Motivational functions of volunteerism: similarities and differences between low & high risk communities

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MOTIVATIONAL FUNCTIONS OF VOLUNTEERISM:
SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
LOW & HIGH RISK COMMUNITIES

Deborah L. Cole

A Thesis
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
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Approved by ____________________________
Professor

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ABSTRACT

Deborah L. Cole

Motivational Functions of Volunteerism:
Similarities and Differences Between Low and High At-Risk Communities

Dr. Suzanne Sparks
Public Relations/Communication

A functional approach provides a framework for identifying psychological and behavioral aspects associated with decision-making, experiences, and consequences. The functional approach to volunteerism suggests that different people, or sub-populations, may actually be motivated to serve based upon individual and varying personal, social, and psychological functions. The purpose of the study was to investigate any motivational differences or similarities between adults living in high at-risk and low at-risk communities with regard to voluntarism.

High and low at-risk communities were identified by the seven community at-risk indicators suggested by the Carnegie Council on Adolescents. Those communities with three or less indicators were labeled "low" while those with four or more were considered "high."

Adults from two high at-risk and two low at-risk communities completed an abbreviated telephone survey of the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI). The VFI assesses six major motive areas, or functions, for volunteering. The functions are Social, Value, Understanding, Protective, Esteem, and Career.
The results revealed some similarities and differences between the two community groupings. There was no significant difference between the populations with regard to the Values and Understanding functions. Low at-risk residents scored significantly higher in terms of being motivated by the stipends factor of the Career Function.
ABSTRACT

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Adults from two high at-risk and two low at-risk communities completed an abbreviated telephone survey of the Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI), which assesses six major motive areas, or functions (Social, Value, Understanding, Protective, Esteem, and Career).

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Chapter One

Introduction

In the past two decades, America's communities have faced increasing challenges in providing adequate educational programs and services to its citizens. Disturbing statistics and trends portray a nation at risk, communities at risk, youth at risk and society at risk. U.S. Census figures between 1980 and 1990, and research in human and social services, report percentage increases in indicators of failing levels of service. Increases are noted especially in the number of families and children living in poverty, teen birth rates, functionally illiteracy, lack of employable skills, and violence - especially by youth offenders.

Federal, state, and local governments do not possess either the resources or the mandates to provide the levels of service needed to address critical social issues. Community-based programs must assume a greater role in local human and social services programs if the quality of community and societal life is to not only be maintained but also improved. Community organizations have a long history in America and possess assets that play a vital role in fostering healthy community development. According to the Carnegie Council of Adolescent Development (1994), more than 17,000 national and local organizations operate in the United States. However, most community-based programs are traditionally, and chronically, lacking the necessary resources, in both financial and staffing patterns, to meet the needs of their community. The need for volunteers to assume active roles in programs provided by local grass roots organizations continues to grow.

Volunteering in America is not a new concept. Thousands of citizens were involved in Red Cross efforts during war campaigns, scores of people rally when natural disasters strike, countless others are actively involved in their religious organizations. Although the functional definitions of volunteer vary, it is generally agreed that a
volunteer is an individual who reaches beyond her/his normal responsibilities to contribute time and effort to a cause, belief, or activity, that is beneficial to others, as well as satisfying to the individual (Gidron, 1984).

Problem Statement

Researchers have noted a significant decline in the traditional base group of volunteers, college students and senior citizens (Sergent, Selleck, 1990 and Stevens, 1990). Tedrick and Henderson's (1989) research attributes part of this decline to difficult economic conditions that makes volunteering seem a possibility only for those of higher economic status. This trend has serious implications for volunteer coordinators of human and community services who are in need of increasing their recruitment and retention rates; especially those programs addressing the needs of communities with the greatest number of at-risk factors and the more critical issues facing residents. A better, and greater, understanding of the motivations and social and psychological needs driving volunteerism is needed to develop effective strategies of volunteer development. More importantly, it is necessary to determine if there are different motivational factors, in relation to personal needs, for volunteers for high at-risk audiences and/or in at-risk communities.

Disturbing trends and statistics, reported by the annual Kids Count Report (1997) and other reports, reflects the need for the revitalization of community-based programs. Historically, these programs have been successful because of community involvement and volunteer action. Recruiting volunteers for, and from, high at-risk neighborhoods poses greater challenges than other types of social service programs, including the threat of personal danger.

Validity and Effect

The Independent Sector, a group that studies non-profit organizations, generated and published a survey estimating that 93 million Americans volunteer. According to the
1996 General Social Survey, most of these volunteers, 24 percent, are involved in religious organizations. Other areas that attract volunteers include educational organizations (17%), youth development programs (15%), and work-related organizations (12%). But, according to that same survey, only 8.4 percent of these 93 million volunteers work in "human services," fewer than 4 percent serve as tutors, and only 1.2 percent volunteer as mentors or abuse/prevention counselors. In fact, only 38.5 percent of the sample reported activity within the previous month, and only one-third indicated they had given more than an hour of volunteer service within the past month (Independent Sector, 1992).

