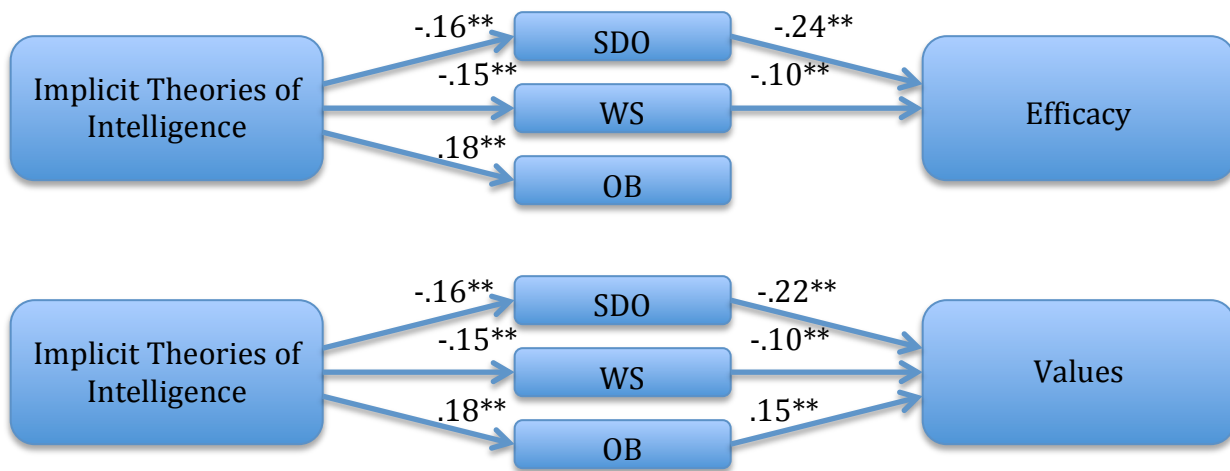


Figure 2. Indirect effects on efficacy and values. This model displays the indirect effects of SDO, WS, and OB on both efficacy and values.

Chapter 4: Discussion

Volunteering is important and relevant on college campuses today; however, many students are un- or under trained about how to work with vulnerable populations; and colleges and universities need a new approach in order to adequately train students. Grounded in research

on the negative consequences of entity theories of intelligence, the research linking social dominance orientation (SDO) to negative behaviors including stereotyping and the conception that problematic mindsets can be changed, we hypothesized that there is a link between implicit theories of intelligence and SDO in hopes that our research could be used in the future to create a mindset intervention to promote growth mindsets of intelligence and therefore lower SDO and its harmful effects.

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of growth theories of intelligence on volunteer efficacy and motivation while also examining the link between implicit theories of intelligence and SDO. We predicted that people with growth mindsets of intelligence would have lower SDO, which would in turn lead them to be motivated to volunteer by personal values (as opposed to volunteering for the self-serving benefits), and to believe that volunteering is efficacious. As previously mentioned, fixed mindsets of intelligence would likely lead to lower volunteer efficacy beliefs, and would also correlate with volunteering for self-serving reasons. These beliefs have the potential to be harmful to vulnerable populations because they are likely to create an absence of genuine care and concern, which in turn would lead to distrust between the volunteer and the population being served.

While there was no direct effect of implicit theories of intelligence on efficacy, peoples' implicit theories of intelligence had significant indirect effects on their belief in volunteer efficacy. These indirect effects occurred because peoples' implicit theories of intelligence predicted their SDO and WS, which predicted their efficacy beliefs. Specifically, growth mindsets of intelligence predicted less SDO and less WS, which in turn predicted a stronger belief in volunteer efficacy.

While there was similarly no direct effect of implicit theories of intelligence on values, peoples' implicit theories of intelligence had significant indirect effects on their volunteer motivations (values). These indirect effects occurred because peoples' implicit theories of intelligence predicted their SDO, WS, and OB, which in turn predicted the extent to which they were motivated by personal values to volunteer; specifically, growth mindsets of intelligence predicted less SDO, less WS and more OB, which in turn predicted higher levels of volunteering for values.

