

FROM THE EDITOR

In This Issue: Why Are People Volunteering? ...[LINK TO PDF](#)

FEATURE ARTICLES

Senior Volunteerism and Social Context: Implications for Volunteer Recruitment

Lili Wang, Ph.D. and Carlton Yoshioka, Ph.D.

Senior population provides significant amount of volunteer work in communities across America. Using data from the Arizona Health Survey 2010, this study examines the impact of social context on senior volunteering. The results show that seniors who have more friends to rely on, who often hang out with others, help friends and neighbors, and participate in social clubs or religious and other organizations are more likely to volunteer. Education and self-reported physical health also increase their chance of volunteering. Additionally, African American seniors are more likely to report volunteering than their Hispanic counterparts. The findings suggest the importance of social context in encouraging senior volunteering and imply the significance of network-based volunteer recruitment among seniors. ...[LINK TO PDF](#)

Key Words: senior volunteering, social networks, participation, social context, informal help

Motivations for Volunteering Abroad in Later Life

Benjamin J. Lough, Ph.D., Xiaoling Xiang, and Sung-wan Kang

Despite a high prevalence of older adults serving abroad each year, researchers have not investigated their motivations for service. A series of categorical data analyses compare the motivations of 1010 international volunteers that served with two secular volunteer-sending organizations. The top motivations for volunteering did not differ significantly across age groups. However, international volunteers aged 55 or older ($n = 56$) were less likely to volunteer abroad to gain useful skills, to gain international experience and language skills, or because they need a job. Implications for volunteer management, recruitment, retention and future research are discussed.

...[LINK TO PDF](#)

Key Words: aging, international, motivations, volunteering, quantitative

Beyond 40 Hours: Meaningful Community Service and High School Student Volunteerism in Ontario

Hoda Farahmandpour

The study reported here explores whether students in the mandated Ontario high school community service program consider their service requirement to be meaningful; the relationship between meaningful service and the potential for subsequent service; and other factors related to a meaningful experience and future service. A secondary analysis was conducted using a survey of 1,341 first-year university students. The responses were in part retrospective as students reflected upon their experience in the Ontario high school community service program. The main finding is that meaningful service is a predictor of subsequent service and can contribute to enhancing community service programs. Two policy implications emerge, that programs can focus on sectors within the social economy that provide a more meaningful experience and that greater collaboration between schools and nonprofit agencies that can provide meaningful placements for students is needed. ...[LINK TO PDF](#)

Key Words: community service, mandatory volunteering, youth development, meaningful service

Motivating a Volunteer Workforce in the Criminal Justice System

Benedict Eccles and David Biggs

The Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (OPCAT) requires that police detention processes are monitored and inspected. The United Kingdom is partially ensuring this provision through the use of an existing independent volunteer workforce. This research explores the conditions required for the effective use of this volunteer workforce through 12 semi-structured

interviews. An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis was used that initially generated 46 motivator codes that were clustered into six themes of volunteer motivation consisting of: personal affect, personal growth, social goals, altruistic, activity and values. Ten demotivators were also revealed through the interviews. The implications of these findings for volunteer motivation and how organisations may capitalise on this are discussed. ...[LINK TO PDF](#)

Key Words: motivation, volunteer workforce, criminal justice, preventing torture, terrorism

**In This Issue:
Why Are People Volunteering?**

The International Journal of Volunteer Administration seeks to publish articles that are of value and benefit to a wide range of readers. Higher education professionals, nonprofit executives, volunteer resource managers, graduate students, and those interested in started or strengthening a volunteer program. Authors of manuscripts we publish come from those same demographics and beyond! This issue of the IJOVA includes articles that will be great benefit to readers, on many levels.

Wang & Yoshioka offer insights into senior volunteering through an analysis of data from the Arizona Health Survey 2010. The results show that seniors who have more friends to rely on, who often hang out with others, help friends and neighbors, and participate in social clubs or religious and other organizations are more likely to volunteer. Lough, Xiang and Kang investigate motivation of seniors that volunteer internationally and provide readers with an interesting perspective. Nearly on the other end of the spectrum, Farahmandpour, examined data related to mandated service by selected high school students in Canada. Finally, Eccles and Biggs investigate motivating factors for volunteers that are engaged in monitoring activities associated with human rights of prisoners.

The articles in this issue address important motivating factors of volunteers in a variety of settings and across a wide age range. While motivation of volunteers has been researched and written about rather extensively, the authors of these articles provide us with new insights that are certain to provide new ideas to readers and/or challenge current strategies.

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Senior Volunteerism and Social Context: Implications for Volunteer Recruitment

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Abstract:

Senior population provides significant amount of volunteer work in communities across America. Using data from the Arizona Health Survey 2010, this study examines the impact of social context on senior volunteering. The results show that seniors who have more friends to rely on, who often hang out with others, help friends and neighbors, and participate in social clubs or religious and other organizations are more likely to volunteer. Education and self-reported physical health also increase their chance of volunteering. Additionally, African American seniors are more likely to report volunteering than their Hispanic counterparts. The findings suggest the importance of social context in encouraging senior volunteering and imply the significance of network-based volunteer recruitment among seniors.

Key Words: senior volunteering, social networks, participation, social context, informal help

Introduction

Americans over 65 and older represent 13% of total population in the United States, and that number is estimated to be 20% by 2030. Senior population provides significant amount of volunteer services in communities across America. Recent statistics show that more than 440,000 Senior Corps volunteers provided 98 million hours of service in 2010, which is estimated to be worth \$2 billion (Tan, 2011). To harness the benefits of senior volunteering for American communities, it is imperative to understand the factors that influence seniors' decision to volunteer and design policies and programs accordingly to boost volunteering among older adults.

Literature on senior volunteerism has identified various factors related to volunteering among older adults, such as their socioeconomic characteristics (i.e. age, gender, race, education, income, religion, employment status) and health (physical and mental well-being) (Einolf, 2009; Okun, 1993; Wilson, 2012). Recently scholars started to examine the relationship between volunteering and social context, such as social networks, community environment, and associational participation, among the general public or ethnic minorities (Brown & Ferris, 2007; Rotolo, Wilson & Hughes, 2010; Wang, Yoshioka & Ashcraft, 2012). Very few studies, however, have applied it to older adults in America. Using data from the Arizona Health Survey 2010, this study

will extend the literature by examining the following research questions: (1) how would seniors' institutional and interpersonal social networks, respectively, influence their decisions' to volunteer for organizations; (2) are seniors who help friends and neighbors often more likely to volunteer for organizations; (3) how would community attachment and perception of a community affect seniors' decision to volunteer; and (4) how would health status and socioeconomic characteristics influence seniors' decision to volunteer.

To address these questions, we will first present a theoretical framework of seniors' decision to volunteer based on the literature review, then explain the data and methods used in this study. The results of the analysis will be presented followed by a discussion of implications of the findings.

Literature Review

Volunteering behavior is jointly influenced by individuals' human, social and cultural capitals (Wilson & Musick, 1997). In this section, we develop a theoretical framework of senior volunteering, expanding the social capital explanation of voluntary behavior by examining the correlation between older adults' decision to volunteer and their formal social networks, interpersonal networks, informal help, and community connections.

Formal social networks

People who are actively involved in activities of social organizations are more likely to volunteer (Einolf & Chambre, 2011). In his study of changes in voluntary participation, Putnam (2000) found that people who watch a lot of TV volunteer much less than those who spend less time in front of the tube. Chambre (1984) also found volunteering is a substitute for other types of individual leisure activities among older adults. One explanation of the positive relationship between formal social networks

and an individual's propensity to volunteer is that individuals who are extravert tend to be active in social activities and are more likely to volunteer for organizations (Okun, Pugliese, & Rook, 2007; Rossi, 2001). Additionally, seniors who are connected to social clubs, religious organizations or other groups and who participate in the meetings or events organized by these organizations are more likely to learn about volunteering opportunities as well. Studies show that formal social networks, particularly those with religious congregations, have a strong impact on volunteering (Cnaan, Kasterakis, & Wineberg, 1993; Einolf & Chambre, 2011; Park & Smith, 2000). Thus, we posit that formal social networks increase older adults' likelihood of volunteering.

Informal social networks and social interaction

Individuals who have friends or family members in the local area and who interact with friends and neighbors often are more likely to volunteer than those who have less informal social networks or are socially isolated as social contacts could increase people's chance of being asked to volunteer (Bekkers, 2005; Okun et al., 2007), particularly if their friends and family members volunteer. Einolf and Chambre (2011) found that informal socializing with neighbors significantly increases the likelihood of volunteering. The impacts of informal social networks and social interaction on seniors' decision to volunteer are potentially more significant, compared to the impact on other adults, as majority of older adults are out of the labor force and therefore are less likely to learn about volunteering opportunities from workplace. According to the social resource theory, withdrawing from the labor force weakens social integration, and thus may lead to a decline in volunteering (Wilson, 2000). Interacting with friends and neighbors who volunteer not only integrates seniors into a

community, but also helps develop/promote social norms of volunteering for organizations. Additionally, seniors may be motivated to volunteer for an organization to develop some informal social networks and spend free time with friends (Clary, Snyder & Stukas, 1996). Thus, we expect seniors with more informal social networks and who interact with other more often have a higher chance of volunteering.

Informal Help

Studies show that informal help generally have a positive relationship with formal volunteering (Lee & Brudney, 2012). One explanation is that people who often help friends and neighbors tend to be caring and willing to give, and thus their personality makes them more likely to engage in formal volunteering when needed. Another explanation is that people volunteer for organizations to develop or strengthen social relationships. The social connections they obtained from their formal volunteering work would increase their social circle and thus give them more opportunities to help friends and neighbors informally (Onyx & Leonard, 2002). In this study, we posit that older adults who help friends and neighbors often are also more likely to engage in formal volunteering.

Community Connections

Prior studies have found that individuals who consider themselves to be part of a community tend to volunteer more to better the community (Coulthard, Walker, & Morgan, 2002; Perkins, Brown, & Taylor, 1996). People develop a sense of attachment to a community as they own a home in the community and/or have lived in the community for a long time. Homeowners and long-term residents are found to be more civically engaged than those who are renting or who have recently arrived (Perkins, et al., 1996; Rotolo et al., 2010), as they have more of a stake in the safety and quality of life in the community and thus are

more willing to invest time and effort to help improve the surroundings. Additionally, as it takes time to get connected to organizations and learn about volunteering opportunities, seniors living in a community for a longer period of time are expected to be more likely to volunteer. Moreover, people are more likely to participate in community activities when they perceive the neighborhood to be safe (Coulthard et al., 2002). Some studies, however, show that neighborhood safety and quality do not affect people's decision to volunteer (Einolf & Chambre, 2011). In this study, we expect community connection and perceived neighborhood safety to increase seniors' propensity to volunteer.