According to Dryfoos (1990) and Freedman (1991), the problems of our troubled youth, communities at risk, needy citizens, and the poor require a different type of volunteering. "At-risk" communities require programs that deal with low socio-economic status, high unemployment and underemployment rates, high rates of crime and violence, increased drug and substance abuse, poor performance and delinquency in school, and increase in frequency of teen and single women births. Risk factors have been defined as individual and/or environmental hazards that increase the possibilities of negative developmental outcomes. Youth at-risk indicators have been identified as antisocial behavior, inadequate and/or uninvolved parenting, negative peer pressure, academic failure and low commitment to school, and low community attachment (Carnegie, 1988). The presence of one or more risk factors does not necessarily mean the guarantee of a negative outcome, however, it increases the probability that problem behaviors will result. Protective factors, individual or environmental safeguards that enhance the ability to overcome risks, have been found to reduce the negative effects of risk factors. In most cases, the protective factor is the exact opposite of the risk factor and can be as simple as the involvement of one caring adult in a stable relationship in place of an absent or
inadequate parent. Research indicates that "at-risk" issues need to be addressed over a long period of time, one on one with clientele, and, usually, in low-income neighborhoods.

The need and demand for human services programs of this type continue to grow, especially in cities and large urban communities. Despite 44 percent of public agencies reporting cutbacks at various government levels, the requests for human and community services increased simultaneously (Search Institute, 1996). With limited resources at their disposal, grass-roots organizations will need to enlist volunteer staff to help alleviate community and social problems.

Minorities and Volunteerism

There is limited data regarding volunteers and volunteerism in "at-risk" urban communities. Research has been limited primarily to the characteristic traits of minority volunteers, particularly to the Black population. This is due to the higher percentage of Blacks, and other minorities, residing in high at-risk communities. Of the research conducted, conclusions indicate that volunteers of minority races are similar in characteristics of volunteers as a whole - of higher education, with larger incomes, and stronger religious affiliations than the "general" population (Safrit, King, 1994).

According to the 1996 Statistical Abstract of the United States, of the 29.1 percent of the reported Black population volunteering, 24.1 percent were involved in religious activities and 100 percent had incomes of $60,000 or over. Over 30 percent of the Hispanic population, 70 percent of which reported incomes of $100,000 or more, were involved in youth development activities.

Motivations of Black volunteers, as reported by the Association of Voluntary Action Scholars (1990), are greatest when the roles or activity are deemed to be for the good of others or the benefit of their direct community.

In addition to the lack of research on volunteers from urban/at risk communities, volunteer research until recently has been limited to the comparisons of traits between
those who volunteer and those who do not, and between various subgroups of volunteers - students to seniors, men to women - and of their educational and socio-economic status. Although certain personality traits have been found to be associated with volunteering, they do not consistently predict involvement and, more importantly, do not indicate the level of commitment. Although people who volunteer are acting on their values, beliefs, and attitudes, what are their motivations for actively getting involved? How can this motivational function be applied to new audiences, especially for at-risk audiences?

**Functional Approach to Understand Volunteer Motivations**

Gil Clary and Mark Snyder have advanced a contemporary theory of a multi-motivational perspective known as the "functional approach." Clary and Snyder built their approach from the taxonomy of the psychological functions operating in persuasion as offered by Katz (1960) and Smith, Bruner and White (1956). In their application, the functional approach points to five routes in which intentions and dispositions can lead to action. The routes indicate five distinct functions that might be operating - knowledge, adjustive, expressive, defensive, and utilitarian. Another volunteer motivational study conducted by Sibicky (1992) included a sixth function - esteem - and gave differing labels to the other five. The functional approach suggests that volunteering may provide opportunities for a person to meet several social and psychological needs. This study uses the six functions as identified by Sibicky to examine individual differences and similarities with respect to the strength(s) of any one, or combination, of potential motives.

Each of the six functions is represented by the following statements:

1. The **understanding (knowledge) function** is thought to help the individual bring attitudes in line with a more general understanding of the world around them; how things and people work.

2. A **value (expressive) function** helps people express attitudes of deeply held values and convictions.
3. Attitudes may be served through the **protective function (ego defensive)**, which helps a person to deal with stress, anxiety, and inner conflict.

4. The **social (adjustive) function** allows interaction and cooperation, as well as social contacts with important reference groups.

5. The **career (utilitarian) function** serves attitudes on experiences, rewards, and benefits to the individual.

6. The **esteem function** deals with the individual attitudes of competence and self-worth.

A functional framework for studying volunteerism in at-risk communities is more applicable because it suggests the relevance of individual psychological functions in relation to her/his experiences, current life situation, and stage of development. Since the functional approach deals with attitudes, which have been found to be acquired through situations where one interacts with others (Baron and Byrne, 1997) or through the experiences of individuals, it may help to understand if persuasion and motivation to volunteer can be accomplished before basic needs of safety and security are met.

The implementation of a functional strategy for utilizing volunteer attitudes and intentions would involve matching an appropriate motivational (persuasive) message to the specific function important to the individual. This approach emphasizes the importance of matching underlying concerns, motives, and goals of the target audience and the message content for maximizing persuasive intentions. For example, those with a strong "career function" would be more easily persuaded, or motivated, by a message emphasizing the real life learning skills they will gain that can be transferred to the job or included on a resume.

**Purpose of the Study**

Specifically, the purpose of this study sought to examine the functional similarities and differences between groups of volunteers who had volunteered for social service programs addressing current community issues and non-volunteers from "low at-risk" and
"high at-risk" communities. Most importantly, the research was completed to gain a broader understanding of the attitudes and functions of volunteers and potential volunteers for at-risk communities in developing effective strategies to expand volunteerism in urban/at-risk communities.

