

From Clicks to Commitment

Motivations behind Sustainable Support for Humanitarian Organizations

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ABSTRACT

This research investigated the motivations driving young adults to transition from digital activism (DA) to sustainable support for human rights non-profit organizations (NPOs). Given the financial uncertainties and competitive funding environment NPOs face, understanding how to engage younger generations effectively is crucial for NPOs' long-term sustainability built on private funding streams. The research question guiding this study was: "What motivates young adults to transition from digital activism to sustainable support for human rights non-profit organizations?" A qualitative research approach utilizing semi-structured interviews provided in-depth insights into participants' perceptions, beliefs, and experiences regarding digital activism and commitment to human rights causes. Thematic analysis of interview transcripts following conversations with participants provided insights into the factors influencing young adults' transition from DA to sustainable engagement with NPOs. Data collection involved both face-to-face and online interviews with 14 young adults, aged 20 to 35, who are active with human rights NPOs on Instagram. The findings reveal that young adults are motivated by both extrinsic factors like organizational prompts and social influence, as well as intrinsic factors like moral duty and personal connection to the cause. The study highlights the importance of trust and transparency in influencing young adults' willingness to provide sustainable support, confirming the critical role of perceived integrity in motivating donors. Additionally, this study suggests rethinking how sustainable support is conceptualized within the context of DA. Young adults are redefining sustainable support to include continuous digital engagement—sharing, liking, and posting about NPO activities—alongside traditional financial contributions. This expanded view suggests that NPOs need to adapt their strategies to leverage the power of digital tools in fostering long-term relationships with supporters.

KEYWORDS: *Digital activism, sustainable support, human rights non-profit organizations, motivations*

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PREFACE

This thesis marks the end of my studies in the Media and Business Master's program at the Erasmus University of Rotterdam. My choice of topic and exploration of NPOs stem from my passion for charity work and my academic endeavors. My early involvement in volunteering and helping others motivated me to make a positive impact. During my bachelor's studies, I conducted research for a NPO, aiming to enhance their capacity to help more people, reinforcing my commitment to charitable work. Throughout my pre-master and master studies, I realized the powerful influence of media, inspiring me to delve deeper into the motivations behind social media engagement, with, of course, the goal of helping charities. My pre-master research focused on the motivations of individuals in advocating for social movements on social media. For my master thesis, I aimed to take a different angle by researching how individuals are motivated to move beyond digital activism to more sustainable forms of support. My goal was to provide insights that would help NPOs enhance their impact. I am very grateful to my supervisor, Willemijn Dortant, whose enthusiasm and unwavering support guided me throughout this journey. Her insights and encouragement were invaluable, and I deeply appreciate her guidance. Thank you so much Willemijn. I also want to thank my family, particularly my friends (Cool Kids and Oyster Club), and boyfriend, Rohan, whose constant support and encouragement have been my anchor throughout this process. My journey was not always successful; I experienced ups and downs. However, their belief in me gave me the strength and motivation needed to complete my master's at the University I have always hoped to graduate from. Lastly, to you, dear reader, I hope you find this thesis both enlightening and inspiring and I hope it offers new perspectives, contributing to the ongoing efforts to make a positive impact in the world.

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research problem

Digital activism (DA) has transformed social movements and political engagement, particularly in the realm of human rights advocacy (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012, p. 337; Saxton & Guo, 2014, p. 289; Seelig et al., 2019, p. 5). DA, i.e. activism enabled by modern technology to support social movements, provides both individuals and organizations with the ability to widely and quickly amplify activist messages, thereby advancing the pace of societal change (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 3). DA encompasses a variety of activities performed by individuals and groups, ranging from social media (SM) interactions—like liking, sharing, or commenting on SM posts from organizations or social movements—to participating in online petitions and engaging in hacktivism. Hacktivism, typically carried out by technically skilled individuals or groups, involves disclosing sensitive information to highlight injustices, promote transparency, and effect change within societal and political systems (Gunkel, 2005, p. 595). Examples of DA are the Black Lives Matter movement, where SM was utilized by individuals globally to raise awareness about police racism and brutality (Carney, 2016, p. 2) and the social movement of Saudi women, which used SM platforms to advocate for their right to drive cars (Bager, 2015, p. 1). These examples demonstrate how DA can amplify marginalized voices and mobilize support for social causes. Today, because of easy access to technology, individuals can engage in DA more than ever before (Schradi, 2018, p. 4)

Young adults, particularly, are active in DA (Delli Carpini, 2000, p. 7). This generation is often involved in charities through SM (Harden et al., 2015, p. 15), being more inclined toward cause-oriented forms of activism. Moreover, young adults are likely to take a step further beyond DA, engaging in actions such as making donations online (Harden et al., 2015, p. 15), signing petitions, or demonstrating for non-profit organizations (NPOs) (Norris, 2004, p. 12). This shift toward what is called "engaged citizenship" (Earl et al., 2017, p. 1) involves actions going beyond DA, such as volunteering and engaging in protests (Shea & Harris, 2006, p. 1). These activities usually start as online initiatives that later transition into offline actions, reflecting a modern participation style that resonates with younger people and bridges the gap between online and offline activism. In 1990, around 65% of 18-year-olds reported having volunteered; by 2003, that number had increased to 83% (Shea & Harris, 2006, p. 1). Despite the apparent enthusiasm for digital platforms and other forms of activism, such as volunteering and protesting, there seems to be a decline in young adults' participation in traditional forms of activism and support, such as monetary donations or commitments such as actual memberships to NPOs (Norris, 2004, p. 12), requiring further exploration of how NPOs can adapt to maintain engagement with young adults.

Simultaneously, NPOs increasingly rely on digital platforms to engage with younger demographics, initiate campaigns, mobilize resources, and foster community engagement (Hankinson, 2000, p. 217; Stride & Lee, 2007, p. 109). By exploiting DA as an outreach strategy, NPOs leverage

its growing popularity. NPOs use SM platforms such as Instagram and Twitter to gather support and drive social movements (Selander & Jarvenpaa, 2016, p. 1), simplifying the process for individuals to engage with and support NPOs (Wallace et al., 2017, p. 3). The widespread use of SM enhances visibility and engagement with individuals, creating opportunities for NPOs to convert initial interest into sustained support. This is crucial because sustained support ensures more reliable funding and resource streams, enhancing NPOs' overall impact.

Unlike for-profit entities, NPOs rely heavily on donations, grants, and other forms of non-commercial funding, which can be unpredictable and often insufficient to cover operational demands (Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023, p. 3; LeRoux, 2005, p. 351). This financial instability shows the need to explore new funding campaigns and innovative fundraising strategies to secure sustainable support. NPOs rely on the engagement of young adults, influencing the effectiveness of NPOs and, therefore, affecting the financial pressures these nonprofits face (Modi & Sahi, 2022, pp. 475-476). Given the unpredictable nature of traditional funding sources, there is a pressing need to understand and cultivate sustainable support mechanisms that resonate with young adults. Precisely, understanding how online and SM outreach strategies related to DA can translate into sustainable (financial) support of young adults is crucial, as this enables NPOs to access new opportunities and establish a more consistent stream of funding in an increasingly digital world.

Furthermore, the digital environment offers opportunities for NPOs to cultivate sustainable support, including both non-financial and financial contributions (Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023, p. 2). While monetary donations are traditionally seen as essential for covering operational expenses (Parsons, 2003; Weerawardena et al., 2010; Wellens & Jegers, 2014), the rise of SM has transformed how donors interact with NPOs (Saxton & Wang, 2014, p. 855). Beyond financial contributions, sustainable support can also encompass symbolic or advocacy actions demonstrating solidarity and increasing awareness for causes (Mitchell & Clark, 2021). For example, globally sharing hashtags about a specific cause such as #FreePalestine to draw global attention to the Free Palestine Movement, could be a statement of support. This broader perspective on sustainable support highlights the importance of long-term involvement and commitment to the missions and goals of NPOs, moving away from the transactional nature of traditional support. As the digital landscape evolves and conventional forms of activism wane, there is a pressing need to re-evaluate how young adults perceive and engage in sustainable support for human rights NPOs.

1.2 Relevance of Research

As NPOs continue to face financial uncertainties, it is crucial to understand what drives young adults to evolve from casual digital supporters to committed donors. This understanding can offer strategic insights for NPOs, allowing them to adapt their engagement strategies to better resonate with

the values and expectations of younger generations. By doing so, NPOs can build a more committed supporter base, ensuring not only immediate funding but also long-term sustainability.

The relevance of this research is further underscored by the reliance of quantitative methods in most academic studies on charitable giving, often overlooking deeper, nuanced motivations behind donations and the transition to sustainable support (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011; Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023; Wallace et al., 2017; Wiepking & Handy, 2015). While these quantitative studies are informative, they tend to overlook the emotional and psychological triggers that influence donor behavior. Additionally, existing qualitative research on DA motivations (Michel & Rieunier, 2012; Suwana, 2020) often has a narrow focus on specific geographic areas, which can limit the broader applicability of the findings across different cultural contexts. Thus, there is a clear need for qualitative research that broadens the geographic scope of studies on both charitable giving and DA to uncover deeper motivations across a wider range of cultural contexts.

This study aims to bridge the gap between young adults' DA and their transition to sustainable support for human rights NPOs. By understanding the motivations that drive young adults from transient digital actions to sustainable contributions, NPOs can better tailor their strategies to engage young adults effectively. Therefore, considering the above, this study seeks to answer the following research question:

"What motivates young adults to transition from digital activism to sustainable membership for human rights Non-Profit Organizations?"

To effectively address the research question, this study adopts a structured approach. The subsequent chapter will introduce the theoretical framework that underpins this study, providing a comprehensive review of relevant theories and previous research. This will include an examination of the different levels of engagement and how NPO imagery might influence motivations. The third chapter will describe the research methodology, explaining the techniques used to investigate the motivations of young adults towards DA and more sustainable support. Chapter four will present the findings, linking them with established theoretical perspectives. Finally, the fifth chapter will summarize the insights obtained throughout the study, discuss the implications for future research, and provide a comprehensive answer to the research question. First, however, the next chapter will outline relevant theories and previous research.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the thesis, exploring the interplay between DA, charitable giving, and young adult engagement with NPOs focused on human rights. The chapter starts by defining NPOs and DA, setting the stage to further explore how NPOs utilize DA to promote their causes and generate the involvement of young adults. This chapter then delves into the motivations for DA, particularly amongst young adults, and the role of SM in fostering activism and charitable giving. The insights gained from this theoretical framework informed the design of qualitative interviews to explore the motivations and behaviors of young adults in DA and philanthropy. An open and inductive approach will be employed throughout the research to identify emerging themes and ensure a thorough understanding of the topics.

2.1 Non-Profit Organizations

This research focuses on NPOs, requiring a clear definition of this term within the context of this study. The literature commonly refers to NPOs as part of a broader non-profit sector, with various terminologies such as "charitable organizations," "civil society," and "social purpose organizations" interchangeably (Powell & Bromley, 2020, p. 592). This study specifically will focus on human rights NPOs such as Amnesty International and Doctors Without Borders, which are committed to advocating, promoting, and defending human rights. These organizations are pivotal in advocating for justice, equality, and the protection of human dignity in both global and local contexts (Hasenfeld & Garrow, 2012, pp. 295-297). Unlike for-profit entities, NPOs rely on donations, grants, and other non-commercial funding, which are frequently unpredictable and inadequate to meet operational needs (LeRoux, 2005, p. 351). In addition, research shows how NPOs rely on the engagement of young adults, influencing the effectiveness of NPOs and, therefore, affecting the financial pressures these nonprofits face (Modi & Sahi, 2022, pp. 475-476).

In recent years, SM has become a vital tool for NPOs to communicate their missions and engage potential donors effectively (Stride & Lee, 2007, p. 109). Moreover, as the non-profit sector becomes more saturated, the importance of online communication grows, helping to build trust and facilitate more involved donors, which is essential for securing both human and financial resources (Hankinson, 2000, p. 217). In this context, the exploitation of DA in the SM realm offers a cost-effective and impactful strategy for human rights NPOs to enhance their branding and fundraising efforts. By leveraging digital platforms, these organizations can expand their reach and engage a wider audience, thus increasing their potential to secure the essential resources needed to sustain their advocacy efforts. The following section will provide a more detailed examination of DA, further elaborating on DA specifically for NPOs later in the theoretical framework.

2.2 Digital Activism

This study focuses on the transition from young adults' engagement in DA— solicited by human rights NPOs via Instagram —to sustainable support for these NPOs, underscoring the need for a thorough exploration of DA to start with. DA refers to initiatives by social or political movements to effect change or raise awareness about specific issues facilitated through digital networks (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 4; McCaughey & Ayers, 2013, p. 1). For example, activists use hashtags on SM platforms like Twitter to launch global campaigns such as #SaveTheBees, showcasing how activists can globally mobilize, coordinate, and spread their messages through digital means. DA encompasses a broad spectrum of social and political engagement across digital networks, distinguishing it from more specific categories like "online activism" and "social media activism." Online activism is confined to activities conducted entirely over the internet through web browsers, such as signing online petitions that require only internet access via a computer (Imaizumi, 2014, p. 8). SM activism, meanwhile, involves actions within SM apps like Instagram and Facebook (Dookhoo, 2015, p. 10), utilizing the unique features of these platforms to engage users and promote causes. For instance, activists might use Facebook's event planning features to organize protests, capitalizing on its broad reach. In contrast, DA is more inclusive in the sense that it involves any political or social activity utilizing digital technologies (Joyce, 2010, p. viii). Manifestations of DA integrate various forms of digital engagement, ranging from specific online actions to broad initiatives across multiple platforms, to effectively promote social and political change. Specific types of DA will be elaborated on later in the theoretical framework.

Further delineating the scope of DA, it is distinguished from traditional activism by its speed in communication and mobilization, dependability, scalability, and affordability—qualities that significantly widen its reach and impact (Joyce, 2010, p. viii). The speed of DA refers to its allowance for rapid sharing and spreading of information, enabling activists to quickly gather support and respond to events as they unfold. Dependability comes from the reliable communication methods provided by established digital platforms, ensuring consistent communication even in challenging circumstances. Thirdly, scalability allows campaigns to grow from local to global levels with minimal cost or effort, connecting with vast audiences worldwide and bypassing the need for physical resources like printed materials or organized events (Taprial & Kanwar, 2012, p. 6). Together, these characteristics greatly enhance the effectiveness and scope of DA compared to traditional forms of activism. Another difference between DA and traditional forms of activism is the number of participants reached through digital platforms. Where traditional activism often depended on the physical presence and numbers of participants, DA is more efficient in its ability to create an impact with fewer participants by utilizing online platforms to rapidly and broadly disseminate messages (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 5). This efficiency is evident in both online activities and physical actions initiated online, where digital tools enable individuals to quickly mobilize large audiences and

affect both virtual and real-world scenarios (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 5). Moreover, the rise of digital platforms has marked a shift in the demographics of activism. Traditionally dominated by older generations, today's activism landscape sees younger individuals leading the charge in DA (Earl et al., 2017, p. 4), leveraging their familiarity with technology and digital communication tools to effect widespread change (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 5). This shift underscores the role of DA as an engagement pathway for young adults, who are extensive users of SM, showing a 91% engagement rate (Harden et al., 2015, p. 14). Therefore, DA reflects a modern evolution in how social and political movements are orchestrated and supported (Bertuzzi, 2020, p. 3), transitioning towards greater participation by younger generations in DA, facilitated by digital platforms.