Health status and socioeconomic characteristics

Good health and ability to function are necessary for people to participate in volunteering activities. Although older adults may have more time to volunteer, physical or mental health (like depressive symptoms) may become an obstacle for their participation or force them to reduce volunteer activities (Li & Ferraro, 2006; Wilson & Musick, 1997; Wilson, 2000). Therefore, we take physical and mental health into consideration in our framework of senior volunteering and posit that they are positively associated with seniors' propensity to volunteer.

In addition, we control for socioeconomic characteristics likely to be associated with older adults' decision to volunteer. Adults over ages 85 and above are less likely to volunteer due to various concerns, such as their health status (Herzog, Kahn & Morgan, 1989). Thus, age is expected to have a negative association with the chance of volunteering among older adults. Female seniors are expected to be more likely to volunteer as American women generally volunteer more than men (e.g., Caro & Bass, 1995; Chambre, 1984). Hispanic/Latino seniors are expected to be

less likely to volunteer than Whites and Blacks as the dominant status model predicts less participation for minorities due to their less prevalent social positions and roles within the socio-cultural system (Smith, 1994; Bryant, Jeon-Slaughter, Kang, & Tax, 2003; Gallagher, 1994; Sundeen, 1992).

High income and education levels increase the likelihood of civic engagement. This not only applies to the general population (Wilson, 2000), but also to minority groups (Sundeen, Garcia, & Wang, 2007; Wang, et al., 2012). For the same reason, we expect education and income to increase an older adult's propensity to volunteer. Unemployed seniors are expected to be less likely to volunteer than those employed full-time or part-time as they may have less social connections to organizations (Wilson, 2012).

Existing studies largely find family characteristics, such as being married and having children, to be the facilitators of volunteering (Rossi, 2001). Married people may volunteer more because the institution of marriage accompanies the social expectation, among others, that married couples be active in the community and its local organizations. The presence of children is also found to promote parental volunteering (Park & Smith, 2000; Wang, et al., 2012). Thus, we expect married seniors and those with grandchild under 18 living in house to be more likely to volunteer.

Methods

Data

Data for this study derive from the 2010 Arizona Health Survey, which was designed to investigate Arizona adults' physical, mental, and social well-being, which include their health condition, health behavior, employment and poverty status, social networks and civic participation. Telephone interviews of 8,215 adult household heads living in Arizona were

conducted between May 4 and July 22, 2010. Respondents were selected using Random Digit Dialing (RDD), a procedure that excludes businesses and includes unlisted residential telephone numbers. Samples were weighted to adjust for the increased number of people using cell phones as their only means of telecommunication and to be representative of the statewide population in Arizona allowing for generalization based upon the demographic characteristics of the population. This study focuses on senior population ages 65 and above. After excluding missing values of variables included in the analysis, 2,276 older adults are included in the analysis.

Variable Measurements and Analysis

The dependent variable, volunteering, is coded as 1 if the respondent performed a job without compensation for an organization, including for-profit corporations, nonprofit, religious or social institutions, or neighborhood groups, during the past 12 months, and as 0 otherwise.

Formal social network, ranging from 0 to 7 or more, is measured by the number of times the respondent attended meetings of social clubs, religious or other groups that he/she belongs to in the past week. Informal social network is measured by the number of persons in the respondents' local area that they can depend on or feel very close to. It is coded as 1 if there was no one the respondent felt close to, 2 if there were one to two people and 3 if there were more than two people. Visit, ranging from 0 to 7 or more, is measured by the number of times in the past week that the respondent spent some time with someone who does not live with him/her. *Informal help* is measured by the number of times the respondent provided help without being paid to friends not in the same household in the past 12 months. It ranges from never, a few days out of the 12 months, about a day a month, about a day a week, two or three days a week, to daily or

almost daily. Years in the community is measured by the number of years the respondent had lived in the current neighborhood. Neighborhood safety is coded as 4 if the respondent felt safe in the neighborhood all of the time and as 1 if he/she felt safe in the neighborhood none of the time. Due to space limit, the measurements of the control variables are explained in Table 1.

The logistics regression method is applied to analyze seniors' propensity to volunteer. The model was weighted to ensure the generalizability of the findings. The fitness of the model was tested by calculating a pseudo measure of explained variance (R²) using log-likelihood estimates. The coefficients, standard errors, and odds ratios of independent variables were reported.

Results

Approximately 48% of the sampled older adults volunteered for an organization in the last 12 months (see Table 1). On average, respondents participated in meetings at a social club and religious or other groups once in the past week, had two or more persons in the local area they could depend on or felt close to, visited or socialized with friends three times in the past week, and helped out friends about a day a month in the past 12 month. Additionally, they had lived in the community for an average of 17 years, and perceived safe in the community most of time.

In terms of health status, the average respondents rated their general health "good" and their social well-being "very good." Their average age was 75 years old and 64.5% of them were female. Non-Hispanic white accounted for 85% of the sample, compared to 11% Hispanic/Latino and 2% African American. A majority (24%) of the seniors got high school diploma or equivalent, and had an annual household income of \$30,000 to \$49,999 (24%). Most of the seniors (86%) were not working. Close to half of them were married (48%) and only a fraction of them (2.4%) had grandchild under 18 living in house.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics (N=2,276)

Variables	Mean (St.D.)/%	Measurements
Volunteering	47.6%	
<i>Independent Variables</i>		
Formal social networks	2.0(1.4)	
Informal social networks	2.6(0.7)	
Social interaction	3.6(2.1)	
Informal help	2.8(1.8)	
Years in the community	16.8(14.5)	
Perceived safety in the community	3.7(0.6)	
Health	3.2(1.1)	Self reported health status. 1: poor health; 5: excellent health
Mental Health	3.7(1.0)	1: poor sense of well-being; 5:

		excellent sense of well-being
Age	74.5(7.0)	Ranging from 65 to 102
Female	64.5%	1: female; 0: male
Race/ethnicity:		A 6-category variable, Hispanic or Latino is the comparison group
Hispanic/Latino	10.8%	
Non-Hispanic White	84.8%	
African American	2.1%	
Asian Pacific Islander	0.6%	
Native American	1.6%	
Other	0.1%	
Education:		The highest grade of education completed.
No high school diploma	11.5%	
High school diploma/equivalent	24.3%	
Graduated from a trade school	8.2%	
Graduated from a 2-year college	14.5%	
Attended a 4-year college	11.7%	
Graduated from a 4-year college	15.3%	
Earned a post-graduate degree	14.5%	
Income:		The annual household income before tax from all sources in 2009
Less than \$11,000	9.5%	
\$11,000-\$19,999	17.7%	
\$20,000-\$29,999	16.5%	
\$30,000-\$49,999	23.6%	
\$50,000-\$74,999	16.7%	
\$75,000-\$99,999	7.3%	
\$100,000 or more	8.8%	
Employment:		Not working is the comparison group
Not working	85.5%	
Work Part-time	8.7%	
Work Full-time	5.8%	
Married	47.6%	1: married or living with a partner; 0 otherwise
Grandchild under 18 in house	2.4%	1: yes; 0: no

Table 2 displays the results of the model. Overall, the model fits well ($\chi^2=288.26$, $p<.001$) and it explains about 22% of the variance of the likelihood of volunteering among older adults.

Table 2: Logistic regression of senior volunteering in Arizona (N=2,276)

Variables	β (St.E.)	Odds Ratio
Intercept	-4.80(1.10)	--
Formal social networks	.58(.07)***	1.78
Informal social networks	.41(.13)**	1.51
Social interaction	-.00(.04)	1.00
Informal help	.25(.05)***	1.28
Years in the community	.00(.01)	1.00

Perceived safety in the community	-.17(.15)	.84
Health	.23(.08)**	1.26
Mental Health	-.05(.10)	.95
Age	.00(.01)	1.00
Female	-.20(.17)	.82
Non-Hispanic White	.55(.32)	1.74
African American	1.19(.58)*	3.30
Asian, Pacific Islander or Native	.20(1.10)	1.22
Native American or American Indian	.19(.69)	1.21
Other	2.11(2.62)	8.22
Education	.20(.04)***	1.22
Income	.08(.06)	1.08
Work Part-time	.14(.26)	1.15
Work Full-time	.46(.34)	1.59
Married	.25(.18)	1.29
Grandchild under 18 living in house	.25(.44)	1.29
-2 log-likelihood	1,810.83	
Pseudo R ²	22.05%	

*Significant at *p<.05; **p<.01; ***p<.001 on a one-tail test*

As expected, seniors who participate in more social clubs, religious or other organizations significantly increase their chances of volunteering ($\beta=.58$, $p<.001$; OR=1.78). Those with more friends or someone they can depend on are also much more likely to volunteer ($\beta=.41$, $p<.01$; OR=1.51). An additional friend could increase the chance of senior volunteering by 51%. Older adults who help friends or neighbors frequently are more likely to volunteer for formal organizations as well ($\beta=.25$, $p<.001$; OR=1.28). Surprisingly, the number of years lived in a community and the perceived safety in a community does not increase seniors' chance of volunteering. Additional, older adults who spend more time with friends are not more likely to volunteer either.

Seniors who rated themselves healthier are more likely to volunteer for organizations ($\beta=.23$, $p<.01$; OR=1.26). However, the perceived sense of well-being does not have significant impact on their likelihood of formal volunteering.

In terms of socioeconomic status, the results show that higher levels of education significantly increase seniors' chance of formal volunteering ($\beta=.20$, $p<.001$; OR=1.22). Additionally, African American seniors are twice more likely to volunteer for formal organizations compared to their Hispanic counterpart ($\beta=1.19$, $p<.05$; OR=3.30). Age, gender, income, employment status, marital status, and children in household do not seem to affect senior's chance of formal volunteering.

Discussion and Conclusion

The findings of this study provide empirical evidence of the influence of social context on senior volunteerism. Both formal and informal social networks are important correlates of seniors' propensity to volunteer which support the findings of Brown and Ferris (2007). The overall strength of an individual's associational social networks on increasing volunteering behavior was also apparent in this study. The findings are also consistent with what Einolf and Chambre (2011) find in their study, particularly regarding the role of information for social networks. Additionally, our results show that perceived safety in a community does not influence seniors' likelihood to volunteer and this is consistent with the findings of Einolf and Chambre's study as well. These findings raise questions on what social context factors we need to consider to examine the determinants of seniors' decision to volunteer.