Delimitations

This study did not focus on the particular characteristic traits of those who volunteer, as the majority of the research has concentrated on specific characteristics. Since it is believed that the trend in volunteerism is declining at a time when an increasing number of volunteers will be needed, this study focused on key motivational factors that could be matched with specific persuasive messages for recruitment and retention, particularly in at-risk communities.

In addition, the study was limited to volunteers and potential volunteers for community youth development programs in view of the recent Presidential Summit on Volunteerism, the summit's focus on programs targeting young people, and numerous reports on the failing of our nation's youth. Youth programs were also focused on because of another unique aspect of this study that included the possibility that "stipends" may be a motive that fall within the protective and/or career functions. The AmeriCorps, (two-thirds of its projects deal with youth programs and issues), is a national service program whose members receive living allowances, as well as scholarships if they complete one year of service. Although controversial, many non-profit organizations have offered stipends through grant monies to solicit and retain volunteers.

Hypotheses

Hypothesis #1

Given that populations living in high at-risk communities have situations and environments that may preclude them from having some of their basic needs of safety and security met, its expected that volunteers and potential volunteers from high at-risk communities will be more
motivated to volunteer in order to meet their Career Function. Furthermore, stipends were predicted to serve as the primary motivator for this population.

This prediction was based on past evidence indicating that college students are often motivated to volunteer for the purpose of gaining career-related experiences and training. As college students are still in the process of establishing stability and security, their needs are similar to some of those in at-risk communities. This was also based on partial results of the Aquirre Associates independent study of the 1,353 AmeriCorps members currently involved and their predictions for increased membership that will take advantage of the higher education scholarships being offered. Stipends are also offered through HUD Drug Elimination Program Grants that provide youth programs in local housing communities, and Community Partnership Grants in urban areas.

**Hypothesis #2**

This researcher expects to find the same results for active volunteers in both low and high at-risk communities with regard to the Value Function.

Past research (Gillespie and King, 1985; Adams, 1985; Serow, 1991) has shown that committed volunteers are more motivated by a concern to help others. In two separate studies comparing motivations of students to those of senior citizens - one using the functional approach and the other a "characteristics" questionnaire - the greatest percentage of responses were recorded for the "Value Function" and "to help others" categories, respectfully.

**Hypothesis #3**

Volunteers from low at-risk community youth development programs will rate high in the Understanding Function.
According to Sibicky's study comparing functions between senior citizens and students, these two functions were of greater importance for both populations in relation to the other four categories.

Procedure

This study followed the methods of Clary (et al, 1990, 1992, 1994) in assessing the functions being met through voluntary service. Using Ridge's (1990) *Volunteer Functions Inventory* (VFI) with the alteration of two statements under the Career Function to deal with the possibility of stipends serving as a motivator, a focus panel completed the survey. This was done to (1) assess repeatability of confidence levels, (2) assess reliability of "stipends" statements, and (3) to assist with identifying the most important statements to include in a brief telephone survey.

The resulting survey instrument included twelve statements, two per function area but not in consecutive order, that were rated on a seven point scale from "strong motivator" to "not a motivator." The actual study was completed utilizing a telephone survey methodology of adults, age 18 and older, in two communities identified as low at-risk and two communities identified as high at-risk.
Definition of Terms

**Risk Factors** - individual or environmental hazards that increase vulnerability to negative developmental outcomes

**Protective Factors** - individual or environmental safeguards that enhance ability to resist risks and foster adaptation and competence

Table 1

*At-Risk Factors for Community and Youth*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community At Risk Factors</th>
<th>Youth At Risk Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Availability of drugs</td>
<td>Anti-social behavior; alienation; rebelliousness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of firearms</td>
<td>Poor parental monitoring; inconsistent, distant &amp; uninvolved parenting, poor family management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community laws favorable to drug use, firearms and crime</td>
<td>Association with peers who engage in negative behavior</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media portrayals of violence</td>
<td>Low commitment to school, poor academic performance; transition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitions and mobility</td>
<td>Long work hours</td>
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<tr>
<td>Low neighborhood attachment and community disorganization</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Extreme economic deprivation</td>
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</table>

**Geometric Effect of Risk Factors** - the presence of one risk factor isn’t more likely to create dysfunction than when there are no risk factors present; however, two risk factors increases by four the chance of problem behaviors, and with four or more risk factors, the chance increases 10 to 20 times (Rutter, 1979)

**Stipend** - a form of subsidy for work rendered; a fixed or regular payment, such as a salary or an allowance, in this study it is defined as an "allowance" for performing volunteer responsibilities
Chapter Two
Literature Review

Volunteerism in America - An Historical Review.

America has a rich history of commitment to service. Early settlers helped one another clear land, build homes, and establish farm buildings. Individuals within a community formed voluntary groups to build schools and churches, assist neighbors in need, and support causes for the human good. Tocqueville, in his 1830 essay, *Democracy of America*, observed that Americans were joiners and that when needed, there was rarely a time when they failed to give one another support.

Volunteerism, on a large scale and through private, non-profit organizations, is deeply rooted in American culture. Prior to 1776, voluntary associations were quasi-official entities, with oversight and intervention by the state, whose charters were basically delegations of public tasks to private groups. These tasks were divided into three categories: (1) to promote economic growth, consisting of banks and insurance companies; (2) to facilitate commerce, including the construction of turnpike, canal, and bridge companies; and (3) to promote useful learning, in the domain of churches, learned societies, colleges, and seminaries.