This evolving DA landscape highlights the significant role that digital platforms play in engaging young adults and shaping modern social movements. As this theoretical framework develops, it will delve into the various levels of engagement within DA, from minimal interactions like likes and shares to more complex and strategic involvements such as orchestrating digital campaigns. This exploration will help to understand how different levels of DA influence young adults' progression from casual digital supporters to committed members of human rights NPOs.

2.3 Leveraging Digital Activism in Non-Profit Organizations

Recognizing the need for more sustainable support and the significant role DA can play, examining how NPOs utilize digital platforms to promote their causes is essential. This section explores DA from the perspective of NPOs and illustrates how these organizations leverage digital platforms to advance their missions. By understanding the strategies and tools NPOs use to mobilize support and raise awareness, we can better understand how young adults are influenced to participate in DA.

Currently, NPOs employ SM platforms like YouTube, Facebook, and Instagram not only to disseminate messages but also to engage interactively with young adults (Amelia & Dewi, 2021, p. 318). Features such as live streaming, comment sections, and sharing capabilities enable users to actively participate in social movements by sharing personal stories and discussing social issues. This interactive environment fosters a type of DA that creates new opportunities for community building and advocacy, crucial for enhancing the effectiveness of movements. DA thus allows a broad and diverse audience to join the conversation, adding a range of perspectives to the activism and amplifying its societal impact (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 4).

Research shows that NPOs can boost awareness for their causes using digital media and new technologies, engaging the public in wider social and political discussions and various social movements (Seelig et al., 2019, p. 5). For instance, Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) found that Twitter offers NPOs a platform to engage with stakeholders through content sharing, community building, and calls to action, which can lead to increased visibility of donations (Lovejoy & Saxton, 2012, p.

337). Furthermore, Guo and Saxton (2014) highlighted how SM enables NPOs to effectively communicate their missions, engage with audiences, and mobilize resources (Saxton & Guo, 2014, p. 289). These examples underscore the pivotal role of SM in helping NPOs secure the necessary funding and support to sustain their missions and expand their societal impact.

The increasing dependency on funding for NPOs (Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023, p. 3) highlights the critical role of DA in raising a reliable financial support base. For instance, during the Ukraine conflict in 2022, NPOs effectively used platforms like Twitter and Instagram to quickly spread information, mobilize support, and coordinate fundraising efforts. These digital efforts helped to gather financial support for the victims and kept international attention on the issue. Similarly, the "Free Palestine" movement of 2024 saw NPOs leveraging digital platforms to share videos showing the situation in Palestine, boosting global awareness, increasing donations, and spurring petition signings in support of the cause. These instances demonstrate the potent capability of digital platforms to mobilize support and drive substantial social change. These examples underscore the power of digital platforms in mobilizing support and driving social change for NPOs.

Through DA, individuals can share personal narratives on SM, raise awareness for critical issues, connect with others facing similar experiences, and mobilize supporters for social movements (Seelig et al., 2019, p. 5). The prominent role of SM in the DA strategies of NPOs provides a context for examining how these tactics influence young adults' progression towards more sustained forms of support. This study will specifically focus on young adults' perceptions of how NPOs utilize digital platforms. The use of SM by NPOs underscores the transformative potential of digital platforms in mobilizing support and advancing causes, providing a valuable context for this study. Understanding how young adults perceive and engage with digital strategies employed by NPOs is crucial, as it sheds light on the potential of digital strategies to foster deeper commitment and engagement among young adults.

2.4 Young adults' involvement in DA

Young adults globally show increasing commitment to make a positive impact (Shea & Harris, 2006, p. 1). In 1990, about 65% of first-year college students reported volunteering during high school, and by 2003, this number increased to 83% (Shea & Harris, 2006, p. 1). Moreover, in 2003, the volunteer rate among people younger than 25 was twice that of those older than 55. Today, young adults are mainly involved in charities through SM, frequently making donations online (Harden et al., 2015, p. 15) and participating in DA (Delli Carpini, 2000, p. 7). Despite this involvement, concerns persist about the instable and volatile character engagement of young adults in activism. Research by Delli Carpini (2000) indicates that young people often feel their participation is inconsequential and believe it doesn't make a difference (Delli Carpini, 2000, p. 5), raising a high

potential for ceding involvement over time. In brief: DA engagement might be present and numerous, it is also flaky or temporary at the very least in nature, making prospects of sustainability debatable.

Yet, the traditional view of activism as being primarily based on physical actions or financial contributions, might not fully capture the nuances of modern activism. Norris (2004) finds that younger generations are inclined toward cause-oriented activism, such as digital campaigns that resonate with their personal experiences, rather than traditional activities like voting (Norris, 2004, p. 16). Their charitable engagements, however brief or—judgmentally spoken—superficial in nature, do often align with their inherent values (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022, p. 7; Moorefield, 2020), underlining the importance of understanding the deep rooted reasons behind their engagements on the long run. Furthermore, young adults place significant value on recommendations from friends regarding charitable causes, considering these more authentic and trustworthy than endorsements from influencers or less transparent organizations (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022, p. 2). This shift towards personal and peer-influenced engagement highlights the evolving nature of activism.

This evolution from loyalty-based to choice-based activism—choosing causes that personally resonate—is termed "engaged citizenship" (Earl et al., 2017, p. 1). This form of activism includes activities like volunteering and protesting (Shea & Harris, 2006, p. 1), reflecting a modern style of participation that resonates with younger generations. Additionally, young adults are engaged in participatory politics, actively sharing, creating, and discussing political content online, using SM platforms to debate news and ideas (Cohen et al., 2012, p. 4). This shift in young people's approach to activism signifies a deeper, more connected form of engagement with NPOs. By leveraging their strong online presence, young adults effectively use digital platforms to influence and participate in both local and global communities, positioning them as a crucial demographic for human rights NPOs.

Thus, young adults are increasingly embracing digital and cause-oriented activism. Their familiarity with technology and the increasing significance of DA strategies for NPOs underscore the need for further research. Additionally, young adults support charities that align with their personal values, primarily influenced by peer recommendations, indicating a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic motivations that warrant deeper exploration. Furthermore, given their concerns about the effectiveness of their actions, there is a pressing need to explore their involvement in DA more thoroughly. This exploration will be the focus of the next section, aiming to understand how their digital engagements translate into meaningful change.

2.5 Digital activism engagement levels

Building on the previous section, we now explore how and to what extent young adults participate in DA. Building on the understanding of a modern evolution in activism (transitioning towards greater participation by younger generations in DA), George and Leidner (2019, pp. 6-11)

identify three categories of DA activities that broadly align with the broader academic perspectives of DA: low, medium, and high-level engagement. This study adapts and expands upon these foundational categories, incorporating additional insights from additional literature to provide a comprehensive view on how young adults engage with social and political movements through digital platforms. This reinterpretation aims to offer a nuanced understanding of the different levels and types of DA.

The following sections will explore these redefined categories in greater depth. By analyzing these levels of engagement, we aim to elucidate the various degrees of involvement and commitment among young adults in social and political movements. This detailed exploration will identify specific activities or engagement thresholds that might encourage young activists to intensify their involvement with human rights NPOs. Comparing these theoretical insights with actual participant responses and behaviors in the interview setting, will help validate or refine our insights into the dynamics of DA.

2.5.1 Low-level engagement activities

The first category of DA activities termed "digital spectator activities" by George & Leidner, involves low-effort engagement in DA and is the most common form of participation in DA (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 7). This level of activism, which requires minimal effort, is adopted by most people. For instance, during the "Occupy" movement, participants frequently shared related content and hashtags such as #OccupyWallStreet on platforms like Twitter and Facebook, amplifying the movement's reach and impact (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012). Other examples include sharing personal narratives with hashtags like #MeToo, which highlight issues like sexual harassment, or adopting "protest avatars" as symbols of allegiance to causes (Ozkula, 2021, p. 68). These activities foster a sense of community and shared identity and can greatly enhance the efficacy of social movements on digital platforms, particularly in raising awareness.

George & Leidner categorize these low-level engagement activities as clicktivism, meta-voicing, and assertion (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 7). Clicktivism entails simple actions like liking, sharing, or commenting on SM posts about a cause (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 4), which are straightforward but their real-world impact can be ambiguous (Lindgren, 2019, pp. 432-433). Meta-voicing involves expressing opinions through SM by posting comments, responding, reacting, or distributing content, which can spread awareness but may not necessarily lead to direct action or policy change (Ozkula, 2021, p. 65). Assertion refers to creating online content to show support for a cause, enhancing visibility but potentially varying in interpretation by different audiences (Scheufele & Krause, 2019, p. 7664).

Despite the effectiveness of these activities in spreading awareness, the transition from casual participation to sustained involvement in human rights NPOs is less clear. While these digital actions

can quickly disseminate information, their capacity to foster long-term commitment, such as consistent financial support, remains uncertain. Therefore, it is crucial to understand how these forms of DA relate to motivations of young adults to support NPOs more sustainably. Exploring this could reveal motivations driving young adults to deepen their engagement beyond digital interactions, offering insights into strategies that could foster more enduring commitments to human rights causes.

2.5.2 Medium-level engagement activities

The second category, defined as “digital transitional activities” by George & Leidner (2019), requires more effort from participants and is characterized by a medium level of engagement from participants (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 8). This category represents a significant segment of DA, where individuals engage more actively and meaningfully with social movements through online interactions. These activities serve as a bridge between online engagement and tangible offline impacts, including e-funding, political consumerism, and digital petitions (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 8). Digital petitions, for example, involve collecting signatures online to support or oppose specific causes or legislative changes, effectively mobilizing public opinion (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 8). Examples include petitions shared by Amnesty International that call for human rights protections, justice for abuse victims, or legislative reforms. Furthermore, political consumerism leverages digital platforms to promote or boycott companies based on their ethical practices or support for social issues, thereby leveraging consumer power to influence corporate behavior. E-funding refers to various online methods for raising financial support, providing a resource for initiatives and campaigns to secure the necessary resources through digital channels (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 9). A recent example of e-funding is the monetary donations made by individuals to support relief efforts in the ongoing crisis in Gaza.

Expanding on the categorization by George & Leidner (2019), Ozkula (2021) offers a more detailed breakdown of activities characterized by a medium level of effort, including recruitment, movement-building, and organization (Ozkula, 2021, pp. 67-69). These categories highlight the dynamic processes involved in attracting, engaging, and mobilizing participants, as well as the strategic coordination and management required to sustain and amplify the impact of DA initiatives. For instance, individuals might mobilize others by organizing protests, making emotional appeals, motivating others to vote or volunteer, and spreading the message within their networks (Rogers et al., 2018, p. 359).

Compared to the less demanding digital spectator activities, medium-level engagement demands greater involvement and yields more impactful actions. Participants not only raise awareness but also drive others to actively engage, potentially effecting real change. This shift from simple online support to orchestrating and participating in impactful events demonstrates the capacity of digital platforms to facilitate not just awareness but also active engagement in social causes. By

examining how medium-level activities bridge the gap between DA and tangible action, this research aims to identify key motivators that encourage sustainable commitment to human rights NPOs.

2.5.3 High-level engagement activities

Building on the previous categories, “Digital gladiatorial activities” represent the most intense form of DA as identified by George & Leidner (2019, p. 9). These activities involve actions that entail higher risks, potentially affecting participants' personal and professional lives more severely than either digital spectator or transitional activities. This category encompasses actions that challenge powerful institutions or expose controversial issues, often leading to significant personal exposure and possible backlash.

In this category, individuals aim not just to raise awareness or shift public opinion, but to enact profound changes in societal structures and policies through confrontational or impactful efforts. These efforts directly challenge established norms and advocate for substantial legal, social, or political reforms. For example, during the Arab Spring, the activist group Anonymous undertook high-risk digital actions such as hacking government websites and disrupting communications in Egypt and Tunisia, actions aimed at challenging state authority and advancing political reform. These actions were crucial in capturing international attention and exerting pressure on these regimes (Allagui & Kuebler, 2011, p. 1435). Despite the inherent risks—including legal repercussions, threats to personal safety, and potential professional consequences—these activities have the potential to drive significant societal and structural changes.

Digital gladiatorial activities include data activism, exposure, and hacktivism (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 9). Data activists might analyze and disseminate data to expose illegal corporate activities, advocating for regulatory changes (Xu & Zhang, 2020, p. 16). For example, data activists might analyze environmental data to reveal illegal pollution by corporations, using the findings to push for regulatory enforcement or public action. Exposure reveals sensitive public information (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 10). An example of this is the work of whistle-blowers who released classified documents that shed light on government surveillance practices, aiming to spark public debate and policy change. The main goal of hacktivism is to disrupt or damage systems or organizations, often as a protest against their policies or actions, employing technical skills to highlight issues or challenges (Milan, 2015, p. 556). These high-level engagement activities use technical skills and are tailored for digital environments (Ozkula, 2021, p. 70).

The spectrum of engagement levels, from low-level to high-level activities, offers a framework for analyzing the depth and impact of DA among young adults within social movements. This research aims to explore the relationship between the depth of engagement in DA and the likelihood of ongoing support for NPOs, investigating whether more intense digital interactions foster sustainable support for NPOs.

2.5.4 Sustainable support: the ultimate level of engagement

Building on the earlier sections of engagement levels in DA, this section explores the concept of sustainable support for NPO, which is fundamental to understanding the motivations behind the transition from DA to more enduring forms of support. Sustainable support is understood in existing literature to encompass both non-financial and financial contributions (Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023, p. 2). This study adopts an open perspective on how young adults perceive sustainable support, acknowledging that their views may differ from traditional interpretations. Maintaining an open view will allow for a more accurate and nuanced understanding of the evolving behaviors and motivations of younger generations, which is essential for developing support strategies that resonate effectively with young donors and activists, fostering deeper and more meaningful engagement with NPOs.

Typically, individual support for NPOs manifests in three forms: monetary donations, in-kind contributions, and volunteering (Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023, p. 2). As for monetary donations, the economic model of giving, developed by Weisbrod and Dominguez (1986), outlines three main factors influencing the number of financial contributions to NPOs: price, quality, and information. The 'price' of donating is influenced by how effectively an NPO uses its funds for core activities, with higher perceived costs potentially leading to lower donations. The 'quality' of an NPO, often inferred from its longevity, is positively linked to the likelihood of receiving donations. Thirdly, the dissemination of information about an NPO's activities, which can be costly for donors to obtain independently, is crucial for informed giving (Weisbrod & Dominguez, 1986, p. 95). Additionally, traditional economic models of giving effectively explain donor responses to traditional fundraising methods such as direct mail, door-to-door campaigns, and telemarketing, which typically involve substantial fundraising and personnel costs.

However, the rise of SM has transformed donor engagement, challenging traditional economic models of giving (Saxton & Wang, 2014, p. 855). Platforms like Instagram and Twitter allow NPOs to engage more directly and cost-effectively with potential donors, changing the dynamics of interaction and engagement between charities and their supporters (Saxton & Wang, 2014, p. 855). Moreover, beyond financial contributions, support for NPOs could also include more symbolic or advocacy-based actions, such as wearing a bracelet associated with human rights campaigns or reposting a hashtag on SM to show support for NPOs (Mitchell & Clark, 2021). This suggests that individuals may demonstrate their commitment to human rights not only through donations but also through activities that signify solidarity and raise awareness. These actions, while not always financial, demonstrate a personal commitment and provide meaningful engagement for NPOs. Recent research indicates that increased visibility from DA activities such as liking, can lead to enhanced interest from donors, increasing fundraising revenues (Haruvy & Popkowski Leszczyc, 2024, p. 55). Thus, such 'clicks' increase awareness for NPOs, indirectly contributing to their longevity by attracting more monetary support.