How context shaped our research

Our research was conducted at the University of Richmond: a small, private, liberal arts university with a unique history that had a significant influence on our choice to examine volunteer efficacy and values. The University's history of racial tension and its isolation from the City of Richmond coupled with a sense of white guilt roused a feeling of volunteer obligation in the University community, which led to the creation of the CCE. Community-based learning (CBL), the CCE's most widely reaching program, sends over a thousand volunteers out into the community each year, each with their own perceptions of and motivations for volunteering. Our research that examined volunteers' motivations as well as their beliefs about the efficacy of volunteering will allow future research to move forward with researching the cultivation of growth mindsets of intelligence in order to lower the harmful effects of SDO and create more comprehensive volunteer training programs for colleges and universities across the nation.

Limitations and future research

Despite our study's important implications, there were limitations that need to be addressed by future research. First, we did not use a random sample – participants self-selected to take our survey in exchange for the chance to win a gift card or to receive class credit. Future

research should target all students instead of select groups only. Second, we had a relatively small N, and there are factors that make volunteering at the University of Richmond unique, meaning that our results may not be generalizable to all undergraduate volunteer programs. In the future, researchers should replicate our study at several kinds of institutions throughout the country to see if our results hold at smaller, bigger, and geographically diverse schools. Third, there was a lack of prior research on the link between implicit theories of intelligence and SDO, making our research the first to examine the relationship between the two variables.

Conclusion

The present research provided a novel theoretical contribution to implicit theory and SDO research by establishing a connection between the two and paving the way for continuing exploration of the topic. Not only does our research establish a new and important connection in psychological and leadership studies research, it has several practical implications.

First, the University of Richmond is preparing to welcome its new president, Dr. Crutcher, who will be able to prioritize certain changes at the University; we hope that increased research on CCE programs (especially CBL) and a potential restructuring of volunteer training will be a part of those changes. The University has come a long way from where it started in 1830, but that does not mean it does not still have a long way to go. The fact that the potential for harm in volunteering has gone relatively unexamined coupled with our findings suggest that there is still a lot of work to be done in this area.

Second, while our results will need to be replicated at various kinds of universities before they are widely generalizable, campus volunteer hubs across the nation can use our results immediately to encourage increased sensitivity training and awareness about mindsets. Increased

awareness alone can have a significant effect on lowering harmful mindsets and promoting growth theories (Teachman et al., 2015).

Third, non-profits and organizations who regularly work with volunteers can also use our findings to create better training programs that focus on promoting awareness of implicit theories of intelligence in order to create a more effective volunteer base that is less likely to harm vulnerable communities.

Understanding the impact of implicit theories of intelligence on volunteer motivation and efficacy, as well as the relationship between implicit theories of intelligence and SDO is important because of the potentially harmful effects of these mindsets and beliefs. Moving forward, this research will be useful to the University of Richmond, other colleges and universities, and organizations that utilize volunteers as they attempt to create a mindset intervention to cultivate growth mindsets of intelligence and lower the harmful effects of SDO.

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Appendix A

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

People can do things differently, but the important parts of who they are can't really be changed.

People can substantially change the kind of person they are.

The kind of person someone is is something very basic about them that can't be changed very much.

Everyone, no matter who they are, can significantly change their basic characteristics.

As much as I hate to admit it, you can't teach an old dog new tricks. People can't really change their deepest attributes.

Everyone is a certain type of person, and there is not much that can be done to really change that.

No matter what kind of person someone is, they can always change very much.

People can change even their most basic qualities.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

You have a certain amount of intelligence, and you can't really do much to change it.

Your intelligence is something about you that you can't change very much.

No matter who you are, you can significantly change your intelligence level.

To be honest, you can't really change how intelligent you are.

You can always substantially change how intelligent you are.