A consequence of the political conditions in developing a broad base of support through representatives from many localities as established in the Constitution was the separation of moral issues from political ones. This created opportunity for those disenfranchised with the current political policies to organize and take control of the non-political issues. These included defining the areas of public concern, shaping perception of problems likely to be addressed through political policy, thereby suggesting solutions, and creating collaborations. According to Hall (1987), the Federalist elite formed voluntary organizations to weaken the power of the majority in moral issues. To many in political
power, there was fear of revolution by these voluntary groups. Instead, due to three decades of economic growth and the development of a transportation infrastructure, America had become a nation of individuals.

By the 1800's, Americans were seeking new forms of voluntary organizations. Volunteer and charitable groups were mostly private and religious. In 1881, Clara Barton founded the American Red Cross to aid in times of war and national disaster. The Salvation Army, founded in 1878 by England's street missionaries, made its way to America about this same time. It was also at this time that America was facing one of its most violent and wide ranging labor conflict in history. Unemployment was high, urban communities became slums, and there was a large chasm between the wealthy and poor. Through the efforts of the Salvation Army, volunteers helped feed, clothe, and shelter the poor. In 1882, Gurleen launched his campaign of "scientific clarity," which encouraged the movement for moral and social reform. In his *Handbook of Clarity Organization*, he urged the organization of friendly visitors to help enlighten, guide, and support those in need.

By 1906, the economic swings began to raise the issue of national service; an issue still being debated in Congress. By 1933, President Roosevelt signed the Civilian Conservation Corps creating thousands of jobs for unemployed men as a result of the Great Depression. In 1961, President Kennedy established the Peace Corps to provide American volunteers overseas and, in 1964, Johnson created the domestic version of the Peace Corps, VISTA - Volunteers in Service to America. According to Weinstein and Stofferahn (1997), this intervention changed the focus of caring for the poor and needy from voluntary institutions to the federal government. In addition, they claim it has contributed to the decline in volunteerism and the spirit of community service.
Volunteer Service in Today's Society

Today, volunteerism is a topic on the minds of many Americans. As the government decreases the budget for social programs, especially in human services, more volunteers will need to take active roles in local community and social service programs (Clary, 1996; Safrit and King, 1994; Serow, 1991; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991). Arguably, societies' problems will require citizen participation and community organizations (Boyte, 1991; Carnegie Council, 1994; Safrit and King, 1994). However, increasing the numbers of volunteers for these organizations will not be easy. Clary and Snyder (1990) point out that the problem of inaction, or the lack of participation in community issues, will be a problem facing volunteer organizations. While approximately 93 million Americans volunteered an average of 4.2 hours a week, only 8.4 percent volunteered in human service programs (Independent Sector, 1995). The National Opinion Research Center (NORC, 1996) recently found that volunteering for human services ranked sixth among volunteers with only nine percent of volunteers involved with human service programs.

Community Development and Volunteerism

Nationwide, communities and municipalities are facing the challenge of meeting the demands for human services. These challenges are especially prevalent in large urban communities and cities, where larger numbers of the population reside and work in concentrated areas (Safrit and King, 1991). According to the Urban Institute (1994), 44 percent of public agencies who had received budget cuts reported an increase in the request for services. The need and demand for human services continue to rise, especially in our cities and urban communities, the need for more volunteers for local human services and community service programs will increase.

The Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development (1994) addressed the fact that community organizations are vastly untapped for meeting the needs of communities. They
recognized that community-based programs have a rich tradition of commitment, diversity, and support, and that they tend to serve economically disadvantaged families and individuals. However, its report, *A Matter of Time*, also recognized that these organizations are understaffed, under financed, and often forced to limit services.

**Urban & At-Risk Communities**

The current deficit of the federal budget and cutbacks to social services, combined with the alarming statistics and trends about poverty, education, health, child care, teenage pregnancy, substance abuse, and other social problems will add to burden of social organizations. Urban communities, especially those with extremely high risk factors, face the greatest challenges in providing adequate educational programs and services for its citizens. Therefore, the needs and demand for volunteers for at-risk communities will also be the greatest.

**Community Risk Factors**

Risk factors are environmental hazards that increase vulnerability to negative outcomes (Bogenschneider, Small, and Riley, 1991). According to Rutter (1979), the presence of one risk factor does not necessarily indicate greater dysfunction than no risk factors, however, with each additional risk factor the chances increase exponentially. Other researchers including Joy Dryfoos, Robert Slavin, and Richard Jessor (Dryfoos et al, 1990) support this claim.

There are seven community risk factors agreed upon by Bogenschneider et al, the Carnegie Council, and the Office of Juvenile Justice (OJJ). The following is a summary of the risk factors.

**Availability of drugs (substance abuse)** The larger the availability of drugs and alcohol in a community, the higher the risk of substance abuse by residents in that community. Even the perceived availability of drugs as been correlated with increased risk according to the OJJ (1994).
Availability of firearms  
A few studies have indicated no association of firearm availability and violence, however, more studies do demonstrate a relationship (in *Communities that Care*, 1994). The likelihood that a conflict escalating to homicide increases when a firearm is available.

Community laws and norms favorable toward drug use, firearms, and crime  
Community norms are the attitudes and policies a community retains in relation to crime, drugs, and violence. Written policies, social practices, and residents' expectations communicate these norms to the public. Laws, tax rates, and community standards can be favorable towards these components, conflicting in nature, and/or merely unclear; which leads to higher risks.