The concept of sustainable support transcends the immediate and often transactional nature of typical contributions, emphasizing long-term engagement and investment in the mission and goals of NPOs. Unlike the previously discussed engagement levels—low, medium, and high—which vary in activity and commitment, sustainable support represents the pinnacle of involvement. Moreover, exploring young adults' intent and perceptions of involvement is crucial. Young adults believe they are more engaged than they might actually be, which presents a discrepancy between intention and action (Ajzen, 1985, p. 206). Investigating how young adults interpret what it means to be sustainably involved can provide deeper insights into the cognitive and emotional aspects of their engagement with human rights causes. Expressing a high level of commitment on SM may provide satisfaction from perceived involvement, but translating these expressions into sustained, tangible engagement is challenging.

By incorporating a broader understanding of what constitutes sustainable support, this research aims to capture a comprehensive view of young adults' commitment to human rights causes in the digital era. This approach aligns with the shift towards DA, where actions like sharing content, participating in online campaigns, and expressing solidarity through SM can significantly contribute to an NPO's visibility and impact. This broader interpretation prompts a re-evaluation of what constitutes sustainable support, focusing on the interplay between intent, perceived involvement, and actual engagement. This exploration is essential for understanding how digital engagements transition into more sustainable forms of support for human rights NPOs.

2.6 Motivations for DA

In contrast to the engagement levels of DA, which outlines the 'how' of DA, this section aims to explore the underlying mechanisms driving DA. By differentiating between extrinsic and intrinsic motivations, we delve into 'why' individuals engage in these activities. Understanding these motivations is crucial for understanding what drives young adults to participate in DA and how their behaviors align with these underlying drivers. In this study, motivations for DA are categorized into extrinsic motivations and intrinsic motivations. This categorization allows for more clarity and a deeper understanding of DA.

2.6.1 Extrinsic motivations of DA

Bimber (2017) identifies three interconnected reasons that drive individuals towards engaging in DA. These reasons act as stimuli or triggers for participation in collective actions like social movements, protests, or advocacy campaigns. The first two reasons—organization-prompted behavior and socially prompted behavior—are categorized under extrinsic motivations for DA, and are driven from outside stimuli than internal desires or personal satisfaction (Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2017, p. 23).

Firstly, *organization-prompted behavior* occurs when individuals are encouraged by formal organizations such as NPOs to participate in collective actions (Bimber, 2017, p. 11). Organizations use digital media to mobilize supporters, coordinate campaigns, and encourage participation in collective actions. This behavior typically includes direct appeals from organizations to their potential supporters, prompting them to participate in specific activities. Such solicitations for donations—where individuals are directly asked to contribute—play a pivotal role in influencing donor behavior. This type of solicitation represents an extrinsic motivation that has been demonstrated to significantly affect the likelihood of donations across various NPOs (Neumayr & Handy, 2019, p. 796). Additionally, understanding the needs addressed by different charitable causes can also direct donors toward supporting specific NPOs, as clarity on the significance and impact of these causes can influence their giving decisions (Neumayr & Handy, 2019, p. 796).

The legitimacy and authority of an organization are crucial motivating participation (Bimber, 2017, p. 11). For example, the viral ALS Ice Bucket Challenge campaign, aimed at raising awareness and funds for amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), gained significant visibility and credibility through the platform provided by the ALS Association, leading to widespread adoption by millions globally (Pressgrove et al., 2018, p. 1). The success of the challenge highlights the importance of organizational transparency and authority in gaining public trust and engagement. In this case, the credibility of the ALS Association was key in transforming the challenge from an online trend into an impactful and respected campaign against a serious disease. The organization's clear communication about how funds were utilized further strengthened its credibility, maintaining public support and engagement.

Bimber (2017) describes *socially prompted behavior* as individuals being influenced by the actions of others within their social networks (Bimber, 2017, p. 12). Observing peers engage in certain activities can motivate individuals to participate, driven by social influence and a desire for solidarity. SM and online networks are instrumental in disseminating information and establishing social norms that shape individual behavior (Hui & Buchegger, 2009, p. 1). This influence can take the form of peer pressure, which might compel individuals to conform to group behaviors to avoid social exclusion. Conversely, positive social proof can encourage participation by demonstrating the benefits and widespread acceptance of certain actions within one's network. An example of positive social proof is the annual "Movember" campaign. During this campaign, individuals observed many others, both within their social circles and outside, participating in growing mustaches in November to raise awareness for men's health, fostering a sense of community and inclusion. This dynamic can lead to a snowball effect of engagement and mobilization, making individuals more likely to join in when they see others participating (Bimber, 2017, p. 13).

Additionally, the desire for inclusion in social movements enhances young people's feelings of acceptance and belonging, further driving their participation in such activities (Bäck et al., 2018, p. 26; Selvanathan et al., 2020, p. 1348). Extrinsic motivations often involve seeking rewards,

acknowledgment, or other incentives from external sources. These motivations are heavily shaped by social circles, where engaging in certain behaviors can lead to societal acceptance (Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2017, p. 23). For instance, participation in viral SM challenges or advocacy campaigns, such as the Ice Bucket Challenge, is often driven by the desire to gain recognition or approval from peers (Abraham et al., 2022, p. 29). Engaging in these widely recognized activities can enhance one's social standing or acceptance within a community, illustrating the powerful role of societal influence in driving actions on digital platforms. In DA, extrinsic motivations like social influence, group norms, and incentives from organizations are crucial in mobilizing individuals to participate in political and social activities (Koc-Michalska & Lilleker, 2017, p. 3). These motivations highlight the need to understand how external factors affect individuals' willingness, particularly among young adults, to commit to sustained forms of support.

Understanding extrinsic motivations in DA sheds light on how individuals are driven to engage in online collective actions. By exploring how individuals are motivated to engage in online collective actions and understanding the interplay between extrinsic motivations and intrinsic motivations, we can look at how this resonates with young adults' motivations to transition to more sustainable forms of support. The following section will explore the intrinsic motivations of DA.

2.6.2 Intrinsic motivations of DA

While external motivations such as prompts from organizations like NPOs or advocacy groups and social cues from peers mobilize individuals for political activities, intrinsic motivations also play a significant role in driving DA. Individuals often act independently of external influences, driven by personal convictions or situations that resonate deeply with them. Bimber (2017) refers to this as *self-initiated behavior*, which stems from internal motivations like a desire to make a difference (Bimber, 2017, p. 13). This type of prompt occurs when individuals act based on their own decisions and motivations, often driven by personal beliefs, values, or experiences.

In the realm of DA, intrinsic motivations might include a sense of civic duty, a commitment to societal change, or personal beliefs that influence participation in social movements (Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2017, p. 22). Intrinsic motivations originate from within an individual and are driven by personal satisfaction, enjoyment, or a sense of fulfillment, rather than by external rewards or incentives. For instance, Suwana (2020) found that feeling the sense of duty to deliver truthful information and a responsibility to educate the public can also serve as intrinsic motivators for engaging in DA (Suwana, 2020, p. 1300). This suggests that individuals are often compelled to participate in DA not just for personal satisfaction but also from a profound sense of responsibility to inform and educate society. However, it is important to recognize that intrinsic motivations, while seen as personal, are not entirely detached from social influences. Norms and values that shape these motivations are typically passed down through generations and shaped by cultural and societal

contexts (Kim et al., 2011, pp. 370-371). Thus, the lines between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations can blur, highlighting the complex interaction between individual drives and the social frameworks they exist within.

Furthermore, research indicates that individuals often engage in DA out of a belief in their ability to create social and political change or at least a desire to impact positively (Suwana, 2020, p. 1303). An example of intrinsic motivation in DA is the global environmental movement led by Swedish activist Greta Thunberg. Starting with her solitary school strike for climate change in 2018, Thunberg's actions were deeply rooted in her personal conviction about the urgent concern for climate change. Her intrinsic motivation—stemming from a profound concern for the environment and a steadfast belief in the power of individual action—resonated worldwide, inspiring millions to participate in similar strikes and digital campaigns. This movement, largely propelled by digital platforms, shows how intrinsic motivations can drive significant social and political movements. Intrinsic motivations, like Greta Thunberg's example, can have a ripple effect on broader social groups, potentially leading to a collective shift in societal attitudes and behaviors (Kowasch et al., 2021, p. 4). It underscores the importance of recognizing the interplay between intrinsic and extrinsic motivations in understanding young people's support for human rights NPOs. While intrinsic motivations provide the foundational drive for engagement, extrinsic motivations can enhance and sustain participation in DA (Suwana, 2020, p. 1305).

By examining both the levels of engagement and the motivations for DA, we can gain a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of DA among young adults. These insights are crucial for answering research questions about the sustainability of support for human rights causes.

2.6.3 NPO imagery vs Donation intention

Building on the discussion of extrinsic motivations that drive DA, highlighted by the influence of social interactions and personal connections, this section shifts focus to how perceptions of NPO impact monetary donations. Factors like the perceived integrity of an NPO and its demonstrable impacts are crucial in motivating donors (Gregory et al., 2020, p. 584). These factors are considered extrinsic motivations because they stem from external elements that influence an individual's decision-making process. This section particularly focuses on monetary donations, as they are the most recognized form of support for NPOs in the existing literature (Parsons, 2003; Weerawardena et al., 2010; Wellens & Jegers, 2014). Yet, this study is also interested in exploring how non-monetary involvement is influenced by NPO imagery. Understanding how NPOs are perceived, particularly among young adults, is essential as it sheds light on the dynamics that influence their transition from DA to sustainable support for human rights NPOs.

Charitable giving, defined in this study in line with the majority of existing research, involves the voluntary contribution of monetary funds to organizations that assist people outside one's

immediate family (Bekkers & Wiepking, 2011, p. 3) and is influenced by moral judgements and perceived worthiness of a charity (Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023). Research by Shier & Handy (2012) underscores that an organization's perceived integrity and the social influences positively impact donation decisions (Shier & Handy, 2012, p. 3). They found that an individual's positive perception of an organization significantly enhances their willingness to donate online, highlighting the role that perceptions play in the decision to financially support NPOs (Shier & Handy, 2012, p. 227).

Furthermore, young donors particularly value personal connections with NPOs as these relationships enhance their sense of involvement and relevance to the cause they care about (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022, p. 7). Such engagement often aligns with their values or passion for specific issues, thereby increasing their likelihood to support and interact with the charity. The link between organizational perceptions and the desire for personal engagement illustrates how a deeper emotional connection can motivate young donors to contribute more actively and meaningfully to the organizations they support.

Additionally, young donors seek tangible results and a clear understanding of how their contributions to NPOs make a difference in terms of social, environmental, or community outcomes (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022, p. 7). This need for visible impact is tied to the extrinsic motivations previously discussed, as donors are driven by the awareness of the needs addressed by charitable causes. Transparent communication from organizations about how contributions are used can boost this motivational drive. Trust in the NPO is pivotal in determining online donation behavior (Neumayr & Handy, 2019, p. 784). Transparency and authenticity in communication are especially important because young donors, who place a high value on genuine connections, are more inclined to trust recommendations from friends and peers over traditional influencers or organizations (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022, p. 7). This highlights how authenticity and alignment with their values are key motivators in their charitable giving.

Notably, positive perceptions are typically stronger in larger NPOs; however, there is no direct evidence linking NPO size to these perceptions—rather, it is their perceived trustworthiness that motivates donations (Hassan et al., 2018, p. 71; Venable et al., 2005, p. 308). As DA becomes a prevalent tool for NPOs to communicate their missions, understanding young adults' perceptions and motivations—both intrinsic and extrinsic—is crucial. This understanding will guide strategies to attract and maintain young donor engagement effectively.

2.7 Social media as motivator

Building on our examination of extrinsic and intrinsic motivations within DA, this section explores how SM specifically influences these dynamics, particularly in shaping young adults' charitable giving behaviors. SM plays a pivotal role in influencing young people's charitable giving (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022, p. 7), as the online presence of NPOs on SM platforms like Facebook,

Instagram, and Twitter can positively influence donor behavior by fostering online communities and enabling direct interactions with users and firms (Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023, p. 32).

Extrinsically, SM amplifies peer influence and the tendency to copy social behaviors, which are significant drivers of donation behavior (Tofighi et al., 2022, p. 193). SM promotes regular exposure to charitable causes and donation campaigns, normalizing these activities among young adults. The instant nature of digital interactions through SM intensifies external influences through continuous and dynamic peer engagement. Simultaneously, SM leverages intrinsic motivations by resonating with personal convictions and the desire to make a difference, which are key internal drivers for many young adults (Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2017, p. 22). Platforms like Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter allow users to follow and interact directly with NPOs, providing first-hand insights into ongoing issues and the impact of contributions. This direct connection can enhance a sense of personal involvement and fulfillment, reinforcing the internal satisfaction derived from contributing to a cause. The storytelling capability of SM—highlighting success stories and the tangible effects of donations—can deepen personal engagement by appealing to users' emotions and sense of empathy (Pera & Viglia, 2016, p. 1148).

Furthermore, we have seen how the credibility and transparency of an NPO can positively influence donation behavior. Online platforms magnify these perceptions due to their capacity to disseminate extensive information, allowing NPOs to control the narrative. By strategically using SM, NPOs can significantly enhance their effectiveness, shaping the perceptions of young adults with ease.

In essence, SM acts as a dual conduit, amplifying both external and internal motivational factors that drive charitable giving. By facilitating a space where peer influence, social norms, personal values, and organizational transparency intersect, SM uniquely positions itself as a critical player in the landscape of DA and charitable giving. Understanding these motivations and how they are amplified by digital platforms is essential for exploring how young adults transition from initial engagement to sustained support for human rights NPOs. This research will further investigate the direct interactions between young donors and NPOs on SM platform Instagram, assessing how these interactions influence long-term commitment and support patterns.

Further research directions

Building on the theoretical framework outlined, this research will utilize key theories to understand the transition from DA to sustainable support among young adults. By integrating all these theoretical insights, the research aims to uncover the motivations and potential barriers young adults face in transitioning from DA to more committed forms of support, like financial donations or volunteer work. Employing a variety of theoretical perspectives rather than just one will ensure a comprehensive examination of the research question from multiple relevant viewpoints. Furthermore, staying aware of these varied theoretical approaches will help reduce unconscious biases when conducting interviews with young individuals. Thus, this theoretical framework is suitable for

exploring the question: “*What motivates young adults to transition from DA to sustainable membership for human rights Non-Profit Organizations?*”.

This theoretical foundation will inform the formulation of interview questions, guide the analysis of interview data, and aid in interpreting the findings, while maintaining an open view throughout the study. Through qualitative interviews, the study will delve into participants' personal experiences, beliefs, and the influence of their DA on their decision to support human rights NPOs in a more sustained manner. The subsequent section will outline the methodology used in this research, ensuring that a flexible approach is preserved to accommodate new insights and perspectives.

Chapter 3: Methods

This chapter aims to provide a detailed description of the research methods used to answer the research question: “*What motivates young adults to transition from digital activism to sustainable membership for human rights non-profit organizations?*”. Initially, the chapter will outline and explain the chosen method used to answer the research question. Subsequently, the procedures for data collection and data analysis will be outlined.

3.1 Choice of Method

To answer the research question, a qualitative research approach was employed. This approach was chosen as it was assumed to allow for an in-depth understanding of participants' perceptions, beliefs, and experiences, essential to comprehending their underlying motivations behind young adults' participation in DA and sustainable support for human rights NPOs (Brennen, 2017, p. 29). By implementing a qualitative approach, this research aimed to understand cultural practices, settings, uses, and meanings associated with words, concepts, and ideas (Brennen, 2017, p. 14; Rowley, 2012, p. 1). Specifically, this study focused on how young adults perceive and participate in DA and what motivates them to transition to—or decision against—sustainable forms of support. Additionally, this study investigated how young adults form their understanding of sustainable support, especially within the changing digital environment.