This study also advances our understanding of seniors' volunteering decision. For nonprofit organizations, governments, and community groups that are interested in recruiting older Americans in Arizona, seeking seniors from local associations or through social networks are more likely to be fruitful. Additionally, current volunteers can seek out friends and neighbors who are always ready to help others, but who are not connected with organizations. The results suggest that marketing to African Americans connected to established social networks will more likely produce volunteers for nonprofit organizations. The use of facebook, Twitter and other social media might be a cost-effective recruitment strategy for local nonprofits. Lovejoy and Saxton (2012) report that the use of "microblogging" services such as Twitter is offering nonprofit organizations unlimited opportunities to communicate with and engage the public for everyone's benefit.

One limitation of this study is that we cannot separate seniors' involvement with religious organizations from other types of organizations. Although our results show that participation in meetings of social clubs, religious and other organizations increases seniors' propensity to volunteer, it would provide more insight if we can examine religious involvement separately from secular organizations' involvement.

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Motivations for Volunteering Abroad in Later Life

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Abstract

Despite a high prevalence of older adults serving abroad each year, researchers have not investigated their motivations for service. A series of categorical data analyses compare the motivations of 1010 international volunteers that served with two secular volunteer-sending organizations. The top motivations for volunteering did not differ significantly across age groups. However, international volunteers aged 55 or older ($n = 56$) were less likely to volunteer abroad to gain useful skills, to gain international experience and language skills, or because they need a job. Implications for volunteer management, recruitment, retention and future research are discussed.

Key Words: aging, international, motivations, volunteering, quantitative

Introduction

Each year in the United States, about 250,000 adults aged 55 or older volunteer abroad (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). With the baby boomer bulge moving upward, it is anticipated that older adults will increasingly take advantage of opportunities to remain productive in their later years. By embracing new found freedoms from parenting and paid work responsibilities, older adults entering their “third age” of life may recognize that volunteering abroad can fulfill their desires to give back during a time of life that is also marked with renewed interest in personal growth, enrichment, and

discovery (Warburton, Paynter, & Petriwskyj, 2007).

Despite the high prevalence of older adults serving abroad each year, researchers have not investigated their motivations for service. As a result, progressive policies aiming to address the growing supply of, and demand for, older adults are often promoted with little information about how to meet the needs of older adults serving abroad. More information is needed to take full advantage of the skills and interest of older volunteers. This study aims to inform volunteer resource management by exploring how the motivations of older

international volunteers vary from those of younger generations.

Motivations for Volunteering in Later Life

Past studies researching the motivations for volunteering among older adults have primarily focused on domestic volunteering (Choi & Chou, 2010). Although very little is known about older adults' motivations for volunteering abroad, we can deduce that motivations for volunteering abroad likely vary across the life course. Older adults' life tasks, experiences, and concerns are different from those of younger adults. One of the earliest studies to delineate these differences was conducted by the ICR Survey Research Group (1991). In this study, telephone interviews with 962 adults aged 60 years or older revealed that the three most common volunteer motivations were "to help others (83%)," "to feel useful or productive (65%)," and "to fulfill a moral responsibility (51%)".

A few years later, Clary et al., (1998) specified a functional approach to volunteering, and introduced six motivational functions. According to their functional approach, motivations can be categorized into six primary factors: (1) values: "to express or act on important values", (2) understanding: "to learn more about the world", (3) enhancement: "to grow and develop psychologically", (4) career: "gaining career-related experience", (5) social: "to strengthen social relationship", and (6) protective: "to reduce negative feelings". Findings suggest that motivations for the values, social, and enhancement factors are similar across age groups, but career, understanding, and protective factors tend to be more important for younger participants. A subsequent study noted consistent findings but suggested that the social motive was more important among

older than younger volunteers (Okun, Barr, & Herzog, 1998).

Okun and Schultz (2003) further examined the relationship between age and the six volunteer motives proposed by Clary et al. (1998), and added a new seventh factor: "making friends". Their study found that age is positively associated with social motivations and inversely associated with career and understanding motivations. This provided further support to the conclusion that older volunteers are less motivated by career motives when comparing with younger volunteers, and that the social motive is more important among older than younger volunteers.

A later study by Dávila and Diaz-Morales (2009), investigated the effects of age on volunteering in Spain, and also found that, as age increases, the career, understanding, and making friends motivations decrease, while social and value motivations increase. Choi & Chou (2010) also concluded that older adults are not typically seeking to advance career goals via networking or direct skill practice, but that "finding a sense of purpose through continued social engagement, by leaving a positive legacy, and through getting to know other volunteers" are important motivational factors (p. 561). Chambré's activity theory (1984) suggests that older adults volunteer to remain productive in later life, and may substitute volunteer service for role loss in older age. This is also supported by Sherman and Shavit's "lifecycle hypothesis" (2012), which predicts that adults volunteer after retirement to maintain immaterial consumption patterns they became accustomed to in younger years.

Gerontologists refer to "life review" or "what have I done with my life" as a key reason explaining why a desire for a meaningful experience may be so prominent among older adults (Pope, 2009). Life review is associated with development

theory, wherein older adults who believe they did not accomplish what they desired during middle adulthood may feel a sense of regret or despair as they review their life (Erikson, Erikson, & Kivnick, 1986). Although volunteer engagement at this stage is often associated with altruistic motives and a desire to give back, reflection on one's life may also be associated with a desire for adventure and challenge that was not possible in earlier years filled with work and family responsibilities. Ultimately, decisions to volunteer likely depend on both altruistic and egoistic motivations that affect older adults' quality of life (Shye, 2010). This study seeks to further understand motivations by examining international volunteers' motivations across the life course.

Methods

The sampling frame used to assess motivations includes volunteers that served

with two US-based secular non-profit international volunteer cooperation organizations (IVCOs) during the period of 2002 to 2010. The first IVCO places around 3,000 volunteers each year in one of 19 countries in the Global South. Placements range from 1-12 weeks, with an average duration of four weeks. During their placement, volunteers typically live in urban settings and cohabit with other volunteers. The second IVCO places about 300 volunteers per year in one of 12 countries in the Global South. About 70 percent of volunteers serve for 10-12 months, while the remaining 30 percent serve for three to four months. Volunteers teach in a variety of educational settings and work as full-time teachers. These volunteers live in both rural and urban settings and most volunteers live with a host family or in teacher housing on the school campus. Specific demographics of the older adults responding to the survey are provided in Table 1.

Table 1: Demographics of international volunteers age 55 or older ($n=56$)

Gender	Percentage ¹
Male	21.4%
Female	78.6%
Household Income	
0-19,999	22.4%
20,000-39,999	10.1%
40,000-59,999	14.3%
60,000-74,999	18.4%
75,000-99,999	16.3%
100,000-149,999	8.2%
150,000 or more	10.2%
Race	
White	86.8%
Black	5.7%
Other	7.6%
Marital Status	
Married	37.0%
Divorced, widowed, or separated	46.3%
Never married	16.7%

Education	
Up to high school or GED	11.1%
Some college	5.5%
Bachelor's degree	31.5%
Master's degree and above	51.9%
Average age (55+)	65.0 years

¹Numbers may not equal 100% due to rounding

To assess motivations, participants took to the International Volunteer Impacts Survey (IVIS). (See Lough, McBride, & Sherraden, 2009). The IVIS assesses motivations by asking respondents to reply to the prompt: "Please indicate how much the following factors influenced you to inquire about volunteering internationally." All response options used a 7-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. An open-ended response option was also provided to assess additional motivations. In total, 1010 volunteers responded—a 48 percent response rate. However, only 56 respondents (5.6%) were aged 55 to 90 years at the time of service—thereby limiting the power of statistical conclusions. In addition, because volunteers from only two IVCOs were surveyed, data are not fully representative of the population of older international volunteers.

Analysis

A one-way ANOVA was used to compare differences in the motivations of international volunteers across age groups. Six age groups in ten year increments were originally used in the analysis. However, due to low statistic power and lack of significant differences between the two age groups "55-64" and "65 and older", these groups were combined for a more valid analysis of motivations. The assumption of homoscedasticity was tested using Levene's test. In cases where sample variances were

unequal, the Welch's t-test was used to test for mean differences among age groups. In addition, post-hoc analyses were conducted to explore differences between age groups. The Tukey's HSD test was used when sample variances were determined to be equal; whereas Games-Howell test was used to detect discrete differences between age groups when sample variances were unequal.

Results

The primary motivations for volunteering abroad, as reported by adults 55 years or older included: (1) to have a challenging or meaningful experience, (2) to make a difference by helping others, and (3) to gain greater cross-cultural understanding. (See Table 2). As primary motivations, these reasons did not differ significantly from volunteers in younger age groups. However, in comparison with younger volunteers, older adults were significantly less likely than those aged 16 to 44 to volunteer in order to gain useful skills in school or a job (Welch = 38.35, $df_1 = 4$, $df_2 = 139.51$, $p < .001$). They were also less likely than those aged 16 to 24 to volunteer because they needed a job (Welch = 8.19, $df_1 = 4$, $df_2 = 147.10$, $p < .001$) or because they wanted to gain international experience and language skills (Welch = 8.26, $df_1 = 4$, $df_2 = 137.10$, $p < .001$). (See Table 3).