Media portrayals of violence  
The negative effect on the behavior of viewers, especially young people, is associated with violence depicted in the media. There is evidence of correlation between aggressive and violent behavior and media portrayal. The impact has been found in increased modeling behavior of violent acts, and increased insensitivity toward the outcomes of violent behavior.

Transitions and mobility  
The transitions from one level to another, whether in school or business, increase problem behaviors - especially with regard to drug abuse and violence. In addition, the more people relocate themselves the greater the risk of both drug related and criminal behaviors occurring within families. These actions relate to the lack of connections established within the community.

Low neighborhood attachment and community disorganization  
Higher rates of violence and less police surveillance in communities increase the rates of drug problems, violence, and school delinquency. The most significant aspect of low attachment comes from a sense of being incapable of making a difference in personal lives and community development. Disorganization also makes it difficult for social organizations to establish social norms that are more prosocial.
Extreme economic deprivation

Communities characterized by poor living conditions, high unemployment rates, and extreme poverty are more likely to develop problems of drug abuse, delinquency, teen pregnancy, school drop-out, and violence.

Urban/At-Risk Volunteers

However, little data is available on volunteerism in urban, at-risk environments. These communities, like all communities, have the grass-roots human capital necessary to successfully address issues and challenges. The question is, 'What would motivate an individual, especially one residing in an at-risk community, to volunteer in helping to address the communities issues?'

Safrit and King (1994) found urban volunteers in five Ohio communities demographically similar to volunteers of the general population of the United States. However, they were significantly younger by ten years and had a lower average income by $15,000 to $25,000. A factor analysis of their data of reasons for volunteering identified six clusters of motivations labeled as altruism, self-focus, personal relationships, opportunistic, career-focused, and group affiliation.

Bridges and Coady (1996) conducted a study of altruism in relation to urban size and found cities to be less tolerant of individual differences and social conformity. They found small urban area residents to be less likely to assist someone that was socially different, and, overall, concluded that an increase in urban populations correlates with a decrease in helping behavior. This is in direct contradiction to Millgram's theory (in Baron and Byrne, 1970) that found urban residents to be indifferent to non significant others and less likely to make distinctions in helping behaviors.

Statistics reveal that urban populations with the greatest at-risk factors tend to have higher populations of minorities than suburban and rural communities (Census, 1990). For this reason, research on urban volunteerism has focused on minority groups. General Colin Powell, in his recent works with the Volunteer Summit and continued work...
with increasing volunteer numbers, has urged Black Americans to do more to help their own. Powell cites that while two thirds of Black Americans are currently in the middle class as compared to only one-third a decade ago (1997), they do not give enough time or money but simply move up and out of at-risk communities. The 1993 study by the U.S. Census Bureau on Volunteer work indicated that only 29.1 percent of Blacks compared to 59.1 percent of Whites had volunteered time and energy. Zimmerman (1995) also found a historical trend in the lack of volunteerism by Black Americans in his study of Peace Corps volunteers. Despite the Peace Corps strong involvement and commitment to improving conditions in Africa, only four Black volunteers, out of 120, were among the first group to serve.

In a study comparing motivational differences of Black and White volunteers, Latting (1990) found Blacks motivated by opportunities to return good fortunes, create a better society, broaden horizons, and to develop relationships. However, in his study of 116 Big Brothers/Big Sisters volunteers, only 14 percent were Black.

In addition, according to a recent Neighborhood Watch program analysis, those residing in high crime areas were reluctant to form organizations due to distrust and refusal to conduct meetings. A second study by this group pointed out that, in some cases, the program increased the fear of violence rather than decrease it.

**Strategies for Mobilizing Volunteers for At-Risk Communities**

One strategy to increase the number of volunteers for at-risk communities is to attract volunteers from surrounding suburban communities. However, volunteers sometimes fear that if they visit high crime neighborhoods they might suffer violence or antagonism. A key to successful recruitment in this manner, according to Beth Reese (1996), the chair of a volunteer literacy program, is to offer a wide-range of opportunities based on personal motivations.
Some advocate mandated national service programs through public education systems, requiring students to perform community service for academic credits. The resurgence of this philosophy, according to the Educational Research Service (1996), began in the mid-1980's and endorsed by President Bush. This type of service, however, faces challenge by both conservative political and legal groups who question the constitutional grounds of such policies.

Another strategy has been to offer stipends in the form of educational credits and pay for services programs. This concept is evident in both local government programs that are dependent on volunteers, which receive tax-payer funds, and the establishment of the Corporation for National Service, which sponsors AmeriCorps. According to the Independent Sector (1995), nearly 600,000 charitable organizations received $212 billion from various levels of government for their expenses. AmeriCorps offers an average of $160 per week for living allowances for volunteers, as well as a $4725 scholarship after a year of service.

Proponents of AmeriCorps argue that the benefits to volunteer organizations and communities far outweigh the cost in taxpayer dollars. For example, one independent study revealed that each AmeriCorps volunteer successfully recruited, trained, or organized 12 unpaid volunteers. Big Brothers/Big Sisters, the YMCA, and the American Red Cross participate in and support the efforts of AmeriCorps claiming it has enhanced and strengthened their organizations. In addition, three separate independent studies cite that between $1.54 and $2.60 are returned for each dollar invested in an AmeriCorps project.