Given the focus on motivations behind DA and sustainable activism among young adults, semi-structured interviews were deemed the most suitable method for this study, offering a balance between structure and flexibility (Rowley, 2012, p. 262). Interviews allowed access to participants' thought processes and gave the researcher the opportunity to look into how they articulated their motivations (Dumitrica & Pridmore, 2021b, p. 1). Interviews also gave the participants the chance to express themselves in their own words and enabled the interviewer to tailor questions and follow-up prompts to provide rich and detailed details about their experiences (Brennen, 2017, p. 29; Qu & Dumay, 2011, p. 245). This approach was particularly relevant given the objective to have participants self-define the nature and meaning of sustainable engagement. The use of semi-structured interviews enabled real-time adjustments to questions based on the participants' responses, allowing for a more dynamic and in-depth exploration of young adults' motivations. This adaptability made it possible to delve deeper into specific topics as they arose during conversations, thus gaining a more nuanced understanding of the factors influencing the transition from DA to sustainable engagement with NPOs. By allowing participants to share their personal interpretations of terms such as ‘sustainable membership’, the research captured a wide range of perspectives, enhancing the comprehensiveness and depth of the study. For the semi-structured interviews, an interview guide (Appendix A: Interview

Guide) based on the literature framework with a suggestive set of questions gave the researcher the flexibility to ask additional questions or reorder the questions in response to the participants' answers.

The interview method was favored over alternatives such as surveys or focus groups because it was assumed to provide a deeper insight into individual reasoning and the complexity of their views (Dumitrica & Pridmore, 2021b, p. 2). While surveys could gather broad data on attitudes and beliefs, and focus groups might offer insights into group dynamics, neither could match the depth achieved through personal interviews. Content analysis, which systematically evaluates texts or media to discern patterns (White & Marsh, 2006, p. 27), lacks the interactive quality of interviews that is crucial for probing into the intricate motivations driving young adults toward active and enduring engagement with NPOs.

From a critical perspective, according to Qu & Dumay (2011), there is a risk of oversimplifying and idealizing the process of conducting interviews by assuming that participants are always competent and truthful (Qu & Dumay, 2011, p. 238). This could lead researchers to overlook complexities or inaccuracies in the data, resulting in an oversimplified view of the findings. Furthermore, some quantitative researchers criticize interpretive methods interviews as unreliable and subjective, linking them to casual conversations. Moreover, research interviews involve a power imbalance where the researcher directs the questioning to volunteers and usually naive interviewees (Qu & Dumay, 2011, p. 239). This imbalance inherent in research interviews, where the researcher directs questioning, can influence participant responses. Participants might provide answers they think the researcher wants to hear, or they might feel pressured, leading to candid or artificially polished responses, compromising data authenticity. To address potential challenges identified (Qu & Dumay, 2011, p. 238), including risks of oversimplification, idealization, and power imbalances during interviews, several strategies have been implemented. Initially, thorough preparation was undertaken through immersion in relevant theories and to make sure there was a clear understanding of the research objectives, supported by a structured interview guide (Appendix A: Interview Guide). This helped to maintain focus and consistency throughout the interview process by minimizing the risk of deviations that could dilute the research outcomes. However, the research was flexible in nature to adapt to emerging themes, which allowed for adjustments in the interview guide when new, significant insights arose, further enriching the data collected and enhancing the depth of the findings. Additionally, active listening and effective note-taking were prioritized and were crucial to accurately capture and understand participants' perspectives. To counteract the subjectivity and potential unreliability of interpretive methods, triangulation was used to cross-verify data from interviews (Brennen, 2017, p. 5). This approach included comparing interview data with relevant literature, and checking the consistency across different participant responses, thereby enhancing the credibility and validity of the conclusions drawn from the research. Acknowledging the power dynamics, efforts were made to create a comfortable and respectful interview environment, emphasizing the voluntary nature of participation, and ensuring participant anonymity and confidentiality. For example, interviews were

conducted in neutral locations chosen by the participants, and all data were coded to remove identifying information. Moreover, participants were reminded that they could withdraw from the study at any time without any consequences, reinforcing the voluntary aspect of their involvement. This helped reduce potential discomfort or reluctance to share openly, fostering a more equitable and trusting relationship between the researcher and participants. Additionally, the researcher remained sensitive to cultural nuances and potential variations in language interpretation, ensuring clear communication and seeking confirmation or clarification when necessary. Through these measures, this research aimed to maintain neutrality and careful consideration to bolster the credibility and reliability of the findings.

3.2 Data Collection

This study initially tried to sample participants via Instagram by collaborating with prominent Dutch human rights NPOs: Amnesty International, known for its global advocacy for human rights and justice; Doctors Without Borders, renowned for offering crucial medical assistance in areas affected by conflict; and the Red Cross, an international organization dedicated to humanitarian aid and relief in crisis situations. These NPOs were selected due to their—self-defined—meaningful impact and active engagement with young adults (Amnesty International, 2023; Doctors Without Borders, 2023; Rode Kruis, 2023). Given their substantial and—out of all humanitarian Dutch NPOs—most numerous following on Instagram (all more than 20,000 followers), a platform integral to this study, these organizations were approached to assist in reaching out to potential participants. The organizations were asked to share a post on their Instagram accounts, detailing the research's focus on DA and the transition to sustainable support, and inviting their followers to participate. The aim was to engage a diverse group of young adults, leveraging the NPOs' significant online presence. Asking NPOs to share a post on their Instagram account would capitalize on the trust and credibility they have built with their audience, potentially increasing the response rate and engagement with the research study. This study chose Instagram for participant recruitment due to its emphasis on visual storytelling, which enhances user engagement. Instagram's design prioritizes visual content, fostering a dynamic environment that encourages frequent and meaningful user interactions (Gruzd et al., 2018, p. 579; Voorveld et al., 2018, p. 40). Compared to other platforms like Twitter, Instagram users show higher engagement levels, with more likes and responses, indicating more active participation (Gruzd et al., 2018, p. 585). This is advantageous for this research, as it increases the likelihood of users noticing and responding to content shared by NPOs. Moreover, Instagram's user base primarily consists of younger adults, aligning with the study's target demographic and making it an ideal platform for reaching individuals engaged in DA.

Although all the targeted NPOs—Amnesty International, Doctors Without Borders, and the Red Cross—responded to the request for collaboration, they declined the request to share a post

inviting their followers to participate in the research due to concerns about the privacy of potential participants. However, they allowed the researcher to invite followers by commenting under the organizations' SM posts. This approach, however, did not yield any participants. Subsequently, a random sampling method was employed. Random individuals who had commented on any post by one of the three NPOs on Instagram were contacted through a private message on Instagram, briefly introducing the research and inviting them to participate. Individuals who commented on the post of one of the three NPOs aligned with the study's criteria – young adults actively engaged on Instagram and showed an interest in human rights issues. In total, 64 young adults were contacted, out of which three responded and agreed to participate in the interviews. Starting with these initial participants, the study employed a snowball sampling technique. Snowball sampling involved encouraging participants to refer others within their social networks who fit the study's criteria (Rowley, 2012, p. 265). This led to the recruitment of two additional participants.

Due to the limited timeframe of the research, a decision was made to also utilize the researcher's personal network to approach participants for the research, as the initial techniques rendered little response. This was done cautiously to maintain objectivity; the researcher made sure not to personally know any of the participants directly. To clarify, the researcher tapped into secondary connections within their network—acquaintances of acquaintances—who were not personally known to the researcher. This approach ensured that the researcher could leverage a broader network while maintaining a necessary degree of separation to preserve the objectivity and impartiality of the research. This approach resulted in the recruitment of three more participants. Further application of snowball sampling from these new participants enabled the recruitment of six additional participants. Ultimately, this mixed approach of using random and snowball sampling, combined with leveraging the researcher's network while maintaining a degree of separation to avoid bias, resulted in a total of 14 participants for the study. Out of the 14 participants, 10 were female and 4 were male. Initially, individuals considered for this study ranged from 18 to 35 years old. Ultimately, those who responded and were interviewed fell between the ages of 20 and 35.

Only individuals who followed either Amnesty International or Doctors Without Borders on Instagram and were familiar with the organization's mission and content were considered for the study. This criterion was verified by checking potential participants' Instagram profiles to confirm they followed these NPOs. Additionally, early in the interviews, participants were asked which NPOs they followed to ensure a genuine understanding and engagement with the organization. This selection criterion ensured that participants had an established interest in and commitment to human rights NPOs. Ultimately, this approach led to richer, more informed discussions during interviews, as participants were already engaged with the relevant topics, thereby enhancing the study's relevance. Responses (from snowball sampling) from individuals who interacted with the NPO's post but did not follow the organization were excluded from the sample. The initial plan was to conduct ten to fifteen in-depth interviews, with the final count remaining flexible to achieve data saturation. The interview

process included specific questions to assess the point of saturation; if responses began to repeat and no new insights emerged, it was taken as an indication that sufficient data had been gathered for analysis (Dumitrica & Pridmore, 2021b, p. 3). Therefore, given that data saturation was reached after 14 interviews and considering the limited time available for recruiting participants, the decision was made to cease further recruitment at this point.

As for the interview process, at the start of the interview, participants were informed that all shared information would be confidential and solely for study purposes. They were made aware of their right to withdraw or skip questions at any point. These precautions helped ensure confidentiality and prevent ethical issues (Brennen, 2017, p. 31). Throughout the interview process, participants had the autonomy to decide how much information they shared and could stop the interview at any time. This approach was designed to reduce the risk of discomfort or distress for the participants. Participants received access to the informed consent form beforehand, and at the beginning of the interviews, the researcher went through this form to ensure it was completely understood. This consent form can be found in the appendices (Appendix B: Consent Form). To provide a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere, as well as an open and conversational ambiance, the researcher was in a neutral and quiet area, and participants were asked to be in similar settings. The interviews were carried out in Dutch, the native language of the participants, facilitating more natural and forthright responses. Before each interview, the researcher introduced themselves. As the researcher is part of the demographic group under study, this introduction helped build trust and ease communication, aiming to encourage a more open and honest interview. Interviews lasted between 45 and 60 minutes and were recorded with a mobile phone after obtaining consent. This length allowed both the researcher and the participants to settle in comfortably. With the interviews being recorded, the researcher was able to devote full attention to the participants, which helped in building trust and rapport (Brennen, 2017). Four interviews were conducted face-to-face, and due to constraints of time and distance, nine interviews were conducted online through Microsoft Teams. Despite the online format, rapport was carefully maintained by beginning sessions with casual conversation, maintaining eye contact through the camera, and actively listening and responding to participants, ensuring a genuine and comfortable interaction environment.

As for the operationalization, data were gathered by identifying motivations for both DA and sustainable support for NPOs. Initially, the underlying reasons for DA were examined, with the three categories of digital activities in mind (low-level engagement activities, medium-level engagement activities, and high-level engagement activities). However, despite initially categorizing DA into three levels of engagement, the study allowed flexibility for respondents to define their own engagement levels by using open-ended questions and follow-up prompts during interviews. This approach enabled a more nuanced understanding of individual engagement with DA and NPOs, providing deeper insights into the motivations behind sustainable support for NPOs. Subsequently, both intrinsic and extrinsic motivations that drive this engagement were explored. Following this, the focus shifted

to understanding the motivations that lead individuals toward sustainable support for NPOs. This phase included investigating participants' interpretations of 'sustainable support' and the personal reasons they believe drive their transition from DA to a more enduring form of support. Furthermore, because there is no single definition of "sustainable support" in the existing literature, this research was particularly interested in observing how participants would define this concept, aiming to offer a more comprehensive perspective on what sustainable support means in the context of activism. These insights were based on the self-reported experiences of young adults, shedding light on their motivations for evolving their DA into sustainable contributions.

From a critical perspective, this data collection method carried potential risks. First of all, there was a risk of not reaching data saturation with the predetermined number of interviews, which might result in a lack of comprehensive data. Additionally, focusing solely on Instagram could have introduced a bias by limiting the diversity of participant perspectives. By only including Instagram users, the study might miss out on the varied views and strategies of those who use other platforms like Twitter or Facebook for DA. This could have skewed the findings to predominantly reflect Instagram's unique dynamics, neglecting broader SM trends.

However, to mitigate this risk, the study also considered direct outreach to potential participants through Instagram's direct messaging as a supplementary recruitment method. The risk of not achieving data saturation with the planned number of interviews was addressed by maintaining flexibility in the number of interviews conducted, ensuring that data collection continued until no new themes emerged. Lastly, it was important to acknowledge the potential bias caused by focusing solely on Instagram as DA is incited in reality via more than one SM platform. This limitation was noted, and findings were interpreted with an understanding that they represent only a segment of the broader DA landscape. This comprehensive approach aimed to leverage the strengths of the proposed strategy while effectively addressing its weaknesses and risks.

3.3 Data Analysis

To analyze the data and address the research question, thematic analysis was employed to examine the interview transcripts. Interviews were transcribed verbatim to ensure every word and significant sounds, such as pauses or expressions of doubt, were captured, as these are crucial for a detailed analysis (Boeije, 2009). Face-to-face interviews were manually transcribed, while online interviews utilized the transcription tool provided by Microsoft Teams. Following transcription, the data were analyzed using Delve software. While prior literature was considered during analysis, there was openness to alternative findings, incorporating an inductive approach while using insights from grounded theory. This approach facilitated an inductive examination of the data, allowing theories to emerge through coding and analysis processes (Glaser, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The focus was on generating theory directly from the data rather than finding and testing existing theories.

The thematic analysis process involved open, axial, and selective coding (Boeije, 2009, pp. 94-121). During the open coding phase, all significant words, segments, and sentences in the transcripts were labeled with codes. Axial coding then focused on comparing these codes to identify similarities and differences, organizing the primary themes and sub-themes. In the selective coding phase, potential relationships between themes were explored, and key patterns within the data were identified (Boeije, 2009, pp. 94-121). These stages facilitated a systematic analysis of the data, identifying patterns or themes that contributed to a deeper understanding of the motivations behind the transition from DA to sustainable support.

Unlike other methods of analysis such as semiotic analysis, which focuses on deconstructing images and moving visuals but falls short when applied to textual data, thematic analysis provided a robust framework for dissecting and understanding the nuanced layers of verbal data (Dumitrica & Pridmore, 2021a). Narrative and discourse analyses offer insightful approaches for delving into linguistic nuances, concentrating on the art of storytelling and the structure of language (Dumitrica & Pridmore, 2021a). However, these methods would not have fully captured the extensive range of recurring themes and patterns (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 56) that have surfaced in the varied experiences and motivations of individuals transitioning from DA to sustainable support for NPOs. Therefore, thematic analysis was considered as the best suitable method for the analysis of this research.

The following section will outline the main themes derived from the analysis, and then discuss the major findings.

Chapter 4: Results

This section presents the results and interpretations of the previously described analysis. The section is structured around three main themes identified from the thematic analysis: the motivations of young adults to engage with and support NPOs, the influence of individual perceptions of NPOs on donor behavior, and the role of engagement levels in determining the extent and nature of support. The following discussion elaborates on these aspects, providing a detailed exploration of each theme.

4.1 Motivations

The questioning of both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations in DA and other forms of support, revealed insights into how participants were driven to engage in social movements within the realm of humanitarian causes. Based on the analysis of the interviews and theoretical framework provided in this research, this section highlights how motivations catalyze participation in social movements, and how these motivations differ and evolve alongside participants' commitment to more sustainable forms of support.