Table 2: Motivations of International Volunteers by Age Group

Motivation	Age Group									
	15-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55+	
	(N=654)		(N=454)		(N=79)		(N=40)		(N=56)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
I wanted to have a challenging and meaningful experience	6.56	.98	6.59	.97	6.46	1.22	6.53	.89	6.71	.57
I had a desire to make a difference by helping others	6.41	1.10	6.43	1.06	6.35	1.34	6.37	1.20	6.44	.96
I wanted to gain greater cross-cultural understanding	6.44	.96	6.35	1.04	6.19	1.22	6.13	1.26	6.31	.96
I wanted to travel or live abroad	6.34	1.18	6.28	1.24	5.87	1.56	5.58	1.48	5.80	1.74
I had a desire to participate in volunteering as a way to reduce social or economic inequality	5.74	1.35	5.74	1.35	5.06	1.78	5.61	1.39	5.56	1.33
I wanted to gain international experience and language skills	6.26*	1.19	6.22	1.11	5.79	1.6	5.18	1.67	5.16*	2.11
I wanted to make friends and meet people	4.98	1.66	4.66	1.74	4.51	1.88	4.26	1.96	4.31	2.03
I thought that the volunteer experience would give me skills useful in school or in a job	5.56*	1.48	5.38*	1.56	4.24*	1.92	3.42	1.86	3.13*	1.85
A friend or co-worker was involved with the organization	2.64	2.00	2.37	1.98	2.11	1.79	2.11	1.89	2.09	1.69
I was asked by a school or organization	2.06	1.69	1.80	1.48	1.75	1.37	1.50	1.31	1.62	1.27
I needed a job	2.41*	1.77	2.11	1.67	1.81	1.53	1.57	1.46	1.56*	1.27
I was required to volunteer as part of a course requirement	1.65	1.34	1.58	1.29	1.61	1.27	1.58	1.45	1.47	1.09

**Indicates a significantly different mean between the age group denoted and the reference group of older adults age 55 or older. See Table 3 for tests of significance.*

Table 3: ANOVA Motivations of International Volunteers

	Levene's test	F	Welch's test	G-H post-hoc
I was asked by a school or organization	6.29***	na	3.31*	none ^Ψ
I wanted to gain greater cross-cultural understanding	1.42	1.75	na	na
I wanted to have a challenging and meaningful experience	2.01	.57	na	na
I was required to volunteer as part of a course requirement	.73	.34	na	na
A friend or co-worker was involved with the organization	2.26	2.74*, ^Ψ	na	na
I wanted to make friends and meet people	2.91*	na	3.92**	none ^Ψ
I had a desire to make a difference by helping others	.47	.12	na	na
I wanted to gain international experience and language skills	17.06***	na	8.26***	15-24 and 55+
I needed a job	9.38***	na	8.19***	15-24 and 55+
I wanted to travel or live abroad	6.32***	na	4.70**	none ^Ψ
I had a desire to participate in volunteering as a way to reduce social or economic inequality	2.38	4.19**, ^Ψ	na	na
I thought that the volunteer experience would give me skills useful in school or in a job	5.92***	na	38.35***	15-24 and 55+ 25-34 and 55+ 35-44 and 55+

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$. ^Ψ Tukey's or Games-Howell post-hoc test revealed significant differences between younger age groups but no significant difference from those 55 years or older. The Welch's test was used to indicate differences in samples denoted as having unequal variances (as identified by a statistically significant Levene's test). The abbreviation "na" indicates that the test is not applicable.

Volunteers were also asked to describe other motivations that did not fit well with predefined categories. Four main themes emerged. The most common response was to give back to others from a position of privilege and opportunity. One in five respondents specifically used the phrase “to give back”. A related motivation was the importance of sharing their “skills and years of experience” while traveling in the developing world. A third motivation that was emphasized by about one-third of respondents was to “learn about a new culture” but from a deep and relationship-oriented position that is uncommon with travel and tourism. While this could be paired within the category “to gain cross-cultural understanding”, respondents viewed this as sufficiently different enough to warrant separate expression. Lastly, one in five older volunteers mentioned some form of family connection that inspired them. These experiences included intergenerational volunteering with children, as well as volunteering with siblings. Tied to these familial references, it was important to respondents that they find a meaningful volunteer opportunity where both parties could participate and share in the experience.

Discussion

A number of limitations constrain conclusions that can be drawn from this study. First, conclusions about motivations in later life are drawn from a sample of only 56 older international volunteers. In addition, the sample only includes volunteers serving with two secular IVCOs. Individual motivations for volunteering with different IVCOs could differ dramatically. For instance, national-level statistics suggests that more than half of older international volunteers serve with a religious organization (Lough, 2013). Because the sample includes only

participants in secular organizations, findings may not accurately represent motivations across the diversity of IVCOs. Although additional research utilizing large representative samples of older Americans would provide a better understanding of these populations—no such data on motivations are currently available.

Findings are somewhat consistent with, or at least do not contradict, previous studies on motivations of domestic volunteering by older adults. However, the top six motivations for volunteering abroad reflect expectations that cannot easily be met through domestic volunteering—including gaining cross-cultural understanding, traveling or living abroad, and acquiring international and language skills. Only one in six of the top motivations described by older adults in this study is wholly consistent with research on domestic volunteering: the desire to make a difference by helping others.

Although volunteering to remain productive or because they needed a job was listed as important by many older international volunteers in this study, it rated lower than previous research or theory might suggest. On the other hand, because more than half of the older adults in this study were more than ten years short of retirement age, it is possible that many had not yet experienced role loss and/or continued to consume immaterial products. In addition, older volunteers appear to spend less of their time volunteering abroad, with a more significant portion dedicated to domestic volunteering. As a result, many of their productivity needs may be met through domestic volunteering. Future research with a larger number of retired international volunteers may help to clarify the relative importance of the productivity motivation.

One area of potential divergence in this study is that international volunteers 55 years or older did not appear to place a

strong emphasis on volunteering to strengthen social relationships, which has previously been associated with socio-emotional selectivity predictors of volunteering among older adults (Hendricks & Cutler, 2004). While this study did not use Clary et al.'s, Volunteer Functions Inventory (1998), thereby limiting comparability, social factors were not rated particularly high and also did not feature heavily in open-ended comments. Although many older adults mentioned volunteering with family members, other potential social motives did not emerge as more important for older volunteers than younger volunteers. On the other hand, the friendship motive did emerge as more important for younger volunteers than older volunteers, as found previously (Dávila & Díaz-Morales, 2009).

Given that Okun et al., (2003) found the relationship between age and the friendship motivation is nonlinear, future research separating the older adult group into older and younger cohorts may reveal a difference. Volunteering to make friends and meet people was rated as slightly more important for volunteers aged 65 or older than for those aged 55 to 64 in this study (4.9 compared to 3.9 respectively). Although the size of the separate age groups was too small to test for statistical significance, differences would support Okun et al.'s hypothesis that friendship motivations follow changes in the life course and diminished opportunities for social integration that accompany older age and retirement (2003).

Consistent with all reviewed studies on older domestic volunteers, the career function was much lower for older international volunteers than for younger volunteers. A number of respondents explicitly stated that they were motivated to volunteer in order to go beyond tourism or vacationing that is common with

international travel. While volunteer tourism is a common criticism of volunteering by young people, many of these criticisms would be less relevant to older adults given higher skills and experience that are often associated with increased age (Palacios, 2010).

Implications for volunteer resource management

In response to older adults' desire to make a difference by helping others, recruiting and marketing strategies for domestic volunteering by older adults often emphasize the meaningful and productive nature of volunteering (Einolf & Chambré, 2011). Because this motivation also ranks highly for older international volunteers, developing and highlighting productive and meaningful activities would help to recruit older volunteers. However, given that other top motivations appear to be unique to the international context, volunteer resource managers could increase engagement by older adults by also drawing on these egoistic motivations. However, given recent criticisms of "supply-based" or egoistically-driven volunteer placements (see Perold et al., 2013), IVCO should be cautious to design placements in a way that ensures a mutually positive impact on volunteers and host-communities.

IVCOs could also appeal to older adults by enhancing cultural exposure through organized direct contact and cooperation with local populations. Depending on the organization and the task at hand, IVCOs that devise tasks appealing to particular motives would likely attract a larger pool of potential volunteers. As one example of how these findings could inform task planning, a campaign focusing on social justice may be particularly appealing to older adults, as many indicated that they "desire to participate in volunteering as a

way to reduce social or economic inequality”.

Although motivations are important, a 2013 study of older adults engaged in “intensive volunteering” (where volunteers left their homes for at least two weeks to volunteer) found that, “Ability was a stronger determinant of serving than motivation, particularly in terms of health and finances” (Cheek, Piercy, & Grainger, 2013, p. 1). Assuming that this finding is relevant to the more specific pool of international volunteers, recruitment efforts may be more successful if IVCOs market health, access, and security protocol that match the ability functions of older adults, in addition to appealing to their motivations.

Implications for future research

Despite the growing number of older adults volunteering abroad, we know relatively little about the motivations of these volunteers. We echo Morrow-Howell’s assertion that: “Action in the civic engagement field is outstripping the developing knowledge base, and applied knowledge about volunteering in later life to guide program and policy initiatives has never been more important” (2010).

According to research on domestic volunteering, older adults typically demand greater incentives than younger people including, “the need for more training, more flexible and diverse options, and more opportunities for intergenerational volunteering”. Potential factors that prevent or promote volunteering abroad need to be investigated, for example, income, health, family patterns, employment, costs, and religious involvement. Findings suggest that intergenerational volunteering within the family may be a particularly useful incentive. This assumption is consistent with studies finding that older volunteers desire greater opportunities to work together with family members and young people

(Warburton et al., 2007). Additional research is needed to understand the dynamics of intergenerational volunteering among those who serve abroad.

As one of first studies to investigate the motivations of older international volunteers, we echo the conclusions that “nonprofit and public organizations [need to]...find ways to better utilize older Americans in formal volunteering” (Lee & Brudney, 2012, p. 179). The findings and recommendations emerging from this study are modest contributions to help bridge the current gap between senior volunteerism and its applied knowledge base. Findings can help stakeholders to more fully take advantage of volunteering abroad by older adults. This, in turn, will allow a greater number of older adults to be more productive in their later years by engaging in challenging and meaningful volunteer activities abroad for mutual benefit.

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Beyond 40 Hours: Meaningful Community Service and High School Student Volunteerism in Ontario

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Abstract

The study reported here explores whether students in the mandated Ontario high school community service program consider their service requirement to be meaningful; the relationship between meaningful service and the potential for subsequent service; and other factors related to a meaningful experience and future service. A secondary analysis was conducted using a survey of 1,341 first-year university students. The responses were in part retrospective as students reflected upon their experience in the Ontario high school community service program. The main finding is that meaningful service is a predictor of subsequent service and can contribute to enhancing community service programs. Two policy implications emerge, that programs can focus on sectors within the social economy that provide a more meaningful experience and that greater collaboration between schools and nonprofit agencies that can provide meaningful placements for students is needed.

Key Words: community service, mandatory volunteering, youth development, meaningful service

Introduction

The study reported here contributes to research on mandatory community service by students and its potential for subsequent volunteering. The study is based in Ontario, Canada, where the Ministry of Education introduced the mandatory community service program in 1999. The program required 40 hours of community service over 4 years to graduate from high school, and in doing so Ontario became the first Canadian province to introduce community service as a diploma requirement. The policy aimed to “encourage students to develop awareness and understanding of civic responsibility and of the role they can play and the contributions they can make in supporting and strengthening their

communities” (Ontario Ministry of Education, 2009, para. 1).