About one-quarter of AmeriCorps volunteers are low-income citizens who are earning a government benefit rather than being served by a government program. For low-income residents, this may provide a different experience than other government job
training programs, and the scholarship offerings expand opportunities for higher learning experiences.

Summary

The need for volunteers is greatest in communities where they are the least recruited and retained. In addition, the most numerous volunteers are in the arts and education and the least in human services where the problems are long-term and in the most demand. According to Hodgkinson, the Independent Sector's CEO, the needed volunteers will not come free; especially in terms of training and guidance by professional staff. According to other experts on community organizations, despite the requirement for well-trained personnel are required, volunteers who bond one-on-one will have a greater impact because they have responsibility for only a few people. The demand for social services and the many serious problems facing communities requires a renewed commitment to service.

Volunteer Service

The facts and figures on volunteer work provided by the U.S. Census and the Independent Sector tell us that (1) people hold the appropriate values and beliefs to respond to social problems; (2) they can recognize problems and endorse actions to address the problems, and (3) people's actions fall short of their beliefs and values. The pervasive problem of inaction prevails throughout our history. Tocqueville, although impressed with Americans' willingness to join, also noted the contradiction between individualism and social responsibility. Noted sociologists Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler and Tipton (1985) have demonstrated the struggle between individualism and collectivism, and the battle between the private and public spheres. In 1989, Martin Seligman reported on contemporary American life as one of heightened individualism and declined commitments to larger, social organizations.
Research seeks to find an understanding of the motivational factors behind voluntary actions to solve this dichotomy between action and inaction. To be sure, motivation has long been a strong focus of organizations interested in recruiting and retaining volunteers. There are numerous reasons why people volunteer, and equally numerous studies about those reasons. However, the vast majority of the research limits itself to the characteristics and demographics of those who volunteer, and comparisons of personalities and attitudes between volunteers and non-volunteers (Sibicky, 1992; Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Gillespie and King, 1985). Another drawback of the studies to date is that they usually examine only one program or an aggregate of volunteers from a variety of sources (Ellis, 1985). According to Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991), who compiled an extensive review of motivational studies, the problems with current studies are the (1) lack of a uniform definition of the concept of motivation; (2) lack of agreement on the definition of terms; (3) lack of empirical data; (4) weaknesses in external validity; and (5) small sample sizes.

Altruistic Bias - For and Against

An obvious, and often used, method of determining the motive of someone is to ask them. However, this has a number of drawbacks. First, as will be detailed later, motivational functions are very complex, and the participant may be unable or unwilling to truly answer the question. Second, society favors acts of altruism and people may respond the way they feel expected of a good citizen, a term noted as a social-desirability bias (Serow, 1991; Smith, 1981). Third, since researchers believe that egotistic tendencies correlate highly with motivations to volunteer; there may be a bias against altruism reflected in the methodology developed/selected (Serow, 1991). Gillespie (1977) argues that to ignore the reason(s) an individual gives for volunteering will place too little emphasis on conscious motives for action and that the first step is to ask. Fourth, since personal accounts are considered unreliable; inferences are made from volunteer actions as
to the benefits derived from volunteering. This is unsatisfactory because the implication of an observed benefit is not necessarily the prominent reward to the individual volunteering (Pearce, 1993).

The Person Who Volunteers

By far, the largest body of research on volunteering is the understanding of the individual who volunteers. These studies have included a wide range of social background characteristics, role characteristics, personality variables, and health. These studies generally compare the personality and attitudinal differences between volunteers and non-volunteers, or between different populations of volunteers. These traits, while associated with volunteering, do not consistently predict volunteer behavior or commitment. However, Pearce argues that this type of research has two strengths. First, it is replicable across populations. These types of consistent results can provide insights into the motivations of volunteers. Secondly, economic, social and demographic characteristics, while not without measurement errors, can provide reliable information. A general understanding of this data can eliminate volunteer recruitment strategies for certain populations and provide a solid base of who volunteers before understanding why the individual volunteers.

Socio-economic status

There is overwhelming support for the following characteristics of the volunteer. An individual with higher education, higher income, a job with status, higher family or personal status, and who owns property will be more likely to volunteer, volunteer in more than one organization, and will take on leadership roles within the organization. Studies found in nearly every decade, and every country where investigated, support this characteristic map. The NORC surveys of 1952, 1957 and 1996, the 1996 Statistical Abstract of the United States, and the 1992 Biennial Gallup survey on Giving and Volunteering also report similar characteristics.
Other findings suggest that there is an association between the kinds of organizations joined and socio-economic status. Pearce (1993) notes Cousens' findings that middle and upper classes tend to join professional and business related, political groups, service, cultural, educational, and general interest organizations. The research indicates that those of lower socio-economic status (identified as blue collar by Cousens) affiliate themselves most often with churches, unions, fraternal societies, and sports clubs.

Pearce postulates three explanations for the association of higher status to volunteering (1993). First, a positive association between charitable giving and volunteering has been demonstrated through extensive surveys conducted by the Gallup Organization and the U.S. Census Bureau. Because of this association, recruiters may target those of this population. Second, for many in high status employment and socio-economic status, joining voluntary associations and social organizations may simply be part of the job. Many join professional associations and small business clubs, and take positions on the board. For others, the social contacts made may enhance their professional contacts. Lastly, it is known that those who volunteer recruit many new volunteers. Volunteers in this status bracket have more contacts who are in their class and these contacts are subsequently recruited. The fact that volunteers recruit volunteers through their interpersonal networks is explored in the following section.