You can learn new things, but you can't really change your basic intelligence.

No matter how much intelligence you have, you can always change it quite a bit.

You can change even your basic intelligence level considerably.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

People have a certain amount of racial bias and they really can't do much to change it.

A person's racial bias is something very basic about them and it can't be changed very much.

There is not much that can be done to change a person's racial bias.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.

In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.

It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.

To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.

If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.

It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.

Inferior groups should stay in their place.

Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.

It would be good if groups could be equal.

Group equality should be our ideal.

All groups should be given an equal chance in life.

We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.

Increased social equality is beneficial to society.
We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.
We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
No group should dominate in society.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

As the dominant group in society, white people should help minorities be more successful.
Policy and aid reform should start from the bottom-up, coming from the minority communities themselves.
Successful white people have an obligation to help less successful minorities.
All people should be held to the standards that the mainstream white culture has set.
Whites have the right to interfere with the lives of minorities for their own good.
Minority communities need to be responsible for their own success.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Social policies should support racial and ethnic diversity.
People should recognize and celebrate racial and ethnic differences.
People should downplay their racial and ethnic differences
Social policies should encourage racial and ethnic minorities to adapt to mainstream ways.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Minorities are getting too demanding in their push for equal rights.
Minorities have more influence upon school desegregation plans than they ought to have.
Minorities should not push themselves where they're not wanted.
It is easy to understand the anger of minorities in America.
Over the past few years the government and news media have shown more respect to minorities than they deserve.
Over the past few years, minorities have gotten more economically than they deserve.
Discrimination against minorities is no longer a problem in the United States.

Please indicate how important or accurate each of the 30 possible reasons for volunteering are for you in doing volunteer work.

Volunteering can help me to get my foot in the door at a place where I would like to work.
My friends volunteer.
I am concerned about those less fortunate than myself.
People I'm close to want me to volunteer.
Volunteering makes me feel important.
People I know share an interest in community service.
No matter how bad I've been feeling, volunteering helps me to forget about it.
I am genuinely concerned about the particular group I am serving.
By volunteering I feel less lonely.
I can make new contacts that might help my business or career.

Doing volunteer work relieves me of some of the guilt over being more fortunate than others.

I can learn more about the cause for which I am working.

Volunteering increases my self-esteem.

Volunteering allows me to gain a new perspective on things.

Volunteering allows me to explore different career options.

I feel compassion toward people in need.

Others with whom I am close place a high value on community service.

Volunteering lets me learn things through direct, hands on experience.

I feel it is important to help others.

Volunteering helps me work through my own personal problems.

Volunteering will help me to succeed in my chosen profession.

I can do something for a cause that is important to me.

Volunteering is an important activity to the people I know best.

Volunteering is a good escape from my own troubles.

I can learn how to deal with a variety of people.

Volunteering makes me feel needed.

Volunteering makes me feel better about myself.

Volunteering experience will look good on my resume.

Volunteering is a way to make new friends.

I can explore my own strengths.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

The more you put into life the more you will get out of it.

A person just has to rely on our leaders to deal with big problems.

Sometimes things happen in your life that make you take action.

People with ordinary lives don't feel the need to get heavily involved in social causes.

Some issues are much more important than my personal life.

You can't really change things in your community, that's just the way things are.

There will be peace only when there is justice.

Most people who get involved in social causes usually have some sort of personal problem.

Putting money in a collecting tin isn't enough, you've also got to act on your beliefs.

Taking care of my family takes all the time I've got.

It's not enough to just talk about what's wrong- you've got to do something.

I'd like to do more for charity, but other things just get in the way.

Anything I do can't really change the world's problems.

A person should live simply so that others can simply live.

When a person gets involved in a cause it just upsets the people they are close to.

You can't really change the world, that's just the way things are.

I know that when I'm working to help others, I'm also helping myself.

There are some people in the world who just can't be helped.

I guess I'm just one of those people who has to do something when I feel strongly.

Speaking up for what you believe in will just get you into trouble.