The program has every indication of being a fixture of secondary education, at least in the foreseeable future, therefore this paper contributes to the ongoing assessment of high school community service programs and how it might be strengthened so that it meets its objectives. One consistent finding is that if service lacks meaning or a real impact on the communities being served, there is a risk of diminishing the programs’ impact on both the student and community (Metz, McLellan, & Younnis, 2003; Gallant, Smale, & Arai, 2010). This paper reveals the degree to which community service performed by Ontario high school students is perceived to be meaningful, the role it plays in predicting subsequent community

service, and other factors associated with meaningful service and subsequent service.

Volunteering, Mandatory Community Service, and Meaningful Experience

Volunteering among youth is a characteristic of adolescence. The National Survey of Giving Volunteering and Participating (Hall, Lasby, Ayer, & Gibbons, 2009) found that young Canadians aged 15 to 24 were more likely to volunteer (58%) than Canadians in any other age group, and those aged 15 to 19 were more likely to volunteer than 20 to 24 year olds (65% vs. 47%). Young Canadians are also more likely than other age groups to feel dissatisfaction with a previous volunteering experience (13%) (Hall et al., 2009).

Some studies state that making service compulsory may undermine people's intrinsic motivation to volunteer in the future (Stukas, Snyder & Clary, 1999; Taylor & Pancer, 2007). Others argue that the perceived benefits outweigh coerced service, with no negative effects on motivation (McLelland & Youniss, 2003; Metz & Youniss, 2005; Planty, Bozick, & Regnier, 2006). McLellan and Youniss (2003) suggest that the key factor is support - not whether the program is mandatory. Students with no support were less likely to engage in social service and more likely to choose functional work to complete school credits. They emphasize the importance of supporting youth in identifying meaningful acts of service and that if students are left unaccompanied, they will most often choose work that "demands less physical, cognitive, or emotional investment compared with social service" (p. 56).

The study assumes a meaningful service opportunity helps students contribute to their communities, and in doing so, develops student's capacity and talents. Meaningful service requires support from schools, teachers and families so that

students have access to opportunities, training and accompaniment to engage in service commensurate to their abilities, talents and needs of their environment. Taylor and Pancer (2007) found that if new volunteers have positive experiences within a supportive social milieu, they are more likely to continue their community work even after completing the mandatory requirements of the program.

Ontario's Experience with Meaningful Service

In Ontario, educators are concerned that service experiences are characterized by functional routine tasks rather than meaningful placements that put students in personal contact with other community members (Meinhard & Foster, 1999; Meinhard, Foster, & Wright, 2006). There are a number of studies that validate this claim (Brown, Pancer, Henderson, & Ellis-Hale, 2007; Febbraro, 2001; Hall et al, 2009). A common research finding from Ontario's program is that solely mandating community service is not sufficient to create subsequent, sustained community service (Henderson, Brown, Pancer, & Ellis-Hale, 2007; Meinhard et al., 2006; Padanyi, Baetz, Brown, & Henderson, 2010; Taylor & Pancer, 2007). Padanyi et al. (2010) found that the program did not increase the rate of subsequent volunteering among students who had not volunteered prior to the mandated program. The nature, experience, and perceived impact of the service can all constitute as factors in determining whether students become committed, lifelong volunteers; as does the degree of support and accompaniment a young person needs in overcoming challenges in the path of service (Taylor & Pancer, 2007).

Research Questions

The following questions guide the data analysis to better understand the relationship

between meaningful service and the potential for subsequent community involvement:

1. Do students consider their mandated community service requirement to be meaningful?
2. What is the relationship between the mandated community service requirement and the potential for subsequent volunteering?
3. What factors are related to a meaningful mandated community service requirement and the potential for subsequent volunteering?

Methodology

This study represents a secondary analysis of existing survey data gathered by a research team led by Steven Brown of Wilfrid Laurier University. The mass survey, taken in 2007, is substantial, and is thus useful in identifying overall patterns. Moreover, the community service program in Ontario schools has not undergone any changes since its inception, making the requirements from students similar over time.

Participants

The research participants were 1,341 students among all first-year university students at four mid-sized post-secondary institutions in Southwestern Ontario. Respondents majored in fields within science, business and arts. The participants ranged from 17 to 33 years of age, with an average age being 19 ($SD = 0.88$). Of this sample, 70% were female, and 86.1% of the participants were born in Canada, and their family incomes were higher than average for Canadian families.

Students completed their community service requirements in a wide variety of settings: 21.9% within the school sector (i.e. tutoring, school fundraisers); 20.7% in the

sports sector (i.e. coaching or organizing in a club or league); 15.1% in religious or cultural settings (helping at a church, mosque or ethnic organizations); and 20% with other nonprofit organizations (i.e. food banks). The remaining students completed their placements in health, political and informal settings.

Data were collected from university rather than high school students so that the respondents had a complete experience with the mandatory program. The principal researchers acknowledged some limitations arising from their research methodology (Henderson et al., 2007). The sample is not representative of Ontario's general high school population because students entering university tend to be from backgrounds that are more inclined towards high achievement and stronger civic engagement; it does not represent typical universities by Canadian standards because of their ethno-cultural background; and the study examines the short-term impact (within 14 months of high school graduation), thus findings cannot be generalized to the long term.

Apparatus and data analysis procedures

A 98-question online opinion survey was administered to students, who answered questions regarding their attitude towards society, helping others, and volunteering; the nature and amount of previous volunteering; current service involvement; and other demographic measures of civic and political engagement.

The respective Registrar's offices of the four post-secondary institutions recruited participants. An email invitation was sent to students in January and February 2007 to an online survey, taking about 15 minutes to complete. Follow-up reminders and an incentive increased participation. The survey produced 1,533 completed responses. After removing respondents who did not complete

high school in Ontario, a usable sample of 1,341 respondents was obtained.

Conscious that students have varied experiences with service, whether the program introduces high school students to community service who would not otherwise was first examined. Students were asked how much of their community service in high school was done to satisfy their graduation requirement in order to categorize the students into three groupings based on how much more service was done outside the high school requirement. A frequency analysis of the responses to this question was conducted.

To determine whether students consider their mandatory community service requirement to be meaningful, an Index of Meaningfulness (IOM) scale was constructed. Students responded to statements related to their service by indicating their agreement or disagreement on a five-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly agree” (1) to “strongly disagree” (5). This 6-item scale had a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.852, indicating adequate internal consistency. IOM scores were computed by averaging the responses on 6 items. The scores ranged from 1 indicating a less meaningful and possible negative community service experience, to 5 indicating a more meaningful and positive experience.

An Index of Subsequent Involvement (ISS) was created to explore statements related to whether they would become involved in service to the community in the future. Participants responded using a five-point Likert scale ranging from “strongly agree” (1) to “strongly disagree” (5). The 6-item scale had a Cronbach’s alpha of 0.902, indicating adequate internal consistency. ISS scale scores were computed by averaging responses to the 6 items. These scores range from 1 to 5 and are reverse scaled so that 1 indicates a low likelihood of

future service, and 5 indicates a stronger commitment to future community service.

A one-way Analysis of Variance was conducted with the index of meaningfulness as the dependent variable and the groups of students defined by the amount of service as the independent variable to determine whether the amount of service is related to a more meaningful experience. Lastly, a one-way ANOVA was conducted based on the survey question “in which sector did you complete your requirement?” with the dependent variable being the Index of Meaningfulness. To determine whether other factors contribute to subsequent service, predictors such as frequency in attending religious services, gender, parental involvement in community service, the category of high school students graduated from (i.e. private, public, catholic), whether they were born in Canada, the population of the community in which they lived most of their lives, and total family income were identified and a multiple regression analysis was conducted.

Results

1. Do students consider their mandated community service to be meaningful?

A One-Way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) evaluated the relationship between meaningfulness of the volunteer experience and group membership. The independent variable, group, had the three levels of service, based on number of completed hours, and coded as Group 1, 2 and 3. The dependent variable was how much they perceived their service to be meaningful. The results of the One-Way ANOVA were significant, $F(2, 1334) = 14.495, p < .001$, with moderate effect size ($\eta^2 = .24$). Table 1 presents data for the three groups, with confidence intervals for the reported means.

Table 1

Meaningfulness Index by Group based on Amount of Service

Group	N	Mean	SD	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
				Lower	Upper
1	208	2.93	0.05	2.82	3.03
2	483	3.60	0.04	3.53	3.67
3	646	4.17	0.03	4.11	4.23

2. What is the relationship between a meaningful community service requirement and the potential for subsequent community service?

A linear regression analysis evaluated the prediction of subsequent service from a meaningful service experience during high school. The scatter plot indicated that the two variables are linearly related such that the likelihood of subsequent service increases as the meaningfulness of the service experience increases. The 95% confidence interval for the slope, 0.434 to 0.524, does not contain the value of zero, and therefore meaningful service is significantly related to the intention of subsequent community service.

The correlation between meaningful service and subsequent service was 0.50 ($p = 0.01$). Approximately 25% of the variance in subsequent service was accounted for by its linear relationship with meaningful service scores. The results of the One-Way

ANOVA, to evaluate the relationship between the types of groups and their commitment to subsequent service, were significant, $F(2, 1330) = 21.612, p < .001$, with moderate effect size ($\eta^2 = .19$) of the variance of the dependent variable.

3. What other factors are related to a meaningful experience as well as subsequent community service?

The Two-Way ANOVA, to determine whether specific sectors enabled a meaningful experience, indicated significant main effect for Sectors, $F(5, 1214) = 2.92, p = .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .01$, a significant effect for Groups, $F(2, 1214) = 141.26, p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .19$, and a significant interaction between the groups and sectors, $F(10, 1214) = 2.30, p = .02$, partial $\eta^2 = .02$. The means and standard deviations for the Meaningfulness Index of the two factors are presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Means and Standard Deviations for Meaningfulness Index

	School	Health	NPO	Religious	Sport	Informal	Total
<40	3.00	2.91	2.68	3.12	2.97	2.95	2.92
>40	3.67	3.20	3.48	3.62	3.7	3.72	3.59
>80	4.19	4.31	4.08	4.18	4.23	3.72	4.16
Total	3.82	3.72	3.62	3.9	3.8	3.51	3.76

The results of the ANOVA, to explore the difference in meaningfulness between sectors, were not significant, $F(5, 187) = 0.975, p < 0.435$ for Group 1, with weak effect size ($\eta^2 = .025$). The results of the ANOVA for Group 2 were significant, $F(5, 446) = 3.033, p < 0.011$, with weak effect size ($\eta^2 = .033$). The results of the ANOVA for Group 3 were significant, $F(5, 581) = 3.273, p < 0.006$, with weak effect size ($\eta^2 = .027$).