Interpersonal Networks

Pearce (1993) recites substantial evidence from research done in the 1940's through the 60's supporting the idea that those who associate, or are in contact, with volunteers are themselves more prone to volunteer (Anderson, 1943; Babchuk, 1965; Adams and Mogey, 1967). She also includes studies conducted by Zimmer (1955, 1956) of recent immigrants to an area found that they were less likely to volunteer at first, but would soon demonstrate nearly equal numbers of volunteers as to that of the established residents. Zimmer concluded that it was the factor of being more familiar with the
community and the people within the community that led to volunteering, not a personal attribute.

The 1992 Independent Sector survey, *Giving and Volunteering in the United States*, reported 89% of respondents volunteered because "volunteering is an important activity to the people I respect." Safrit and King (1994), in a study of 2116 urban residents in five Ohio municipalities, found that 94 percent reported volunteering because of "being asked," and 83 percent because of "friend/family involved." However, Serow (1991) found that this was less of a factor for college-student volunteers with only 24% reporting to have volunteered because of being asked by someone and 23% because their parents and family members had set an example of volunteering.

For the most part, evidence is strong in support that a large number of volunteers are recruited by "someone" - whether a friend, family members, associate, or contact person from an agency. It would seem to reason that the more contacts a person has, the more likely the person will know someone who is a volunteer and that the volunteer will probably try to recruit that person.

**Demographic characteristics**

There have been demonstrations of relationships between demographics and volunteerism, but they are difficult to summarize and some new proposals on future trends aren't confirmed.

In the past, many researchers found evidence of a relationship between age and volunteerism; with the greatest numbers of volunteers in the age range of 35 to 54 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1996). Surveys conducted by ACTION (1995) and the Gallup Organization (1987) support this data. Pearce (1993) also notes earlier works of Babchuk and Booth (1969), Hausknecht (1962), and Wright and Hyman (1958) in providing support of age-volunteer relationships.
Normally, research finds that young people, age 18 to 24, are the least likely to volunteer. However, according to one survey, two out of three students entering college had been involved in volunteer work within the past year (in Serow, 1991). Serow found that 80 percent of the college-student volunteers in his study reported volunteering for the "sense of satisfaction from helping others." Sibicky compared motivational functions (discussed in detail in the next section) of senior citizen volunteers to those of college students. He found no significant difference between the two groups in their value function, however, the college students were more motivated by a career function than were the seniors (1992). The resurgence of the concept of national service may have an impact on the numbers of young adults volunteering on the next census and could possibly warrant future investigations.

Comparing race to volunteering provides conflicting evidence. At first glance, it appears that Blacks are far less likely to volunteer than are Whites. The 1996 Census indicated only 29.1% of Blacks volunteered as compared to 51.1% Whites volunteering. The 1996 NORC General Social Survey also reported that Black males are the least likely to volunteer (17%). However, when socio-economic status is taken into consideration, Blacks will volunteer more often (National Service Act, 1990)).

Earlier studies in the late 1940's through the 50's reported that women more less likely to volunteer than men (Wright and Hyman, Lomarovsky in Pearce, 1993). Contrary to these findings, nationwide surveys through Gallup, ACTION, and the US Census find that women and men are equally likely to volunteer; 41.8 percent female to 31.1 percent male with no post secondary education, and 67.8 percent female to 67.4 percent male with some post secondary education (Biennial Gallup, 1992). An explanation for this conflict, according to Pearce, is found by reviewing the types of groups men and women are joining. Typically, it has been that women join religious and social organizations while men join associations that will benefit careers. However, it could also be that as more women
are entering the workplace with professional career they, too, are seeking associations to increase their career functions.

General demographic data according to the most recent surveys and census are found in Table 2 (Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1996; Gallup Survey, 1992). While this type of information fails to provide scientific theories, it can provide a starting point for developing theories (Smith and Freedman, 1992).

**Personality**

A final area of the study of who volunteers is the consideration of the differences in personalities between those who volunteer and non-volunteers. The research, however, comes under criticism for its methodology and instruments used. First, according to Pearce's (1993) review of volunteer personality research and further noted by Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991), the personality scales lacked reliability and validity. Secondly, they site the fact that, for the most part, the instruments were adapted from use for other purposes and failed to include actual questions asked. Lastly, because the research used cross sectional studies, they question the inference of personality differences in relation to different levels of volunteering while ignoring the possibility that the differences may be the result of the actual volunteer work.

There is agreement that the volunteer is one who is more self-confident, social, and optimistic. Brown's (1953) findings from his work with three separate Pennsylvanian communities support the idea that volunteers have a greater positive self-image. Smith (1996) also reports that volunteers have greater self-confidence, dominant characteristics, and more social attitudes. Gough (1952) administered a personality test to Minnesota high school students with either extensive or very limited volunteer involvement and found that those who volunteered had personality items relating to social interaction, self-confidence, poise, and assurance.
Table 2