Speaking up for what you believe in will just get you into trouble.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

Volunteering in an educational setting is useful.

Student tutors can't do much to improve inner city students' educational outcomes.

Tutoring programs are helpful to students.

After school programs benefit the students who attend them.

Do you volunteer?

Yes

No

How many places do you volunteer?

1 location

2 locations

3 locations

4 locations

5+ locations

How many hours per week do you volunteer?

1-5 hours

5-10 hours

10+ hours

Do you volunteer in an educational setting?

Yes

No

How many hours per week do you volunteer in an educational setting?

1-5 hours

5-10 hours

10+ hours

Would you be interested in volunteering in an educational setting?

Yes

No

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statement:

I feel like a member of the greater Richmond community.

The University of Richmond is a part of the Richmond community.

What is your class year?

2018

2017

2016

2015

2014/other

What is your household income?

- \$0-\$20,000
- \$20,000-\$40,000
- \$40,000-\$60,000
- \$60,000-\$80,000
- \$80,000-\$100,000
- \$100,000-\$150,000
- More than \$150,000

Please indicate your political orientation according to the six categories below:

- Strongly Liberal
- Moderately Liberal
- Slightly Liberal
- Slightly Conservative
- Moderately Conservative
- Strongly Conservative

What is your overall political orientation?

- Strongly Liberal
- Moderately Liberal
- Slightly Liberal
- Slightly Conservative
- Moderately Conservative
- Strongly Conservative

What is your social political orientation?

- Strongly Liberal
- Moderately Liberal
- Slightly Liberal
- Slightly Conservative
- Moderately Conservative
- Strongly Conservative

What is your fiscal political orientation?

- Strongly Liberal
- Moderately Liberal
- Slightly Liberal
- Slightly Conservative
- Moderately Conservative
- Strongly Conservative

What is your race/ethnicity?

- African American
- Asian American
- Caucasian
- Hispanic
- Native American

Other

What is your gender?

Male

Female

Transgender

Other

Appendix B

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- You have a certain amount of intelligence, and you can't really do much to change it.
- Your intelligence is something about you that you can't change very much.
- No matter who you are, you can significantly change your intelligence level.
- To be honest, you can't really change how intelligent you are.
- You can always substantially change how intelligent you are.
- You can learn new things, but you can't really change your basic intelligence.
- No matter how much intelligence you have, you can always change it quite a bit.
- You can change even your basic intelligence level considerably.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups.
- In getting what you want, it is sometimes necessary to use force against other groups.
- It's OK if some groups have more of a chance in life than others.
- To get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups.
- If certain groups stayed in their place, we would have fewer problems.
- It's probably a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom.
- Inferior groups should stay in their place.
- Sometimes other groups must be kept in their place.
- It would be good if groups could be equal.
- Group equality should be our ideal.
- All groups should be given an equal chance in life.
- We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups.
- Increased social equality is beneficial to society.
- We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally.
- We should strive to make incomes as equal as possible.
- No group should dominate in society.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- All people should be held to the standards that the mainstream white culture has set.
- Whites have the right to interfere with the lives of minorities for their own good.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- As the dominant group in society, white people should help minorities be more successful.
- Successful white people have an obligation to help less successful minorities.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- You can't really change things in your community, that's just the way things are.
- Anything I do can't really change the world's problems.
- You can't really change the world, that's just the way things are.
- There are some people in the world who just can't be helped.
- Volunteering in an educational setting is useful.

Student tutors can't do much to improve inner city students' educational outcomes.
Tutoring programs are helpful to students.
After school programs benefit the students who attend them.

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

I am concerned about those less fortunate than myself.
I am genuinely concerned about the particular group I am serving.
I can learn more about the cause for which I am working.
Volunteering allows me to gain a new perspective on things.
I feel compassion toward people in need.
Volunteering lets me learn things through direct, hands on experience.
I feel it is important to help others.
I can do something for a cause that is important to me.