Table 4 presents a summary of the multiple regression results. The linear combination of service variables was significantly related to the subsequent service index, $F(8, 999) = 54.05, p < 0.001$.

The sample multiple correlation coefficient was 0.55, indicating that approximately 30% of the variance in the subsequent service index can be accounted for by the linear combinations of subsequent service variables.

The results suggest that from among the 8 potential variables, the strongest predictor was the Meaningfulness Index ($\beta = .46$), followed by parent involvement ($\beta = -.12$), gender ($\beta = .10$), and attendance of religious services ($\beta = .08$). In contrast, the remaining variables were not statistically significant predictors in determining subsequent service.

Table 3

Summary of Regression Analysis for Variables Predicting Subsequent Service

Variable	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Category of High School Graduation	0.02	0.04	0.01
Parent's Total Income 2005	-0.02	0.01	-0.04
Population of Community Lived In	0.00	0.01	0.00
Whether they Were Born in Canada	0.10	0.08	0.04
Attendance in Religious Services	0.04	0.02	0.08**
Gender	0.19	0.05	0.10*
Parental Involvement in Service	-0.21	0.05	-0.12*
Meaningfulness Index	0.46	0.03	0.46*

* $p < .001$, ** $p < .005$

Discussion

The number of students engaged in service for the first time through the mandated program (15%) is much smaller than those with previous experience (85%). Students who completed only the mandated 40 hours of service were the least satisfied with their experience, while those who served more than required felt it was more meaningful. It could be argued that students were the least satisfied were for reasons other than that the service was mandated. From this study, there is no evidence that making service mandatory will foster a commitment to service over the long term.

Forty-eight percent of the students did well beyond the required 40 hours, indicating that young people are more involved in community life than is often assumed and is consistent with the national survey conducted by Hall et al. (2009).

Those with the largest amount of service (Group 3) were more likely to cite a positive experience. Some possible explanations are that meaningful nature of the service motivates the student to continue; meaningful service opportunities often require a longer commitment; and that students who are more inclined to volunteer

had connections to placements that they found meaningful.

As indicated, there is a moderate correlation between whether students consider their experience meaningful and whether they are committed to future service. This supports the central argument that meaningful service opportunities can foster greater likelihood for subsequent service and supports earlier research that asserts that a positive experience will likely result in further commitment to service in the future (Brown et al., 2007).

There was also a correlation between the three groups and their potential for subsequent service. Group 3 was most likely to commit to future service, while group 1 was least likely to do so. The results, consistent with previous research, demonstrate that the mandated program does little to help students commit to future community service (Padanyi et al., 2010). Students who were most likely engaged in service beyond high school were those who would volunteer even if they were not required to.

The experience of students within different service sectors varied according to the three groups that they were in. For group 1, there was no relationship between the sector and whether the service was considered meaningful. For group 2, the health sector did not provide as meaningful of an experience as the sports and school sectors, and for group 3, health, school, religious and cultural sectors were all more meaningful than informal service. Although not a focus of this present study, an area of future research could be what sectors enable a meaningful experience for youth and why. If meaningful placements are a factor in subsequent community service, more research could determine where in the social economy and volunteer sector one might gain such experience and to find those attributes that make service meaningful. In

this regard, schools could strengthen collaborations with organizations whose mandate and approach demonstrate potential for meaningful placements for students. This has implications for volunteer and school administrators.

Volunteer administrators from agencies, particularly those who operate within the neighborhood where the school is situated, can create mutually reinforcing partnerships with schools and classrooms. Students meet their service requirements, while at the same time volunteer practitioners work with students to create projects and opportunities for action, providing close support outside of the classroom. For volunteer administrators to create a meaningful placement, the data results suggest that it is important for the student to feel connected to the organization they serve with, to have the opportunity to learn new skills and for them to feel that their contribution makes a difference.

This process of meaningful learning can be strengthened when teachers encourage linkages between community service and the concepts or capacities learned in school. Students can draw from their volunteer experience to better understand and articulate themes explored in history, social studies or science classes. Exploring volunteer experience in the classroom provides an opportunity for students to describe and reflect on action in order to be conscious of the meaning of their experience.

Lastly, the regression analysis reveals that the quality of the service experience, gender, attendance in religious services and parental involvement are predictors for intentions to serve in the future, with meaningful service as the strongest predictor statistically. The variables related to family income, immigration, size of community the students were raised in and the type of high school

were not statistically significant predictors. This finding is noteworthy because it suggests that there is a potential to significantly increase the positive outcomes of community service programs by focusing on identifying what opportunities exist in the social economy for meaningful service, and by creating additional, similar opportunities for high school students. The placement and the perception of a student's volunteer work are factors that programs can address and strengthen.

Conclusion

The findings from the study reported here add to a growing body of research suggesting that solely mandating community service in high school does not increase the likelihood that students will engage in further community service (Henderson et al., 2007; Meinhard et al., 2006; Padanyi et al., 2010; Taylor & Pancer, 2007). Furthermore, the findings suggest that the critical factor in subsequent service is having a meaningful experience. The implications are that meaningful service in high school increases the likelihood of subsequent service or volunteering. Understanding exactly what contributes to meaningful service in high school seems of importance for future research. The research findings begin to address this issue by examining the relationship between sector and subsequent service as well as characteristics such as religion and family income and subsequent service. Additional research is needed, potentially utilizing qualitative methodologies and a more in-depth exploration of the experiences of the volunteer.

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About the Author

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Motivating a Volunteer Workforce in the Criminal Justice System

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Abstract

The Optional Protocol to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (OPCAT) requires that police detention processes are monitored and inspected. The United Kingdom is partially ensuring this provision through the use of an existing independent volunteer workforce. This research explores the conditions required for the effective use of this volunteer workforce through 12 semi-structured interviews. An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis was used that initially generated 46 motivator codes that were clustered into six themes of volunteer motivation consisting of: personal affect, personal growth, social goals, altruistic, activity and values. Ten demotivators were also revealed through the interviews. The implications of these findings for volunteer motivation and how organisations may capitalise on this are discussed.

Key Words: motivation, volunteer workforce, criminal justice, preventing torture, terrorism

Introduction

Countries are increasingly relying on volunteer work to provide social, health, community and policing services (Haeffliger & Hug, 2009). In the United Kingdom (UK), there is an estimated 20.3 million volunteers (Home Office, 2004). Increasingly, government is recognising the need for volunteers to deliver services, promote accountability and resource savings. The criminal justice system is no exception, where over 2,500 volunteers provide services as prison visitors, adults escorting young people through detention processes and independent custody visitors (Home Office, 2007). Independent custody visitors are community volunteers who inspect the way people are treated whilst in police custody. This research explores what motivates these volunteers. With the controversy of torture in recent years and accusations of UK Government of complicity in CIA torture (House of Lords, 2009); this volunteer workforce has an important role to play in a civil society

sensitive to the treatment of people in detention.

This research was specifically interested in two areas. Firstly, why do volunteers complete the role of independent custody visitors? Are they motivated by self focused phenomena or the service of others? Secondly, the research considers what organisations such as the UK Home Office and Police and Crime Panels do to maintain the motivation of these individuals through the way they are managed. It also critically examines the relevance of current UK policies such as the National Occupational Standards for Managing Volunteers (NOS) and the Investors in Volunteers (IIV) benchmark management programme according to the volunteers interviewed.

Literature

Batson and Shaw (1991) make a distinction between helping others for their benefit (service) or for egoistic (self) rewards. They go on to postulate an empathy-altruism

hypothesis, which states that motivation is created when we feel empathy for others and that any rewards for the self are consequential, not prime factors. This implies that 'pure altruism' is possible and that egotistic motivation is of secondary concern. Other psychologists such as Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin and Schroeder (2005) dispute this with alternative theories associating service with intrinsic self reward for the helper.

Lamm, Batson and Decety (2007) conducted a study incorporating neurology to track the neural pathways associated with empathy and motivation. Participants were asked to consider the position of patients undergoing painful medical procedures – participants were asked to imagine the feelings of the patient (''imagine other'') or to imagine oneself to be in the patient's situation (''imagine self''). The neuro-imaging data confirmed that the amygdala, which assesses risk and threats, changed response in context of the different approaches. Imagining oneself to be in the situation may have triggered a stronger fear and aversion than imagining someone else experiencing the same event. This may impact upon the volunteer in the criminal justice system, as while visiting the incarcerated they, the volunteer, may feel fear of being incarcerated themselves.

The inclination to help others may also stem from individual and cultural differences. For example, Costa and McCrea's (1985) NEO PI-R measures both dutifulness and altruism as a sub-scale (facet of agreeableness). Feeling empathy for others is found in the dimensions of emotional intelligence which includes intra and interpersonal factors (Gardner, 1983). This consideration may be translated into action as volunteering. Cultural influences on altruism were explored by Yablo and Field (2007) who used the Self-Report Altruism (SRA) Scale and the Altruism Apperception Test (AAT) alongside in-depth interviews between Thai and United States (US) nationals. This research demonstrated significant effects of culture on altruism with Thai's scoring higher than US subjects on both the SRA Scale and the AAT.

Other variables may also affect motivations. Age, gender, race, religion, and even distance to travel may all be factors. Older adults may have a greater potential for volunteering because they may have more free time and less work and family responsibilities (Fengyan & Morrow-Howell, 2008; Holmes & Slater, 2012). Gender may also be a factor as females score higher on measures of altruism and empathy and attach more value to helping others (Wilson & Musick, 1997). Regarding race, Wilson (2000) stated that 51.9% of whites compared with 35.3% of black people had volunteered examining a US based survey. However, when education, income, occupational status, and neighbourhood conditions are controlled for, these racial differences disappear (Clary et al., 1998). Religious practice may also promote helping others although there is mixed evidence for this (Omoto & Snyder, 1995). Distance to travel to the prison or police detention area may also be a factor as this was found to be a barrier for volunteering in UK heritage sites (Holmes & Slater, 2012).

Volunteer Functions

Haefliger and Hug (2009) argued that classifying volunteer functions is often a way to explore their motivation. The central theory of this functional analysis of volunteer motivation is that there are different processes involved in the volunteering act for different people (Clary, et al., 1998) and these functions are informed by a range of psychology theories: the defensive function captures elements of psychodynamic theory, the knowledge function allies with Gestalt psychology, the expressive function incorporates self-psychology, and the utilitarian and adjustive functions reflect a behaviourist perspective. Six volunteer functions were identified by Clary et al. (1998) providing a way of categorising motivation in an empirical research framework (See Table 1). This research was also followed up by Dunlop and Esmund (2004) who found support for these original six functions but identified a further four functions (See Table 1).