4.1.1 Extrinsic motivations

The influence of NPOs in motivating participants to engage in collective actions is evident through their direct communications of desires and goals, along with solicitations encouraging support for the NPOs' initiatives. Being prompted by humanitarian NPOs, such as calls to action and campaign messages, seems to stimulate the participants to support NPOs with DA or other forms of support. Participants mentioned they might consider monetary support when actively solicited by an NPO to donate. Nora's response to a donation appeal from Amnesty illustrates the impact of such targeted communication:

"If Amnesty posted with a link to donate, about an issue I find very important, I would certainly be open to it, to see if it's worth it. So, I would definitely consider it."

This sentiment is reinforced by eight participants who have made actual donations following SM appeals by NPOs, highlighting the presumable impact that appeals by NPOs have in prompting immediate action, primarily through monetary contributions from participants, as noted in the literature (Bimber, 2017; Neumayr & Handy, 2019).

Online efforts of NPOs trying to enhance donor engagement are seen to effectively complement in-person interactions with NPO recruiters. Three participants were motivated to donate after personal encounters with representatives of NPOs. Yara shared her experience with Amnesty while walking on the street, touched by a cause personally relevant to her:

“I was approached on the street, and it just so happened to be about LGBTQ rights, and someone detained in Iran for being homosexual, which immediately resonated with me, prompting me to donate.”

She demonstrates the impact that personal encounters with NPO representatives can have on potential donors, especially when the cause discussed resonates with them on a personal level. Similarly, Nora decided to donate after a direct appeal because she trusts Amnesty’s established reputation, noting:

“It’s nice that there are organizations like Amnesty, which you trust because you know the name. I wouldn’t just start sending a monthly amount to some other shady organization.”

underscoring how the reputation of an NPO influences the decision to donate, in line with findings by Bimber (2017). The reputation of an NPO can be enhanced through online activities, which will be elaborated on later in this results section.

Secondly, besides solicitation by NPOs for donation and support, social influence within participants’ networks appeared to also play a great role in motivating young adults to support charitable activities, a finding supported by existing literature (Bimber, 2017; Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2017). Six participants noted that encouragement from friends to engage in activities such as protests or donations positively influenced their willingness to support. Yara explains:

“But if I see a friend who believes in the same cause as I do and also wants to act for, say, Palestine, that motivates me to join in.”

Yara illustrates how the visibility of peers engaging in advocacy or fundraising activities seems to serve as a catalyst for others to join in. Participants even expressed that they feel like they can trust the cause more and, therefore, are more inclined to support when seeing friends acting; Luna emphasizes this dynamic,

“When I see that many others are donating and it seems effective, I view it as a reliable source almost subconsciously. If a friend tells me ‘I did this, and they had good results before’... Then I would do it.”

The statement illustrates how peer influence, in the form of direct engagement and positive testimonials about a charity's effectiveness, can boost an individual's trust in and likelihood to support that organization, demonstrating the powerful role of social proof in charitable giving. Encouragement from peers and thereby enhancing trust is in line with literature showing the snowball effect social circles have on motivations for activism (Koc-Michalska & Lilleker, 2017; Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2017).

Thirdly, the motivation to support other people, such as friends or colleagues who are fundraising for charities, underscores the social solidarity found in collective actions, highlighting how personal connections can enhance involvement with NPOs. Diana reflected,

“I donated to someone who swam against Alzheimer’s... I thought it was beautiful to say, ‘Okay, I’m going to do it. I’m going to raise money for this. Let’s go.’ And I wanted to support that.”

Diana's statement highlights how personal connections and witnessing individual commitment to a cause can inspire others to contribute, reinforcing the role of personal relationships and solidarity in motivating charitable support. Diana added,

“The goal is, I can't change the world alone, but if enough people care, like I do, then we can.”

referring to making an impact and emphasizing the importance of showing support for charity causes together with others. Participants expressed a strong belief in the power of collective action to amplify results and achieve substantial change. Eight participants emphasized the importance of acting collectively in charity support efforts. This idea was captured by Roger:

“You share a certain feeling with everyone, and that might be even more important; we stand together for something, and (...) we also try to contribute to the world”

Such shared sentiments seem to mitigate feelings of isolation among young activists and highlight the value of community and collective impact over individual efforts. Two participants mentioned that they feel less alone when knowing others share the same opinion.

Conversely, social visibility and peer observance were noted to have potential drawbacks. Excessive advocacy can be perceived as 'too much.' As indicated by five participants, interpersonal connections within the activism community can sometimes overshadow the specific cause itself. There are concerns about being seen as overwhelming or intrusive, especially when attempting to stimulate support or promote engagement online. Luna states that she follows the SM pages of NPOs and often shares their content because it resonates with her personally; however, she elaborates:

“It's difficult because you're trying to find a balance, especially with your own friends following you... You don't want to constantly bombard them with information or content from those organizations.”

This reflects participants' awareness of their social image and the need to maintain social acceptance, as outlined by Abraham et al. (2022). Being associated with a good cause seems to be favorable, but not past the tipping point of risking becoming a nuisance to others. Additionally, participants noted hesitancy to align with certain causes due to potential backlash or misunderstandings about their positions. This reluctance is especially marked in contentious areas or where personal relationships could be at risk. Alexander explains:

“Although I do support it (the cause), I don't immediately share it because, to be honest, I have certain people in my circle who might not react well to it.”

Alexander's hesitancy to share his support for certain causes, due to potential backlash from his social circle, emphasizes the role of social influence in DA, in line with extrinsic motivations discussed earlier and outlined by Bimber (2017). Unlike the focus on the positive catalyzing effects of social cues, Alexander's statement also highlights how negative social repercussions can inhibit activism, demonstrating the dual influence of social influence in activism.

Overall, young adults' motivation to support NPOs appears to be shaped by their social environments, personal values, and NPO interactions. The findings confirm the theory that extrinsic motivations, such as organizational solicitation and social influence, play pivotal roles in motivating young adults to support NPOs (Bimber, 2017). Furthermore, the findings underscore the power of collective action, potentially being more effective than prompts by organizations. The following section will elaborate on intrinsic motivations.

4.1.2 Intrinsic motivations

In addition to external motivators, intrinsic factors appear to also play a crucial role in shaping young adults' willingness to donate or engage (digitally) in causes. This drive seems to be rooted in their personal values and emotional connections to the issues that resonate with them, as predicted by the literature (Bimber, 2017). Eight participants expressed a strong sense of duty to support societal issues, driven by a moral obligation to act, both digitally and in person. Alexander:

“I feel it's my duty as a human to do as much as possible for something that touches you. So, you know, if that means fundraising, or volunteering, or posting on social media, then I really like doing that.”,

highlighting his deep-rooted commitment because of personal conviction to engage in humanitarian support activism. As Lilleker & Koc-Michalska (2017) describe, this sense of civic duty compels participants to engage out of a desire to make a positive contribution to society. Alexander underscored this notion by stressing the importance of educating others about global issues:

“I share this with the goal of making others aware of what is happening in the world and how serious it (bad things happening in the world) actually is (...) I feel that people, including myself, don't fully realize what a torture it is to live amidst that. And I want to make that clearer.”

This shows how participants have a sense of duty to inform others. James reflects a similar sentiment, feeling compelled to act, particularly because he otherwise feels powerless:

“Yes, I really feel that kind of responsibility to keep sharing, to stay involved, because otherwise, I just feel powerless.”

Additionally, the perceived duty to inform others about injustices or lesser-known truths appears to further motivate respondents' actions. Diana expressed,

“It's really about informing (others), you know. I'm not asking you to change your opinion, because your opinion is your opinion, but to inform that there is another side to the story than what traditional media presents.”,

reflecting on a desire of the respondent not just to share opinions but to offer others alternative perspectives that challenge mainstream narratives, aligning with Suwana's (2020) findings that

emphasize the responsibility to deliver truthful information as a powerful motivator for engaging in DA. Diana also noted the recognition she receives after sharing information online, adding,

“Someone literally said to me, if you hadn’t posted that, I wouldn’t have known, so thanks for that, and you notice that people really appreciate it.”

This statement highlights that sharing alternative perspectives and truthful information is not only a personal duty for the participants but also fosters appreciation and recognition from others, validating the respondent's efforts and highlighting the significance of their DA.

In addition to the sense of duty to inform others, there seems to be a profound sense of duty to create awareness. Six participants expressed that SM facilitates awareness creation for social issues and injustices, as digital platforms enable easy dissemination of information. Isabel highlighted the importance of awareness as the first step in supporting NPOs:

“But I think awareness is the first step.”

Isabel's statement underscores the belief that raising awareness is a crucial initial step in garnering support for NPOs, laying the foundation for further engagement and action. Roger, emphasizing the importance of visibility over personal recognition, states,

“No, that’s not really what I do. I don’t need personal credit.”

Roger's emphasis on visibility over personal recognition links back to the concept of intrinsic motivation, as it highlights his internal drive to create awareness and make a meaningful impact rather than seeking external validation or credit for his efforts (Lilleker & Koc-Michalska, 2017).

Lastly, the desire to make an impact appears to motivate humanitarian activism, driven by both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations. Luna encapsulated this sentiment, saying,

“Many things are close to my heart, so... When I hear a story or know there is injustice somewhere. Then... I want to advocate strongly for it.”

Her statement underscores how a personal connection to a cause fuels intrinsic motivation, demonstrating the profound impact of personal values and emotions in driving passionate advocacy against injustices. Four participants share how they are motivated to make an impact, whether through SM, protests, or monetary donations. Yara also mentioned that she hopes to inspire others to join her advocacy efforts:

“I find it very important, and I just hope to make an impact with it (protesting). So yes, if I go, then I bring someone along, and the ball keeps rolling. Hopefully, more and more people will come. So, you try to just make an impact.”

This shows how participants are eager to make an impact and inspire others to do the same. The personal satisfaction derived from being part of movements or changes is another motivator of humanitarian activism. It appears that participants often feel a sense of fulfillment when their actions contribute to broader societal impacts, confirming that their efforts are worthwhile. Additionally, participants recognized their privileged positions and felt a responsibility to use their resources and

platforms to advocate for minorities, aiming to leverage their influence for the benefit of others. Yara exemplifies:

“We are naturally very privileged in the Netherlands, and we have it very good here. (...) I can't do much about the situation there, but what I can do is let other people know. And maybe you can then motivate someone who does have the influence to actually do something.”

Thus, from the interview it seems that young adults are motivated to engage in advocacy by both intrinsic factors such as personal values and a sense of civic duty, and extrinsic factors like social recognition. This perspective aligns closely with theoretical perspectives by Bimber (2017) and Lilleker & Koc-Michalska (2017), suggesting that DA is driven by both types of motivations. However, the integration of social influences into these intrinsic motivations suggests a more complex interplay between the two. Social dynamics, such as peer behaviors and societal norms, seem to amplify personal motivations.

4.2.3 Other motivations

In addition to extrinsic and intrinsic motivations, young adults highlighted broader societal factors influencing their activism for humanitarian NPOs. This includes the awareness of respondents' digital footprint, as the participants carefully consider the visibility and possible consequences of their online activities. Diana exemplifies:

“I became very aware of my digital footprint because of the protests in Iran, since you fear the long arm. Although I don't think Hamas would do anything to me, it has made me more conscious of it.”

Diana indicates that awareness of digital footprints and potential surveillance can influence participants' online activism, making them more cautious about the content they share and the causes they publicly support. This awareness extends beyond immediate social networks, affecting how activists manage their online personas within the wider societal context. There seem to be concerns about privacy and the impact on their professional lives, exemplified by Diana, who wishes to maintain a neutral online presence:

“I don't want patients to be able to Google me... I need to be as neutral as possible.”

Her statement highlights that concerns about privacy and professional image can drive participants to maintain a neutral online presence, limiting their engagement in online activism to protect their careers.

Furthermore, young adults seem to have a strong desire to influence political systems and leaders, which they see as a way to bring about change beyond personal actions or small-scale movements. They seem to strongly believe in the effectiveness of collective action to start policy changes or highlight important issues within political discussions. Participants appear to be eager to

use the power of large groups to gain substantial support, thus using group dynamics to influence policy and increase political engagement. This belief highlights their dedication to achieving enduring effects through coordinated and strategic collective actions.

In summary, young adults' motivations for supporting humanitarian NPOs seem to extend beyond the primary extrinsic and intrinsic factors discussed earlier. Concerns about social backlash and digital footprint show cautiousness in online activism, while a desire to influence political systems highlights the belief in collective action. These factors build on and expand the theoretical understanding of both extrinsic and intrinsic motivations, highlighting how diverse motivations interact and influence each other.

4.2 NPO perceptions and trust

This section explores how participants' perceptions of trust in NPOs influences their willingness to engage in social movements. Trust in NPOs varies among participants and is shaped by multiple factors, including financial management concerns, NPO size, personal connection to the cause, and media portrayals. These factors influencing trust will be elaborated on in the following sections.

4.2.1 Transparency in financial management

Perceptions of financial management within NPOs seem to impact trust. Participants expressed concerns about fund allocation and utilization, affecting not only the motivations of young adults to be digitally active but also their willingness to provide sustainable support such as financial donations. A majority of participants, eleven in total, expressed criticism concerning the fear that donated funds may not fully reach the intended causes but instead be consumed by administrative costs or mismanagement. Amelia articulated this apprehension,

“But you still have your doubts, so you think, ‘Well okay, I’m giving this money, but is it really going to the right place? Is it really being used properly, or did I just pay for someone’s new car?’”

Her uncertainty about the use of funds reflects a common apprehension among donors that their financial contributions might not be utilized as intended. Similarly, Luna addressed Amnesty’s visibility and questioned the use of donations for marketing instead of directly benefiting the cause, stating,

“Amnesty is very visible, partly because of marketing, I guess. But then I think, yes, I would really find it a waste if that money went into that. I want it to go directly to the cause”,

These concerns about financial transparency often stem from assumptions, as participants find it challenging to trace the origins of their doubts shaped by media exposure, societal narratives, and

personal experiences. Diana, reflecting on her hesitation to donate to NPOs due to past transparency issues in NPO fund reporting, admits,

“But honestly, I can't remember when that (a scandal about financial mismanagement) was or how many years ago, so I think it was a long time ago. Now that I think about it, I really should do some research on it again.”

This exemplifies how past distrust in NPOs can linger and affect perceptions of NPOs. As the literature suggests, moral judgements and perceptions of an NPOs worthiness can influence donation decisions (Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023; Shier & Handy, 2012), underscoring the difficulty in pinpointing and overcoming initial skepticism.

Despite criticisms about the potential misallocation of funds, five participants acknowledged the necessity of operational costs necessary for running NPOs. Roger explained,

“When we're talking about an international charity like Amnesty, there are so many factors involved. And if you have to put a CEO-type person in charge... Yes, you have to pay them like a CEO... (...) is still a business that needs to be efficiently managed.”

indicating that some participants understand and accept the necessity of operational expenses in NPOs. This recognition does not eliminate the demand for more detailed explanations about financial management and outcomes. While some participants acknowledged these expenses, there was a consensus on the need for greater transparency.

Despite ongoing concerns about financial management within NPOs, there seems to be a hopeful sentiment among participants that their contributions positively impact the causes they care about. The belief and hope that NPOs genuinely use the money for intended purposes motivates some participants to continue their support. Mila highlighted this sentiment, saying,

“Ideally, the money should go directly to the cause, (...) But you can't always be 100% sure, and then I am resigned to it just going to the organization.”

This statement underscores an underlying trust in NPOs' intentions, despite reservations about financial transparency.

However, negative perceptions of NPOs, such as the Red Cross, due to financial mismanagement issues led to doubts about these organizations' integrity and influenced support behavior. Amelia shared her perspective on the Red Cross:

“The Red Cross has been embroiled in controversy several times concerning their management and the misdirection of funds. So, to say that I no longer give them money is significant because they are still a charity, but it does make me hesitate.”