Table 1: Volunteer functions (Clary, et al. 1998; Dunlop & Esmund, 2004; Allison, Okun, & Dutridge, 2002)

1.	Values whereby the individual volunteers in order to express or act on firmly held beliefs of the importance for one to help others.
2.	Understanding whereby the individual volunteers to learn more about the world through their volunteering experience or exercise skills that are often unused.
3.	Social whereby the individual volunteers and seeks to conform to normative influences of significant others (e.g. friends or family).
4.	Career Development whereby the individual volunteers with the prospect of making connections with people and gaining experience and skills in the field that may eventually be beneficial in assisting them to find employment.
5.	Protective whereby the individual volunteers as a means to reduce negative feelings about themselves, e.g. guilt or to address personal problems.
6.	Self-Esteem whereby the individual volunteers to increase their own feelings of self-worth and self-esteem.
7.	Reciprocity whereby the individual volunteers in the belief that ‘what goes around comes around’. In the process of helping others and ‘doing good’ their volunteering work will also bring about good things for themselves.
8.	Recognition whereby the individual is motivated to volunteer by being recognised for their skills and contribution.
9.	Reactivity whereby the individual volunteers out of a need to ‘heal’ and address their own past or current issues.
10.	Social Interaction whereby the individual volunteers to build social networks and enjoys the social aspects of interacting with others.
11.	Enjoyment , whereby the individual derives a pleasurable experience from their volunteering

Wilson (2000) disagreed with the finding that ‘values’ are the most predominant volunteer function, suggesting that ‘values’ fail to predict volunteering reliably. One reason for this is that different groups may attach different values to the same volunteer work (Serow & Dreyden, 1990). Furthermore, most of these studies are dependent on survey instruments such as the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) or Volunteer Motivation Inventory (VMI) (Dunlop & Esmund, 2004). Haefliger and Hug (2009) expressed reservations stating that these studies are hampered by this survey based methodology or are limited through their narrow focus on a preset list of motivations and incentives.

Allison, Okun and Dutridge (2002) stated that the singular most startling observation is that none of the VFI motives address volunteering because ‘it is enjoyable’. For some adults, volunteering may be incorporated into their leisure portfolio because it affords them an opportunity to

engage in a pleasurable activity (Tang & Morrow-Howell, 2008). A further function was therefore added into Table 1 in that enjoyment of volunteering was also an important motivation (Allison et al., 2002).

With a qualitative approach such as Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA), respondents can explore their individual perceptions and make sense of certain phenomena in a specific context (Smith, 2004). In particular, this paper explores two research questions:

1. Why are volunteers motivated to serve as an independent custody visitors ensuring that detainees are not tortured or suffer from degrading treatment under the OPCAT regulation?
2. Having established what motivates these volunteers, how can organisations sustain volunteer motivation in the way that they are managed?

Method

Sample

Twelve people who volunteer as independent custody visitors took part in the interviews consisting of eight females and four males. Seven participants were retired, four were working and one was an undergraduate student (age mean 52.25, SD = 14.19). Participants were recruited through research invitations to the volunteer workforce via local police authorities immediately neighbouring Gloucestershire Unitary Authority (under Police Reform Act 2002, it was police authorities that had the explicit legal responsibility for recruiting, training, appointing, authorising and managing this volunteer workforce). The group were selected because of their specialist activity, their homogeneity and their willingness to participate in a research project. Geographical location was also a factor to enable selection of local people so that the majority of interviews could take place in person to accommodate a more thorough communication process (Mehrabian & Ferris, 1967) thereby contributing to an effective IPA processes (Fade, 2004). The police authorities themselves publicised the project in order to recruit their independent volunteers to participate in the study. It was unnecessary to use personal identity for this research which ensures a degree of confidentiality and data protection compliance. During the interviews and in the transcripts, pseudonyms have been used; a confidentiality agreement was signed by the transcriber.

Materials

The interviews were semi-structured in nature, allowing participants to go off on tangents if this was interesting for the research. The researcher explored the literature surrounding the area and had some experience with working for the UK Home Office, which aided the creation of the interview questions. The following prompts were therefore used as part of a semi-structured interview approach to stimulate discussion and appropriate disclosure by the volunteers:

1. Explain to others what you do regarding independent custody visiting?
2. Why do you do independent custody visiting?
3. Could you describe a visit process from arrival to departure?
4. What are your thoughts and feelings to those who are being held in detention?
5. What are your thoughts and feelings after a visit?
6. Are you happy visiting all categories of detainees?
7. What do you think might happen if independent custody visiting did not take place?
8. Does anything frustrate you as a volunteer?
9. Do you tell people about your volunteering; who benefits from your volunteering; and what other volunteering activities you have undertaken?

The order and exact wording of each item were adapted to each conversation whilst trying to remain a consistent questioning technique. This allowed the researcher to answer the key research questions while at the same time allowing the participant to deviate and follow related areas of interest.

Procedure

Each participant was fully briefed on the nature of the study before the interview took place. Participants were then given a written consent form, which they signed before the interview took place. The individual interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Analysis

The interview transcripts were analysed using interpretative phenomenological analysis (Smith, 1996; Smith, Flowers & Larkin, 2009). It is important to pay respect to the context within which these phenomena are first mentioned as part of the interview process; it is from this context that the meaning for the individual can be inferred (Smith, 2004). The first step is the researcher reads through the interviews becoming fully immersed in the data whereby

the participant's experience is the principle focus (Smith, et al, 2009). After the experiences of the participant are noted, the initial coding of the data takes place. This involves making codes from topics arising in the interviews. This arises from examining the participant's responses to questions posed as well as including aspects of the language and context used within the interviews (Smith, et al., 2009). The initial codes demonstrate how the participants construct their world and make sense of their experience of volunteering within the criminal justice system. The initial codes are then examined in terms of how they relate to each other and the participants experience of their reality. This condenses the codes into themes, which we call clustered motivators. Clustered motivators are then expressed as phrases which reflects both the participant's experience but also the analyst's interpretation (Smith, et al, 2009). The analysis is completed from a constructionism

epistemology (Crotty, 1998). This focuses on how participants gain meaning from their experiences to build their understanding of the world, which is central to IPA (Smith, et al., 2009).

Results

In order to identify the relevant phenomena, IPA focuses on the following criteria: prevalence (frequency of reference), articulacy (ability to explain coherently to others), immediacy (ease of recall and identification), precision (clarity of commitment) and manner (passion) (Fade, 2004). The interviews produced an extensive list of 46 initial codes that were placed into six clustered themes consisting of: personal affect, personal growth, social goals, altruistic, activity and values. The clusters and their meaning inferred by the researchers from the volunteers are given in Table 2. In addition, the range of codes that contributed towards the clusters is given in Table 3.

Table 2: Clustered motivators and meanings inferred from the volunteers

Clusters	Meaning inferred from volunteers
• Personal Affect	<i>'It feels good to volunteer'</i>
• Personal growth	<i>'I improve my skills, knowledge and attitude by volunteering'</i>
• Social Goals	<i>'Relating to my relationship with others'</i>
• Altruism	<i>'Helping others'</i>
• Activity	<i>'Something to do'</i>
• Values	<i>'It is very important'</i>

Table 3: Clustered motivators and associated codes

PERSONAL AFFECT (57)	PERSONAL GROWTH (23)	SOCIAL GOALS (10)	ALTRUISTIC (82)	ACTIVITY (7)	VALUES (12)
Pleasure (13)	Learning & self development (8)	Socialising (4)	Empathy with detainee (11)	Something to do (3)	Do the right thing (3)
Paying back the community (10)	Interest & stimulation (8)	Requested to help (3)	Sympathy/pity for detainees (10)	Entertainment (1)	It needs to be done (2)
Power and status (10)	Difference (3)	Social identity (1)	Empathy with police (10)	Independent audit (1)	Core beliefs (2)
Feeling good /positive affect (9)	Professional development (2)	Heightened ownership (1)	Make a difference (10)	Relieving boredom (1)	Human rights (2)
Adrenalin buzz (4)	Tiredness relief (1)	Teamwork (1)	Sympathy for juveniles (9)	Representing detainees (1)	Spiritual (1)
Privilege guilt (4)	Social development (1)		Make it better for people (6)		Civil society (1)
Addicted (3)			Opportunity to help others (4)		Religion (1)
Challenge (2)			Because they can help (3)		
Helping yourself to help others (2)			Innate (2)		
			Helping police and detainees (2)		
			Protecting detainees (2)		
			Public service (1)		
			Represent Women (1)		
			Police improvements (1)		

NB. Figures in brackets indicate number of citations of code or theme

The most cited reason for volunteering by the participants was 'pleasure' which was mentioned 13 times by the participants. This was an 'egoistic' motivator in that the volunteer is the beneficiary. Altruism generated the largest number of citations consisting of 82 in total explained by 15 related codes. 'Making a difference' generated 10 distinct citations as did 'empathy with the detainee'. Indeed, sympathy and empathy for the detainees, including distinct reference to 'sympathy for juveniles' generated 30 citations in total.

While discussing motivation, it became apparent in the interviews that there were also 10 demotivators consisting of: perception of no change occurring (5 citations), no feedback given (4 citations), boredom (4 citations), change was slow in occurring (3 citations), conflict with the police (2 citations), visit timings (2 citations) and that there was delayed access to custody suites, systemic incompetence and a lack of visits (all with 1 citation). The most important was the demotivating effect of a lack of, or slowness, in achieving any change which, in the worst case scenario, could lead to the volunteers withdraw their services.

Discussion

The Government use of voluntary and community organisations to deliver statutory public services has increased in recent years (Home Office, 2007). As this reliance increases, there has been concern that poor understanding of what motivates volunteers and how this can be managed continues to be a major cause of volunteer drop out (Home Office, 2004). This study has in part addressed this concern.

Before exploring current government approach to volunteer motivation, it is important to address the premise of this research – are volunteers driven by a self or service focus?

In terms of immediacy and precision related to the interpretative phenomenological analysis (Fade, 2004; Smith et al, 2009), an immediate point is that several of the participants found it difficult to articulate and/or identify their own motivational

phenomena. There appeared to be a lack of an effective conversation about true volunteer motivations. In this regard, the participants found it difficult to consider that volunteering may be self-focused, possibly due to modesty. Volunteer participants, such as Ian, denied the possibility of egoistic factors,

"I do it for the detainees (short laugh). Without a shadow of doubt. I don't do it for me."