This shows how a negative perception of an NPO can lead to doubts about an organization's integrity and influence support behavior.

Thus, financial transparency within NPOs seems to influence donor trust and support behavior. The demand for clarity in how funds are used reflects a broader need among donors for

reassurance that their contributions are making a tangible impact, thereby enhancing their ongoing trust and engagement with the organization.

4.2.2 NPO size

In addition to financial transparency, the size of an NPO appears to influence trust and support behaviors. Nine participants expressed an inclination to trust larger, well-established NPOs like Amnesty International or Doctors Without Borders, perceiving their size and reputation as indicators of reliability and stability, key factors when considering sustainable support like monetary donations. However, opinions differed among participants on whether larger or smaller, community-based groups are more effective in achieving tangible results. This division influences their willingness to extend their activism beyond digital platforms. For example, Amelia prefers a smaller local organization:

“When they are small organizations, they operate locally, like what I said about the Everyday People Foundation, for example. They are really just doing things locally in Rotterdam, and then I think, yes, I could even walk by sometime. To see, hey, what are you doing or are you going to attend an event soon.”

This preference highlights a willingness to engage in physical actions beyond DA for local entities. Conversely, other participants mention the reach larger organizations can have. Nora states:

“I have more trust that they (Amnesty) can really do something about big problems. And then I think about a small organization (...) you are just too small to change even 1% of this.”

This sentiment is shared by nine participants who prefer to support large NPOs due to their established reputations and perceived ability to address complex, global issues. Additionally, some participants perceive larger organizations as more reliable. Yara explains:

“I am more likely to donate to an organization where I am certain the money goes to the right place than to, for example, a small organization where I am not sure.”

This comment underscores the preference for large organizations as participants feel that they can trust larger organizations more. Moreover, Alexander’s trust in Doctors Without Borders is bolstered by its visibility, stating,

“Doctors Without Borders is one of the biggest human rights organizations there is, so it must be doing something right to have such a big name.”

This perspective suggests that the size and visibility of an NPO are associated with positive impact and reliability, encouraging support from participants. These different views among participants illustrate the division among participants. Some see smaller organizations as more capable of immediate, local impact, while others believe that larger organizations are better equipped to address significant global challenges effectively.

Despite the preference of some participants for large NPOs, smaller organizations seem to be valued for their local impact and direct community connections. Six participants believed their contributions to smaller organizations have more visible and immediate effects. Diana shared,

“I am more inclined to actively participate in smaller organizations”,

emphasizing her preference for engaging beyond just DA due to the tangible impact and direct involvement she believes is offered by small organizations.

However, both large and small NPOs face criticism. Smaller NPOs face criticism for perceived transparency issues and potential corruption, with concerns that they may lack robust systems for fund management. For example, Roger noted:

“I think that small businesses are set up more quickly for personal gain”,

reflecting on a common skepticism toward smaller NPOs. Conversely, larger organizations are sometimes viewed as too bureaucratic, with high administrative costs. Diana expressed:

“With a large organization, I'm always afraid that it goes to administration... Yes, staff need to be paid, but I wouldn't necessarily want 90% to go to staff and only 1% to where it needs to be.”

Diana expressed specific concerns about large organizations, indicating that larger organizations tend to have higher administrative costs compared to smaller organizations.

Overall, participants expressed mixed preferences for large versus small NPOs, influenced by perceptions of each type's effectiveness and reliability. While some participants appreciate the direct, local impact of smaller organizations, others trust larger NPOs for their capacity to address global issues. It seems like participants' preferences for NPOs were shaped primarily by their perceptions trustworthiness of the NPO, rather than its size, aligning with the literature suggesting that perceived trustworthiness plays a role in influencing young adults' support behavior (Hassan et al., 2018; Venable et al., 2005)

4.2.3 Personal connection to cause

As touched upon earlier in the results section, personal connections and experiences with NPOs shape participants' motivations and trust levels. When participants feel that a cause aligns with their beliefs, their trust in the NPOs promoting these causes seems to increase. James, for instance, appreciated NPOs that invest in education and manage projects directly, stating,

“Well, just that they invest in education and not that they manage and do it themselves. And I ultimately believe in education and training... So that kind of approach, I just support it.”

James' view highlights how alignment between personal values and an NPO's causes enhances trust and support, aligning with the theory suggesting that personal connections with a cause can lead to more active and meaningful contributions (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022).

The cause itself seems to be crucial to determine monetary support. Participants often trust causes that resonate with their personal values or address issues they find particularly pressing, relating to the intrinsic motivations for support and leading to a stronger desire to contribute. Roger exemplifies:

“That (the cause) is the first thing that triggers me... So that is very important... Even though I know it (the money donated) might not all go there (to the cause), that is what makes you take action, maybe a personal connection or something that touches or something... That you can relate to indirectly. That’s the first reason you think, okay, you know what? I’ll donate this time.”

Conversely, some participants prioritize the credibility of the NPOs over the cause itself, suggesting that while personal connection to the cause is important, the reputation of an NPO can also be a decisive factor. This shows that motivations can vary widely, with organizational trust sometimes outweighing the specific appeal of a cause.

Furthermore, it seems like participants *want* to trust NPOs. They hope their contributions are effectively utilized, even if the results are not immediately visible. This desire to trust reflects a deeper need to believe in the positive impact of their donations. Alexander summed it up by saying,

“I just trust them because I want to trust them.”

This illustrates that participants are inclined to give NPOs the benefit of the doubt, emphasizing that their need for trust is tied not only to the effectiveness of their donations but also to a broader desire to believe in their impact.

Perceptions of the specific NPOs researched in this study —Amnesty International and Doctors Without Borders—seem to influence the participants’ willingness to support these organizations, both online and offline. Participants expressed trust and admiration for both organizations, not only because of their global impacts but also for their perceived approaches to transparency and engagement. Diana, aspiring to enter the medical field, states:

“I find Doctors Without Borders very inspiring because, well, in a year and a half I’ll be a medic myself, so it’s cool to see colleagues, well, see myself sacrificing, not physically hopefully, but in a social sense, just giving everything for a better society, so I find that especially inspiring to see.”

This feeling of admiration, shared by other participants, appears to stem from personal connections to the work of the organization. Seven respondents noted that Amnesty effectively uses media to bring attention to issues often overlooked by traditional news outlets. Daisy observed:

“Amnesty really posts about problems in the world. So, I think they post things that are more relevant than NOS (a Dutch news channel). And NOS, they are always very selective about what they choose to talk about, but Amnesty consistently tells about the whole world.”

highlighting how Amnesty’s effort of highlighting under-reported stories is valued by the participants.

While participants recognize other NPOs, such as Plant een Olijfboom, for their contributions to raising awareness, Amnesty seems to be seen as the most proficient in leveraging media to create awareness. Additionally, participants recognized the transparency of Amnesty. Amelia pointed out,

“If you visit Amnesty’s website, they present a clear overview of their finances, reports, and annual summaries. By dedicating time and attention, you can see exactly what they have accomplished over the year, including financial inflows and outflows.”,

showing how participants notice the transparency of the organizations. Such transparency reassured the participants about the integrity and impact of their contributions.

Doctors Without Borders seems to garner trust through its direct medical interventions in crisis zones, with its rapid response to emergencies emphasizing its critical role in global health.

James trusts the organization, stating,

“Doctors Without Borders is just a very legitimate organization. (...) I also have a lot of trust in it. It's such a... As far as I know, it's a noble organization in the field of healthcare, with professionals who work all over the world, so I just have confidence in them.”

This statement highlights how participants see Doctors Without Borders and how that influences their trust in the organization. The dedication and personal sacrifices of Doctors Without Borders' staff also inspired participants. Diana, aspiring to enter the medical field, remarked,

“Doctors Without Borders is very inspiring because I see myself, hopefully not sacrificing in a physical sense but in a social sense, just giving everything for a better society.”

Diana's admiration for Doctors Without Borders reflects a broader sentiment among participants who value the organization's commitment to global health crises.

While both Amnesty and Doctors Without Borders receive substantial trust and support, there were occasional criticisms about unclear communications, particularly concerning the specific uses of donations as highlighted earlier in the results section. Nevertheless, the overall perceptions of these NPOs remains positive, largely due to NPOs proven track records and transparent operations. The level of trust and the emotional engagement these organizations foster are crucial for sustaining long-term support and advocacy from their global donor bases.

Overall, the personal connection to a cause seems to influence trust and support behavior towards NPOs. Participants demonstrated that when a cause aligns with their personal beliefs and values, their trust in the NPO promoting the causes increases, thereby enhancing their willingness to contribute. Participants' admiration for NPOs' transparent practices and their effective use of media to highlight under-reported issues reinforce the literature on the importance of integrity and personal connection in motivating donations (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022).

4.2.4 Communication strategies

Effective communication strategies and media representation seem to influence trust in NPOs and consequently impact support behavior. NPO strategies, such as those employed by Amnesty and Doctors Without Borders, can be reinforced by regular updates via mail or email, detailing what has been achieved with donor funds. Such communications reassure participants about the usefulness of their contributions. Yara exemplifies:

“I also receive letters every month from Save the Children and Doctors Without Borders. (...) so that also motivates someone to think, ‘Okay, this is why you donate in the first place and to keep doing it.’”

illustrating that transparency communication about the use of funds can bolster ongoing donor support by aligning with young people's desire for tangible outcomes and insights into the impact of their donations, as discussed in the literature (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022; Shier & Handy, 2012).

The online presence of organizations such as Amnesty and Doctors Without Borders on SM, where they show consistent and transparent communication, appears to enhance their credibility and reinforces the participants' willingness to support them. These practices seem to strengthen donor commitment by affirming the value and effectiveness of their support. According to five participants, a primary reason for following NPOs on SM is these organizations' ability to highlight more issues than seen in traditional media. This perception positions NPOs as more credible and reliable sources of information, thereby bolstering their overall credibility. According to the literature, the perceived integrity influences donation behavior (Gregory et al., 2020; Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023), with positive perceptions positively influencing the likelihood to donate (Shier & Handy, 2012). However, this sense of trust can be compromised by negative reports about NPOs circulating on SM or shared through word-of-mouth, such as allegations of corruption within these organizations. The impact of such reports is profound, causing participants to hesitate about their support for these organizations. Xena expressed this concern about a specific NPO, stating,

“I do know about Red Cross too that once I saw an overview of all the charities in the Netherlands and how much money went to those directors.”

showing concern about the operational expenses of NPOs after seeing a report detailing the salaries of directors at various Dutch charities. Such concerns about the perceived integrity of NPOs could negatively influence donation behavior.

Overall, the findings highlight that perceived transparency influences donor trust and behavior, aligning with literature on the importance of NPO transparency (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022; Shier & Handy, 2012). Regular updates from NPOs that demonstrate how donations are used can reassure participants about the effectiveness of their support, encouraging ongoing support. This focus on transparency plays a crucial role in shaping young adults' perceptions of NPOs.

4.3 Engagement levels of support

The exploration of engagement levels highlights how participants value various forms of support, revealing a dynamic interplay between monetary donations, the significance of DA, and other non-monetary supports like volunteering and community involvement. These insights underscore a growing recognition of diverse support mechanisms beyond financial contributions.

4.3.1 Monetary support

Monetary donations were recognized as a crucial form of support for NPOs, with both one-time and recurring donations commonly made by participants to support various causes. Six participants acknowledged the necessity of financial contributions for NPOs to effectively pursue their missions. Amelia highlighted the significance of monetary support by stating,

“If you really want to do something, like setting up a water well, for example, you need the money for it. Awareness is important, but carrying out such tasks also demands financial resources.”

Amelia's statement underscores the essential role of monetary donations in enabling NPOs to execute tangible projects and initiatives. When asking how she sees money in comparison to other types of support, she further emphasized the pivotal role of monetary support by explaining,

“I think it's the most important thing, because money makes the world go round. (...) You can ask many people to help engage their network, but at some point, you reach a point where the volunteers or the people, your direct network, are done spending their time and then you must take a step to do something different (...) So, money is always important.”

Amelia's statement highlights the fundamental nature of monetary support, asserting that while volunteer efforts are crucial, financial resources are ultimately necessary to achieve significant organizational goals and expand reach.

While recognizing the importance of financial donations, participants also discussed the constraints of personal financial management that influence their ability to donate. Many, especially younger participants and students, approach donations with caution, prioritizing personal financial stability and personal budgets over immediate charitable contributions. Alexander remarked,

“I don't donate money if I know I can't spare it. So, if my salary is deposited and I see I have some left over, then sure, I'll donate a bit.”

This cautious approach underscores a prevalent concern among participants about balancing personal financial matters with the desire to contribute.

Although financial contributions are seen as essential, they seem to be just one aspect of support NPOs require, as highlighted in the literature (Parsons, 2003; Weerawardena et al., 2010; Wellens & Jegers, 2014). The subsequent discussion will explore other forms of support that participants see as equally vital or even more crucial for achieving charitable objectives.

4.3.2 Perceived importance of DA

Besides monetary contributions, participants emphasize the significance of DA in supporting NPOs. Leveraging digital platforms for raising awareness and advocating for causes is seen as a powerful and accessible method for mobilization and engagement for social change, as highlighted in the literature (George & Leidner, 2019; McCaughey & Ayers, 2013). Alexander highlights the ease and broad reach of DA, saying,

“I think I really support asking for information or attention digitally about a certain issue, because I think it's literally something everyone can do; you don't need money for it, you don't need a lot of time. It's done with just a few clicks, and you can ultimately reach the most people with it.”

His statement underscores the efficiency and inclusiveness of DA, highlighting its ability to engage a broad audience quickly and with minimal resources.

It seems like participants see sustainable support as regularly creating awareness for human rights NPOs, with DA playing a crucial role. Mila illustrates:

“When you talk about sustainable support, liking and sharing content, then I think sharing maybe even more than just liking, is also important if you do it regularly. Because yes, by doing so you increase the reach of the organization.”

Mila shares a common understanding among participants that DA plays an important role in creating awareness and therefore provides sustainable support for NPOs. This perspective is shared by Yara, when being asked what she sees as sustainable support, she underscores the significance of SM:

“Yes, I really think it's about creating awareness, and that is by sharing on social media.”

Mila and Yara's perspectives underscore the importance participants place on digital actions for creating awareness and thus fostering sustainable support for NPOs. Specifically, the act of sharing and liking content, as in the literature described as low-level engagement activities (George & Leidner, 2019), is seen as important to create awareness. As participants have noted, the ability to quickly create support bases via digital means is seen as sustainable and increasingly relevant.

“I think that (DA) is definitely sustainable. I think social media is being used more and more, right? And the more people use it, the more people you can reach, and that is the whole goal of sharing something on social media.”

Alexander notes, emphasizing the critical role of digital platforms in enhancing the visibility of NPOs' messages and campaigns. His statement emphasizes the growing reliance on DA as a sustainable tool for NPOs for ongoing engagement and support, highlighting its scalability and effectiveness in reaching wide audiences.

Additionally, participants seem to recognize the constraints of physical activism due to busy schedules. The ease, speed, and cost-effectiveness of online platforms make DA not just an alternative, but often a primary strategy. Diana explains,

“I think that nowadays it is important to be digitally active (...) I think that's actually the protest of 2024.”

underscoring how DA is seen as the new form of protest and shared by the majority of participants, eleven in total, underscoring the efficiency and broad impact of digital engagements.