Ian could not identify any 'self' focused elements in his volunteering but then went on in his interview to disclose his volunteering at a hospice where a young close relative had recently died. Ian did not appear to see the relationship between 'self' (possibly catharsis in this case) and 'service' ('helping the hospice') phenomena.

Other volunteer participants, such as Michael, confused 'paying back the community' or 'using their privileged life to serve others' as altruistic, when such motivators can be sourced as a desire to assuage guilt which is egoistic. The goals and results of the volunteering may serve others, but the motivational source is self-focused as shown by Michael in the following passage:

"It's back to giving something back to the community that I took a lot from when I was bringing up a family and climbing up the corporate ladder. I didn't have a lot of time for any voluntarily or humanitarian work. I was too busy looking after myself. Now I have the time to help other people. I think it's a worthwhile thing to do."

Whilst the majority of the volunteers spoke of wanting to serve others, several of the participants were very clear and unapologetic that their volunteering was self serving. They seem to understand that their self serving/egoistic needs generated the motivation for volunteering, which eventually would benefit others. Amy described directly what her motivation for volunteering is:

"Personally I find it very interesting to interact with the type of detainees that I'm meeting. Referring to my (university) course, it's very applicable, looking at levels of crime and what people are being arrested for."

Miriam also gives insight into the phenomena in that the more she commits to

self focused motivators, the more her desire is to serve:

"I would say that over the last two years the desire has become even stronger to become even more involved now I've become the coordinator rather than just the visitor, so it's a step up in responsibility and I take that very seriously by keeping in contact with everyone and really making sure that our panel performs well and does the best that we can. So, for the last two years I've felt even more that I know that this is what I want to do in a serious way not just as the odd evening to go and do a visit but quite seriously. I feel very strongly about it now."

Arguably Miriam wants activity, to pay back society, to lead others and to exercise her religious beliefs (expressed during the interview) and the outcome of these motivators is more service to others - volunteering. This quotation demonstrates that the wider phenomenon of prosocial behavior combines intrinsic, extrinsic and reputational motivations (Benabou & Tirole, 2003). Basically, helping others, helping oneself and helping society are interdependent – it develops from biological (survival instinct), motivational (wanting to develop the self), cognitive (morality) and social (positive relationships) processes (Penner, et al., 2005).

Does this interdependent nature of motivations mean that people with more self focus deliver more service? Do self and service motivations correlate? Leah demonstrates the cyclical nature of the self and service relationship between helping others and helping herself to enjoy her volunteering work in line with the enjoyment function identified by Allison, et al. (2002).

"My first volunteering work being to help people to read...once you can read and write your life is changed completely, so I really enjoyed that."

Jim's quotation below succinctly explained the finding that all the phenomena identified can be traced to a source of egoistic motivation. What is important to ascertain from these findings is that self and egoistic reasons for volunteering are prevalent, and that if organisations like government are to

rely more on volunteering, facilitating volunteers' egoistic goals would help to produce sustainable service:

"You are doing it... more for your own benefit than for the detainees for a matter of fact [...] because you are looking for your own satisfaction. You are looking for something to do, that's going to interest you, to excite you."

Jim further described the actual work itself and how this made him feel about volunteering:

"In custody visits every time you go, the people are behind locked doors, you don't know what you are going to get, what's going to happen ... it's the idea of sorting out problems that the person has got, and how you can help them, what you can do and when you come out, you feel that you've achieved something."

As a by-product, the IPA also revealed 10 demotivational phenomena. These phenomena did not theoretically correlate with the motivational phenomena; the participants did not express dissatisfaction because their explicit motivation was not rewarded but because their volunteering was inconvenient, had not made a difference, was underused or was not respected by the professional staff involved in the custody visiting process – basically, their volunteering was not valued as they thought it should be. In the worst case scenario, such as with Diane, the effect could be to withdraw their services as volunteers.

"I think...or well I know... that when I've got more time to do voluntary work, I'll be wanting to get involved in something that does almost feel a bit more fulfilling than what this does."

The importance of making a difference mentioned earlier is highlighted by the participants during the interviews receiving the second highest count of 10 comments during the discussions. Whether these demotivators can be classed in the same vane as Herzberg's Hygiene Factors - whereby minimum standards are required to maintain performance - or whether they actually remove motivational energy in volunteer settings requires further research

(Hertzberg, 1966). However, these demotivators would imply that the volunteers' egoistic need for stimulus, adrenaline and action might outweigh the altruistic 'peacekeeping' effect of the independent custody visitor. This need for heightened activity receives 12 related comments. It would appear that such demotivators undermine the egoistic process rather than the altruistic process. Ultimately, Diane's threat to seek other volunteering opportunities elsewhere demonstrates the importance of helping volunteers identify and reach their goals.

The majority of participants understood their self serving/egoistic needs generated the motivation for service which would benefit others. Indeed, this can be modelled from the data as in Figure 1 below. Arguably in this model, the only sustainable volunteering model is in the 'High Self' and 'High Service' quadrant as shown, as the other quadrants would not sustain motivation through lack of reward as demonstrated in this study by the volunteers. In this way, self and service motivations can correlate and are interdependent.

Figure 1: Self or service focus

High	High Self Low Service	High Self High Service
Self	(unsustainable)	(sustainable)
	Low Self Low Service	Low Self High Service
Low	(unsustainable)	(unsustainable)
	Low	High
	Service	

What is important to conclude in this model is that if organisations like the Home Office are to rely more on volunteering, understanding volunteers' motivation would help to produce sustainable service. In turn, there is a need to develop high quality programmes to enhance the skills of those that manage volunteers. These criticisms have stimulated some key resource developments on a national scale but in examining these initiatives as part of this research, there appears to be a lack of understanding in the role of motivation and its relationship with sustainable volunteering.

The most significant resources developed to address quality issues within UK national volunteering are the National Occupational Standards for Managing Volunteers (NOS) and Investors in Volunteers (IIV). Whilst they address the role of management, it is suggested in this research that they should seek to understand

motivation. What is notable about these government backed standards is that neither document mentions *how* to explore volunteer motivation in any significant way, failing to acknowledge the different functions that volunteering serve (such as the functions in Table 2), let alone the significant probability that all volunteers are acting for egoistic reasons in some way – albeit mental, emotional or spiritual reward.

These policies may promote management interventions such as training and appraising volunteers but they fail to explore the meaning of these beyond promoting activity. The NOS and IIV indicators include sufficient scope to address the motivation of volunteers including indicator 1 (*'volunteering ...which benefits volunteers'*) and indicator 4 (*'develops appropriate roles for volunteers...which are of value to the volunteers'*). However, any mention that the standards make about

‘motivation’ is not supported with any effective management practice, which is essential to consider (Mitchell, 2013).

The criticisms of programmes such as Investors In People upon which the IIV programme is based is that the IIV programme may just be a quality badge or statement and may miss the point in terms of what do the volunteers want? The main beneficiaries of these current programmes appear to have been the organisations using volunteers and for volunteer managers and if organisations fail to understand why the twelve volunteers in this study are motivated to serve others by acting as independent custody visitors, if they neglect the meaning to the individual, can organisations sustain volunteering?

Proactive management of motivation

This research revealed a complex matrix of motivational factors which appear to serve both service and egoistic functions. So what should policies on the management of volunteers have addressed more clearly?

From the research it can be concluded that:

- volunteer motivation is difficult to express and organisations need to find ways of facilitating this essential conversation
- egoistic motivation is the main source of altruism found in this study and needs accommodating at different stages of the organisation’s relationship with the volunteer
- volunteer motivation is a complex matrix of personal goals and needs to be managed appropriately.

In order to look at ways of accommodating these requirements, voluntary and community organisations need to develop systems to harness volunteering to achieve their goals. These processes include:

1. Job Design: Organisations must be clear about the duties of the volunteer (role description) and explicit about what the volunteering will do for the volunteers in return i.e., ‘what’s in it for you?’, and what sort of person might be good at doing that role (person specification).
2. Recruitment Advertising: volunteer recruitment advertising should not concentrate on the plight of others but also appeal to peoples’ egoistic functions by saying what the volunteering will help them achieve in return. Clary et al. (1998) were keen to point out that volunteers can be recruited by appealing to their own psychological functions. Haefliger and Hug (2008) found that this predictive element is valid and reliable.
3. Selection: Thomson (2002) stated that over 50% of those conducting volunteer interviews had received little or no interview training. Alternative assessment techniques could be a more quantitative section of the application form or a telephone interview including some structured questions. This approach might require a more skilled interviewer but would complement the management standards mentioned in both the NOS and IIV which promote ‘effective’ recruitment processes.
4. Management: This will depend on understanding such issues as volunteer motivation, flexible volunteering and helping volunteers to make a difference in their communities. Volunteers may be wary of formal annual performance related interviews (appraisals) but, in essence, effective supervision of these individuals, which includes feedback, is essential to retain them.
5. Leaving Data: The volunteer sector needs to capture this data which could be accommodated through exit interviewing. It is understandable that some volunteers who have decided to leave may not wish to speak to volunteer managers whom they perceive have let them down in some way. Therefore, an exit interview with another trained volunteer may obtain information on a peer-to-peer basis whilst ameliorating any feelings of conflict between the departing volunteer and the organisation.

Limitations of this research

IPA attempts to understand and access the real world experience of the participating individual; however, in order to do this the researcher must consider their own subjectivity (Smith, et al, 2009); therefore the perception of the researcher can both restrict and inform the study simultaneously. The study is also limited by the communication skills and articulacy of the participants, in that they need to describe their perceptions in a way that the researcher can reflect on and analyse that data.

Practical issues common with research of this nature include sample construction and interview processes; the age, ethnic representation and socio-demographic mix of the interviewees may represent a microcosm of the specific sector but this sample was largely driven by geographical location. Furthermore, a minority of the interviews took place over the phone which can significantly change the quality of communication deemed important to effective IPA processes (Fade, 2004). The research aspired to good practice techniques in order to minimise or contextualise these limitations.

Conclusions

At the end of this research, it is important to stress that the concept of 'self' or 'service' has been used as a manner to explore this study. Whatever the lead motivation for the contributing volunteers, whether it is to gain experience that may help them secure employment or a desire to pay something back to society, these motivators are important to recognise. Indeed, these motivators are the energies that bring the volunteers through the door of service and, if society is going to be ever more reliant on these people to promote democratic values, governance and human rights, these are the energies that organisations must work with. Kanfer and Ackerman (1989) stated that motivation is the 'direction, intensity and persistence of work behaviour' and 'is a multiply-determined, complex and dynamic phenomena'. Management approaches as discussed should acknowledge this and react to it in its strategies, structures and systems.

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