In summary, participants seem to see DA as a key strategy for supporting NPOs due to its accessibility and broad reach. This perspective aligns with the literature, emphasizing how digital tools and platforms enhance the scope and inclusivity of activism efforts (George & Leidner, 2019; McCaughey & Ayers, 2013). Contrary to traditional views that equate sustainable support with monetary contributions or volunteering (Kumar & Chakrabarti, 2023; Weisbrod & Dominguez, 1986), findings from this study challenge these views. Echoing insights that digital platforms are reshaping traditional activism (Saxton & Wang, 2014), young adults increasingly recognize online actions—such as likes and shares—as a viable form of sustainable support. However, despite some recent research indicating that increased visibility from DA activities can boost donor interest and fundraising revenues (Haruvy & Popkowski Leszczyc, 2024, p. 55), the true impact of these digital engagements on NPOs remains questionable and needs further exploration.

4.3.3 Other types of support

Exploring the significance of non-monetary support, participants highlighted the impact of engaging in community initiatives and volunteering, extending the scope of support beyond mere financial contributions or DA. Participants seem to feel this engagement not only addresses the immediate needs of charitable causes, but also fosters deeper personal connections and strengthens community ties. Thomas captures the essence of physical involvement in supporting causes, stating:

“I think physically you often immediately notice and see your target group, and you can really feel the impact you're making more than with just a post. (...) when you see people, come to an activity, join in a discussion, then you realize, oh, you really feel the impact more.”

Thomas's statement highlights how participants value physical engagement in charitable activities as it addresses immediate community needs which they find important. Participants mentioned a variety of involvement with local community centers, such as mosques, and student associations, hosting social activities for youth and organizing fundraisers for both local and international needs. The consensus among participants is that time can be as valuable as money. Amelia noted,

“If there are people willing to dedicate their time—whether it's an hour or two a week, a month, or even a quarter—I think you can make significant progress. It doesn't always have to be about money.”

This perspective reflects a shared belief among participants that dedicating time to community-driven activities is a potent form of support, often equating to or surpassing the value of monetary donations.

Participants mention that merely creating awareness through digital media is not sufficient. They appear to believe that more tangible actions, such as volunteering and protesting, are necessary to raise public awareness. Participants expressed a preference for contributing physically over financial donations. Diana explained,

“It sounds silly because your time is also valuable, but because it's money and it's physical, you tend to think more carefully about whether you should really do it. But with volunteering, it's just your time. (...) So, because it's not as tangible as money, I think I would be less critical and more likely to think, 'Oh, it's for a good cause, let's volunteer.’”

This highlights the tangible benefits of direct involvement which often provides immediate feedback on the effectiveness of efforts, a dynamic that is seen as not always present in online interactions.

Moreover, engaging in political advocacy through petitions and organizing physical protests is seen as a powerful way to effect change, emphasizing the impact of collective action in policy influence. These physical forms of support not only provide tangible benefits but also allow participants to see the direct impact of their efforts, enriching their engagement and commitment to the causes they support.

To conclude, participants seem to view volunteering, protesting, and signing petitions as other forms of support that offer more tangible benefits than digital interactions or monetary support. They seem to appreciate the deeper connections fostered through physical activities. These forms of engagement, also enhance community cohesion and provide tangible feedback on the effectiveness of their efforts, aligning with medium-level engagement activities that require a more substantial commitment and can have more direct impacts, as discussed in the literature (George & Leidner, 2019; Ozkula, 2021; Rogers et al., 2018).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The aim of this research was to explore the motivations driving young adults from DA to committed support for human rights NPOs. This topic was chosen due to gaps in the existing literature regarding motivations for supporting human rights initiatives, which predominantly employ quantitative methods that often overlook deeper motivational nuances. By understanding these motivations through qualitative analysis, the study aimed to provide strategic insights to NPOs on engaging younger generations effectively, enhancing their resource mobilization and ensuring long-term sustainability of support. This is especially pertinent as NPOs face increased financial uncertainties and competition for funding (LeRoux, 2005), necessitating innovative approaches to attract and retain young, digitally-engaged supporters. Considering the above, this research proposed the following research question: *"What motivates young adults to transition from digital activism to sustainable support for human rights non-profit organizations?"* The findings presented in Chapter 4, framed by a theoretical foundation laid in Chapter 2, provided clear answers, and contributed to a deeper understanding of motivations of young adults for human rights advocacy.

The main findings of this study reveal that young adults' motivations to support humanitarian causes are shaped by a blend of extrinsic and intrinsic factors. Moreover, perceptions of the trustworthiness of NPOs impact young adults' support behavior. Additionally, the results challenge conventional views on sustainable support by highlighting a broader understanding that emphasizes a trend towards online activism, positioning digital actions as fundamental rather than supplementary to enduring engagement strategies.

First of all, the findings of this study suggest rethinking how sustainable support is conceptualized within the context of DA. Traditionally, sustainable support has been equated with financial contributions and volunteer commitments. However, findings reveal that young adults view sustainable support not just as ongoing monetary donations but also as continuous digital engagement—such as sharing, liking, and posting about NPO activities. Young adults are redefining sustainable support in ways that emphasize flexibility, inclusivity, and continuous engagement. For them, sustainability means maintaining a consistent advocacy presence that can adapt to the changing dynamics of digital platforms and the shifting priorities of their own lives. This includes a preference for smaller, regular actions that can be integrated into their daily digital interactions, such as sharing posts, participating in online discussions, and digitally promoting fundraising events, which are seen as feasible and effective ways to support causes they care about. This view includes a digital presence of young adults trying to create awareness about issues they care about, challenging traditional notions that view physical presence and financial contributions as the primary means of support. This expanded interpretation of sustainable support hints upon a shift towards a more online activism, in line with the literature (George & Leidner, 2019; Saxton & Wang, 2014), where digital actions are not merely supplementary but central to sustained engagement strategies. Moreover, the research

highlights a growing recognition among young adults of the power of digital tools in not only informing the public and advocating for specific causes but also building and sustaining a community of support around specific causes. This suggests that NPOs need to think differently about volunteer engagement and donor strategies, considering how digital tools can foster long-term relationships with supporters in ways that go beyond traditional face-to-face or financial interactions.

Considering this broader interpretation of sustainable support, the results underscore the role of extrinsic motivations in driving both immediate engagement in DA and fostering a transition towards more sustainable forms of support. While extrinsic motivations such as organization-prompted behaviors are effective in mobilizing short-term actions through direct appeals, the sustainability of support hinges on the continued trust and transparency of the organizations involved. Similarly, socially prompted behaviors can trigger quick participatory actions influenced by peer dynamics; however, enduring participation seems to require ongoing positive reinforcement and visible effectiveness of collective efforts. The effectiveness of NPOs' communication strategies—particularly through SM—plays a critical role in mobilizing support. This aligns with theoretical expectations that digital platforms can amplify calls to action and facilitate broader participation in activism (George & Leidner, 2019, p. 4; McCaughey & Ayers, 2013, p. 1). Intrinsically, young adults are driven by a sense of moral duty and a commitment to effect social change. This intrinsic drive is often strengthened by personal connections to the causes, reinforcing the theoretical perspective that personal engagement and emotional resonance are pivotal in transitioning supporters from DA to committed activists and donors. Interestingly, the findings extend existing literature by demonstrating how intrinsic and extrinsic motivations are not isolated but interact dynamically. Young adults' decisions to support NPOs are influenced by a blend of both motivation types, suggesting a more complex interplay than what might be delineated in the theoretical framework.

Additionally, the findings from this study show the complex interplay between young adults' perceptions of the trustworthiness of NPOs and their willingness to provide sustainable support. Consistent with prior research, this study confirms that trust and transparency are pivotal in influencing young adults' decisions to engage with and support NPOs. The importance of transparent communication and the visibility of NPO operations supports theories that assert the critical role of perceived integrity in motivating donors (Gregory et al., 2020; Shier & Handy, 2012). Similarly, the findings corroborate that young adults are particularly sensitive to how NPOs manage their funds and communicate their impact, aligning with the notion that young donors prioritize tangible results and a clear understanding of how their contributions are utilized (Konstantinou & Jones, 2022). However, the study also reveals a more nuanced view of how NPO size and specific organizational attributes influence donor behavior, which is not as prominently discussed in existing literature. The preference for larger, well-established NPOs over smaller ones is often due to their perceived trustworthiness and reliability, reinforcing the theory that emphasizes the importance of transparency and integrity in shaping donor preferences.

To conclude, this study reveals that the motivations for young adults to transition from DA to sustainable support for human rights NPOs are diverse and evolving. Young adults are redefining sustainable support beyond traditional financial contributions to include ongoing digital engagements such as sharing, liking, and posting about NPO activities. These digital actions are considered both more feasible and impactful. The findings emphasize the importance of extrinsic and intrinsic motivations, where personal connections to causes and organization-prompted behaviors drive engagement. Trust, transparency, and effective communication are crucial in mobilizing support, suggesting that NPOs need to leverage digital tools strategically to build lasting relationships and maintain an inclusive and consistent advocacy presence. This broader interpretation of sustainable support suggests NPOs should adapt their strategies to harness the power of digital engagement for long-term support.

5.1 Limitations

As this research analyzed the motivations and perceptions of young adults, one main limitation of this study is its reliance on a single researcher's interpretation of qualitative data derived from interviews. Although efforts were made to mitigate this through the consideration of existing theory, the subjective nature of qualitative analysis means that interpretations could vary with different researchers. This subjectivity could potentially influence the conclusions drawn about the motivations and behaviors of the participants. However, this variability was mitigated by adhering to a clear methodological approach, including the use of thematic codes considering the theoretical framework during the analysis phase, which helped standardize the interpretation of data and minimize subjective bias.

Furthermore, the study's scope is another limitation. The sample size, while providing valuable insights, consisted of a limited number of 14 participants, which might not fully represent the broader population of young adults. Thus, the findings should be considered as indicative rather than definitive, and additional studies involving larger and more diverse samples are recommended to validate these results.

Additionally, the findings and conclusions are based on participants' personal perceptions and motivations, which can vary between participants, as each person may interpret and articulate their motivations in line with their own biases and experiences. This self-reporting aspect can skew the data towards more socially desirable answers or reflect participants' idealized versions of their behavior and motivations. This can limit the accuracy and reliability of the findings, as self-confirmation bias may lead to a distorted portrayal of actual motivations and behaviors.

Moreover, it is also important to consider the practical implications of viewing DA as sustainable support. While the research highlights young adults' preference for digital engagement, there remains a question about its realistic benefit for NPOs in terms of tangible support such as

funding and volunteer work. The assumption that digital engagement equates to sustainable support might not align with the operational needs and strategic goals of NPOs, which often rely on more tangible contributions to meet their objectives and sustain their initiatives (LeRoux, 2005). Additionally, this interpretation should be approached with caution due to the study's limited sample size, which may be too small to confidently generalize findings and may also introduce bias in interpreting the effectiveness of digital engagement as sustainable support.

Lastly, while the qualitative methods employed were suited to the exploratory nature of this research, they limited the generalizability of the findings. The conclusions drawn are context-specific and may not necessarily apply to other settings or populations. Future research could benefit from incorporating mixed methods to test the theories developed here and enhance the generalizability of the findings across different contexts and demographics.

5.2 Implications for future research

This research has made several contributions in understanding and offering practical insights for social application, particularly in how NPOs engage with young adults. It enriches literature by challenging traditional views on sustainable support, considering how digital tools can foster long-term relationships with supporters in ways that go beyond traditional face-to-face or financial interactions. This suggests that NPOs need to think differently about donor strategies and how to motivate sustainable support. Despite these insights, this study uncovers several possibilities for future research that are crucial for understanding motivations for humanitarian support advocacy and understanding and improving NPO strategies.

Firstly, further research is needed to explore the effectiveness of different digital communication strategies employed by NPOs. It would be beneficial to assess which types of digital content (i.e. emotional, informational, or calls-to-action) most effectively translate online engagement into sustained support and financial contributions, comparing the impacts of various digital strategies across different NPOs. Exploring such nuances could enable NPOs to craft more targeted, effective digital campaigns that resonate with the evolving expectations and preferences of younger demographics and motivate more sustainable support.

Secondly, the implications of different organizational characteristics on young adults' perceptions and support behaviors invite more detailed examination. Future studies could compare how the size and reputation of an NPO influence trust and commitment among young donors. This detailed exploration is crucial as the relationship between these organizational characteristics and donor behavior has been established in the research, but the underlying processes remain to be fully understood. It would be particularly interesting to see whether smaller, local NPOs can leverage their community-based focus to engage young adults more effectively than larger, more established organizations.

Moreover, a comparative analysis between different NPOs could examine how brand image and perceptions beyond the NPO size influence donor behavior and motivations for sustainable support. Understanding the role of brand perception in motivating donor behavior could help tailor more effective engagement strategies tailored to different demographic segments, further enriching the literature on NPO strategies and donor behavior dynamics.

Finally, this study's new perspective on sustainable support suggests that future research should delve deeper into the multifaceted ways young adults engage with NPOs. For instance, further studies could continue to explore how young adults understand sustainable support. This would provide richer insights into the psychological and social drivers behind their commitments. Such insights could help NPOs to tailor their strategies more precisely, enhancing engagement and fostering deeper connections with younger demographics to motivate more sustainable support.

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Appendix A: Interview Guide

Introduction

1. Introduction of researcher and the research topic
2. Explanation of the purpose of the study and the interview.
3. Discuss the informed consent form and confidentiality of the responses.

Demographic questions

1. What is your age?
2. What is your gender?
3. Where do you live?

Introductory Questions

1. Could you tell me a little about yourself, such as your interests or what you're passionate about?
2. Are there any NPOs you currently follow or support? If so, which ones, and what drew you to them?
3. What social media platforms do you use most frequently? How do you typically engage with NPOs or causes you care about on these platforms? Focus on Instagram.

Section 1: Digital activism

1. How would you describe digital activism based on your understanding and experiences?
2. Can you share any specific actions you've taken that you consider to be part of digital activism? For example, online petitions, social media campaigns, or any form of e-funding?
3. Why are you digitally active?
4. What are particular causes or events that inspired you?
5. What message are you trying to convey through being digitally active?
6. What impact do you hope this will have?
7. Can you think of any examples where digital activism led to tangible outcomes?

Section 2: Digital activism for NPOs

1. Could you describe your involvement with human rights NPOs through Instagram?
2. How would you evaluate how NPOs use digital platforms to promote their causes and engage with supporters?
3. What are specific types of content from NPOs that you find more compelling or motivating than others? What makes this content stand out for you?

4. Can you share how an NPO's digital campaign or initiative influenced your own activism behaviors or beliefs?

Section 3: Donor behavior

1. In what ways have you supported NPOs?
2. Have you ever interacted with NPOs on SM and then decided to take *an extra step* for that NPO? Please elaborate.
3. What motivated you to support? (Focus on aspects like the organization's integrity, the impact of your contribution, or social recognition)
4. What factors made you doubt about your decision to give support?
5. Have you ever donated money to a human rights NPO? Why or why not?

Section 4: Sustainable Support for NPOs

1. In what ways, besides donating money, have you ever supported NPOs?
2. In your opinion, what ways of support would be valuable for an NPO? Have you participated in any such activities?
3. What does long-term commitment to an NPO look like to you?
4. How would you define sustainable support for an NPO?
5. In your opinion, what encourages individuals to transition from digital activism to more sustained forms of support like regular volunteering or donating money?
6. How do you think NPOs can better facilitate this transition for others like you?

Closing

4. Offer the participant the opportunity to share any additional thoughts or experiences related to the topics discussed.
5. Thank the participant for their time and contribution to the study.
6. Explain the next steps in the research process and how the information will be used.

Appendix B: Participant Overview

Name (Pseudonym)	Gender	Age	Date interviewed
Diana	Female	27	23 March
Luna	Female	28	25 March
Amelia	Female	30	26 March
Mila	Female	29	2 April
Xena	Female	35	3 April
Yara	Female	21	4 April
James	Male	29	5 April
Irene	Female	25	10 April
Freya	Female	26	10 April
Nora	Female	27	12 April
Thomas	Male	20	21 April
Alexander	Male	22	29 April
Roger	Male	31	4 May
Daisy	Female	24	5 May

Table 1 - Participant overview

Appendix C: List of Abbreviations

DA	Digital activism
NPO	Non-profit organizations
SM	Social media

Table 2 – List of abbreviations

Appendix D: Codebook

Selective code	Axial Code	Open code	Example
Motivations	Intrinsic motivations	Intrinsic	"... For me, it really comes more intrinsically, I think. Well, I don't think that for me it's just really intrinsic motivation." (Daisy)
		Feeling of duty	"I feel it's my duty as a human to do as much as possible for something that touches you. So you know, if that means fundraising, or volunteering, or posting on social media, then I really like doing that, you know what I mean?" (James)
		Wanting to make an impact	"Yes, because I just find it very important once again, and I just hope to still make an impact with that." (Yara)
		Wanting to inform others	"I just share the information that I think, look, this is important and this can do something to you. And then I just hope that people will want to do something with it themselves." (Yara)
		Gratitude after informing	"Yes, so when Masha Amini happened, I posted a lot, including things that were not highlighted in traditional media. And then literally someone told me, 'If you hadn't posted that, I wouldn't have known, so thanks for that.' And from that, you also notice that people really appreciate it." (Diana)
		Topic feeling personal	"But it personally affects me more than certain other topics. Because I deal with it in everyday life." (Nora)
		Not needing incentive	"And thinking like, 'oh, I donate now to charity', because I'm now thinking, yes, the material costs of the bracelet are already so many euros... I would now be more inclined to donate, I think. And not that I want something in return." (Diana)
		Creating awareness important	"But there, we place shoes representing the murdered children in Palestine by the Israeli occupation, and we put them down to create images. To show how many have died on the Palestinian side. Yes, to raise awareness." (Xena)
		Helping others	"Well, what motivates me is just being able to do something for someone else. It's just a small effort." (Daisy)

		Minorities	“She also gets a lot of money from everyone, so then I'd rather pay for real minorities” (Daisy)
		Little effort	“ell, signing petitions I find to be a very small effort and I think, yeah, why wouldn't you do it? Because it's such a small effort and if it makes a difference, then it has really cost me just 3 seconds of my day, so to speak, so I almost feel like you should think, 'Yeah, why not?’” (Mila)
		Priviledges	“Because yes, we are of course very privileged in the Netherlands and we have it really good here. And I think it's important that people also realize that things are not going well in other places...” (Yara)
		Sharing when personal connection	“Yes, so what I do is, well, I have gone to demonstrations. Yes, I follow them, I share content from their pages at the moment I think, okay, this is something that is close to my heart.” (Luna)
		Personal satisfaction	“So physical activity has more factors that give you satisfaction than donating money, I think.” (Thomas)
		Motivating others to donate	“People with whom I feel comfortable, so family, friends, I can certainly say: hey, listen. Our mosque is organizing this and that, donate a bit...” (Alexander)
	Extrinsic	Opinion others	“So I do care about what they think, I mean, for instance, I find it important what my partner thinks, but. Yes, I try to form my opinion as independently as possible.” (Mila)
		Motivated by others	“Yes, but I must say, I, I am never the one who seeks out the protests. I just get taken along and then it's like, if friends are going, it's natural. You're together then.” (Roger)
		Being asked to participate	“Well, because you are literally asked for your participation.” (Daisy)
		Feeling less lonely because others share same opinion	“Also, just that you notice that many other people share your opinion, so you don't feel so... yes, it just feels less alone or something.” (Diana)
		Cause doesn't matter if friend	“No, because then it's just a friend of mine who just has a... He chose the goal himself. He must have done it with care. It's also a bit to support those friends.” (Daisy)
		Making a difference together	“... because often on Instagram you also see that your friends have

			participated in it. That also gives us a kind of solidarity or something among each other. We all stand behind this issue and we want change” (Alexander)
		To be found annoying	“If I hear a story or know that injustice is being done somewhere. Then... I want to stand up for it. But I don't want to burden other people with it, because I've also realized that not everyone feels the same way” (Luna)
		More inclined to donate when friend	“But yes, with close ones, yes, if people in my immediate surroundings were doing it... Then I trust them...” (Roger)
		Donating to friends	“Yes, definitely. Also people who, for example, ran so many kilometers to support a good cause. Several of my colleagues have done that.” (Nora)
		Street recruiters	“Well, I was once approached on the street by someone who, you know, what do you call that, yes, asked if I wanted to do that. Who pitched it, and. Yes, I just thought, why not, honestly.” (Daisy)
	Other motivations	Not wanting to be associated	“Yes, I do think that other topics, such as how... How people are treated based on a certain sexual orientation. Even though I support it, I think to myself that I don't share it just like that, because if I'm very honest. I have certain people in my circle who might not react well to it, but also because I think that. There are maybe enough other people who do support it. If you know what I mean.” (Alexander)
		Awareness of digital footprint	“...And that I always made sure to check if it could be done in complete anonymity. But you often notice with the bigger issues that you also have to protect your own safety.” (Luna)
		Pressure of politics	“How I see it, is that we can then put more pressure on politics together. Because then you create enough support. You could potentially start a petition for parliamentary questions, to get it on the agenda. That's ultimately what it's about.” (Diana)
		Your voice being heard	“Yes, sometimes it's just about making your voice heard.” (Freya)
NPO perception	Trust	Negative news about NPOs	“Of course, there are some, like the Red Cross. It has been embroiled in controversy a few times over the management they had and that the

			money did not go in the right direction.” (Amelia)
		NPOs highlighting more than traditional media	“Yes, actually, they show beyond the standard image portrayed by the media, they also show a very real and often raw picture of the situation, making it less sugar-coated, as is done in the news.” (Freya)
		Want to trust	“I just trust Doctors Without Borders. Yes, I don't know, maybe, I just trust them because maybe I want to trust them” (Alexander)
		Trust in the cause	“Well, so just that they invest in education and not that they manage and do it themselves. And I ultimately believe in education and training, those kinds of things.” (James)
		Belief in NPO	“Because sometimes a cause comes along that touches you so deeply, or they have such a good story or campaign, that you really think, yes, you know, look, I also believe in, for example, Amnesty International, I really believe in it already.” (Amelia)
		Trust if personal	“So if she says, 'Hey, we want to collect something for those people and it goes through this and that person and through all sorts of people I know,' then I also know 100% for sure that it will end up in the right place.” (Alexander)
	Money	Criticism about money use NPOs	“But I do know about the Red Cross that there was once a time I saw an overview of all the charities in the Netherlands and how much money went to those directors.” (Xena)
		Hope money is used good	“My intention is just to make a contribution. I donate an amount and hope that it goes to the right place.” (Alexander)
		Monthly donation	“And yes, I also think monthly donations, even if it's like ... Yeah, it's really not a hassle.” (Yara)
		NPOs already doing enough to gather money	“Yes, I think they really excel in that. Asking for donations.” (Alexander)
		Understanding money going to NPOs	“Yes, it's not practical, but at the same time I also think... If we're talking about an international... Good cause like Amnesty? There are so many factors involved. And if we need to appoint a CEO type person there... ..it might be non-profit, but it's still a business. And very realistically a

			business needs to be managed” (Roger)
		Not knowing where the money goes	“But you still have doubts, so you think, 'Well okay, I'm giving this money now, but is it really going to the right place? Is it really going in the right direction, or did I just pay for someone's new car?’” (Amelia)
		Not knowing exactly where assumption of 'money' comes from	“It's actually something I should know more about. Because if I say I'm not doing it because of lack of transparency, I should also know why it's not transparent and I can't explain that now.” (Diana)
	NPO specific	Amnesty content	“And what I appreciate about Amnesty, for example, is that they describe the problem in a very accessible and concise manner in a number of, what do you call them, slides? And yeah, I really read it, because it doesn't take much time, it's engaging, it's reliable. And, I immediately get an overview of what's happening in a nutshell.” (Luna)
		Amnesty highlighting more than traditional media	“Well, Amnesty often highlights the groups that I think the mainstream media doesn't highlight, so you do see a certain side of the story that politics sometimes doesn't support.” (Diana)
		Amnesty makes it personal	“... Amnesty was also very active in highlighting stories, showing names, showing faces, so it becomes much more personal than, yeah, if you turn on the NOS or something.” (Diana)
		Transparency Amnesty	“Well, Amnesty communicates, in my opinion, very openly and honestly.” (Roger)
		Finding DWB inspiring	“Anyway, Doctors without Borders in any case, because I really want to work there eventually, so I find that very interesting.” (Yara)
		Trust in DWB	“And I think, for example, that Doctors Without Borders is also very clear, albeit in a different way, but also very honest.” (Roger)
		Trust in Amnesty	“I also think yeah, Amnesty is just legit. At least, yeah, just legit. So the money will probably end up in the right place anyway or something.” (Nora)
		Unclear communication Amnesty	“Yeah, I would probably, it wouldn't surprise me if Amnesty has also put it somewhere in their stories in a highlight of where the money goes. It

			wouldn't surprise me, but I've never seen it." (Diana)
		Amnesty highlighting minorities	"Amnesty highlights certain groups that I don't think are seen enough in the mainstream media, so the traditional media, and also groups that are often not supported by politics." (Diana)
	Big vs Small	Criticism for small NPOs	"... if they have few followers, then I'm not sure how legit it is, and also just if I've never heard of it or can't easily find information about it through Google, then I wouldn't do it either." (Yara)
		Trust in big NPO	"So yes, no, for me they are just established as a good cause, just like... a company or a football club or name something. Some things just exist, so you can't doubt that." (Roger)
		Small NPOs need more help	"But if it's a smaller cause, then you feel more compelled to do something, because then you think okay, let's put our heads together, let's collaborate." (Diana)
		More impact with small NPO	"That direct impact, then I would prefer to have a local organization where I can directly see what my contribution is and how that organization then uses the resources, so to speak" (Amelia)
		Preference for big NPOs	"So I would be more likely to donate to an organization where I'm certain the money goes to the right place than to, for example, a small organization where I'm not sure." (Yara)
		Trust in small NPOs	"I don't know why but the fact that it is smaller scaled gives makes me trust it more." (Alexander)
		Preference for small NPOs/ causes	"But I'm more inclined to actively participate in smaller organizations." (Diana)
	Cause	Cause does matter	"I find that very important. Yeah, I. I wouldn't just donate money without knowing what purpose it's being used for." (Nora)
		Cause does not matter	"... so, it doesn't matter to me where it goes as long as they benefit from it, actually." (Yara)
		More connection to one cause rather than other	"Yeah, it may sound a bit silly, but still, you resonate more with one cause than with another. Not that one is more important than the other, but... Yeah, you can't support all the causes in the world" (Nora)

	Transparency and communication	Transparency NPOs	“And they were like from the beginning, ‘hey, we're going to raise money for this goal and ultimately we want to build water wells with it.’ And they went there to build water wells. And afterwards, they made a post like, ‘Look, this is what we were able to do with the money.’” (Irene)
		Communication from NPOs	“I also receive letters every month from Save the Children and Médecins Sans Frontières. Thanking me for my donation, showing me where and how it has made a difference, so that motivates someone as well like okay, this is why you donate in the first place and to continue doing it.” (Luna)
		Lack of communication	“I feel like I used to come across petitions more often than now. Nowadays, I see them a bit less, so I haven't done them for a while.” (Alexander)
		Importance of transparency	“Knowing where the money ends up. That transparency, really. I think that's the most important. Because when you go to Albert Heijn, you don't close your eyes and then pay for things. You know what you're paying for.” (Diana)
		Lack of transparency	“It's often not clear to me where that money is going. So, the specific information interrupts for me.” (Luna)
		Inclined to donate when transparent	“And, if I would know where the money is going to... More money towards a certain project? Then... that might also motivate to give more money during that period” (Roger)
Engagement levels of support	Importance of DA	DA is important	“Yes, I think it's important in this day and age to be active digitally. Because yes, people are very busy so going to protests can also be difficult sometimes. Then it's faster, and maybe even easier and cheaper, to inform people online, just post stories, make sure it maybe ranks high in the algorithm. And like that, to gain name recognition. I think that is actually the protest of 2024.” (Diana)
		Support by DA	“Yes, I really think about creating awareness, and that's by sharing through social media. I think that's something I will never stop doing, I think now.” (Yara)
		DA more important than donations	“No, I think that, so I think that's the most important thing. Online activism, because. Once you get to that point,

			raising money becomes a lot easier, I think.” (James)
		DA sustainable	“Yes, I think that's definitely sustainable. I think social media is only being used more and more, right? And the more people use it, the more people you can reach, and that's the whole goal of sharing something on social media.” (Alexander)
		SM highlighting more than traditional media	“People say that in recent months, people have been waking up to terrible images. Well, those are images that often don't come from mainstream media. So that's the power of social media.” (James)
	Type of donation	Preference for 1 time donation	“Yes, because then you just have to... sort of have to donate regularly. Yes, at the moment I would rather help out somewhere once than do it regularly.” (Freya)
		Easy to donate	“That's true, but I find it so accessible that I don't even think about it, I'm just like that, then I think yes, I can surely spare those €5 every month, so I find it totally stress-free.” (Alexander)
		1 time donation makes more impact	“I donate with a reason... If you understand what I mean, like this is where I want my money to go.” (Roger)
	Monetary support	Importance of money	“I think that's the most important thing, because money makes the world go round.” (Amelia)
		Not having a lot of money	“I think I would do it, but not every time or something. But that's more because I think I'm still a student and can't afford to give money every time, because maybe if I had loads of money, I would do it every time.” (Irene)
		Doesn't matter if others can't donate	“I can't look into someone's wallet, and someone might, for example, not believe that the money is going to the right place, or there are so many factors that make me think, just because you don't donate doesn't necessarily mean you are against justice, so to speak.” (James)
	Preference for other types of support	Rather volunteering	“Yes, it sounds so silly because your time is also valuable, but because it's money and it's physical... you're more likely to think about whether you should do it. But with volunteering. Yes, it's just your time. You know what I mean? So, because it's not as tangible

			as money... I think I would be less critical about it and more likely to think, 'Oh, it's for a good cause, let me volunteer'." (Diana)
		Signing petitions	"... I ultimately hope that if I sign a petition, it will get through and that the person in question, or for example with SeaFire for Gaza, you hope that influential people will listen to it and that they can then make the change." (Yara)
		Protesting	"I think they have just as much impact, but I think it's more about the impact on the project itself, but also that being involved in physical activity gives you a greater sense of contribution." (Xena)
		Volunteering important	"So if there are people who are willing to spend their time, even if it's 1 or 2 or 3 hours per week, per month, or per quarter, maybe a certain amount, I think you can make a lot of progress with that, so it doesn't really have to be with money." (Amelia)
		Petitions more convenient	"Well yes, that, that is just very low effort for me. If it's something like, hey. We need signatures to... support people who... are discriminated against based on a job application. We want to collect 50,000 signatures so that they can apply anonymously, for example. Yes, why wouldn't I sign? It doesn't cost me any effort and it supports something I believe in." (Roger)
		Other types of support	"Well yes, I've also participated a few times in the Night of the Refugee, right. I've walked in that a few times. Yes, and then also raised money" (Xena)
		Support with petitions	"You have signing petitions, to create support." (Diana)