Percent of Adult Population Doing Volunteer Work

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Percentage Volunteering</th>
<th>EDUCATION</th>
<th>Percentage Volunteering</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18-24</td>
<td>45.3%</td>
<td>Elementary School</td>
<td>31.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-34</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
<td>Some High School</td>
<td>29.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-44</td>
<td>54.5%</td>
<td>High School Graduate</td>
<td>40.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-54</td>
<td>53.8%</td>
<td>Technical/Trade/Business</td>
<td>49.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td>46.6%</td>
<td>Some College</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65-74</td>
<td>42.9%</td>
<td>College Graduate</td>
<td>67.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCOME</th>
<th>EMPLOYMENT</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under $10,000</td>
<td>34.0%</td>
<td>No Secondary Education</td>
<td>Full Time 43.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10,000-19,999</td>
<td>37.0%</td>
<td>Part Time</td>
<td>45.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20,000-29,999</td>
<td>52.5%</td>
<td>Not Employed/Retired</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30,000-39,999</td>
<td>68.3%</td>
<td>Some Secondary Education</td>
<td>Full Time 70.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000-49,999</td>
<td>55.1%</td>
<td>Part Time</td>
<td>72.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50,000-59,999</td>
<td>56.9%</td>
<td>Not Employed/Retired</td>
<td>58.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60,000-69,999</td>
<td>66.6%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Omoto and Snyder (1992) also found personality relationships to volunteering in their studies of the functional approach to motivation. For example, volunteers with a Value Function motivation were found to have personalities that were more nurturing, empathetic, and social. Volunteers motivated by the function of esteem enhancement had little self-confidence, the need for social recognition, and anxiety about death. According to Snyder (1993) this gives rise to future consideration of studying not only what personality is but what personality does. In other words, recognizing that individual motives may be the result of the individual's self-identity and her/his actions in achieving personal agendas.
**Summary**

The findings of the research on personal characteristics suggest that the reasons people volunteer are influenced by their age, sex, and marital status. In addition, situational factors such as socio-economic status, educational level, and temporal goals are thought to be relevant to individual voluntary actions. Personal trait of altruism and empathy, while not a precondition for involvement in voluntary service, does appear to add a dimensional perspective in shaping prosocial behavior. While these findings may not provide the actual motivations for volunteering that can be tapped into for recruitment strategies, they do provide useful insights into which populations should be further studied for motivational research, and/or targeted for promotional efforts by volunteer organizations.

**Theories of Personal Motivation**

**Altruistic or Egotistic**

It has long been the debate between theorists whether volunteering is purely an altruistic event - assistance to another with no concern for outcome or reward to the self, or an egotistic act - to assist another knowing that there will be a personal reward (Rushton and Sorrentino, 1981).

The act of volunteering is seldom undertaken due to necessity and, quite often, done after considerable thought, yet it has no apparent reward and can easily be attributed to altruism. Some researchers have stressed altruistic motives from the responses of volunteers such as "for the good of others" (Ellis, 1985). However, this was merely conjecture based theory with no empirical support. Allen and Rushton (1985) also concluded that volunteers have an altruistic personality after their review of research on volunteerism and altruism.

The tendency to view volunteerism as altruistic stems from the variety of nationwide surveys that report consistent responses indicating altruistic reasons for
volunteering. Three population studies conducted by United States Bureau of the Census, covering a 16 year period, were analyzed by Schram (1985) and demonstrated little change in reasons for volunteering despite methodological differences. Schram found that 35 to 45 percent volunteered to "help other people." The 1987 Gallup poll, surveying 1,033 Americans, found consistent and more inclusive data; 50 percent reported reasons for volunteering "to help others." The 1992 Independent Sector survey on Giving and Volunteering in the United States reported that 99 percent of respondents indicated they volunteered because "it is important to help others." Safrit, Burcsu, and King (1994) found remarkably similar results in a survey of five urban municipalities in Ohio. In this study, 99 percent reported having volunteered for "helping others." Gillespie and King (1985) also found that 70 percent of Red Cross volunteers ranked "to help others" as the most important in their reasons for volunteering, and when asked to rank order the single most important reason, the volunteers again rated this as the most significant.

Support of the altruistic theory also comes from the evidence of high service/altruistic motives across a variety of populations. Gillespie and King found that "to help others" yielded the greatest percentage of reasons for volunteering across age and gender, and for married, divorced and widowed volunteers (it was second for single/never married). Serow (1991) noted from his studies of four public university students the importance with which they rated the fairly altruistic responses as "sense of satisfaction from helping others" (80%) and "duty to correct societal problems" (54%). It is the predominance of self-reported reasons summarized as "service to others" that has been the strength of altruistic motives for volunteering.

However, over the past 25 years of surveys, a larger percentage of volunteers is reporting reasons for volunteering in relation to their career, gaining experience, and self-rewarding aspects, such as feeling needed and discovering individual strengths. Whether this increase is do to a change in attitudes about reporting egotistic motivations, an actual
change in volunteer motivations, or the change in style and wording of the survey instruments over the years is unknown.

The debate is also the result of terminology; and whether the term altruism or prosocial would be more correct. According to Allen and Rushton (1985), prosocial acts are those that will be for the benefit of others but will not hinder payoffs for the individual providing the service. This implies that the act of volunteering results from careful thought after assessment of personal goals/agendas in relation to personal attributes. Pearce (1993) reported evidence from studies with three volunteer organizations that service motives ("chance to further goals of organization") will wane over time with an increase in social motives ("chance to make a real contribution").

Snyder (1993) found that retention of AIDS volunteers, who initially reported esteem enhancement, understanding, and personal development motivational functions, were much more likely to remain as volunteers than those initially identifying value functions. In relation to AIDS, Snyder proposes that the altruistic ideal of volunteering may not outweigh the cost of emotional or social repercussions, and that it might be the selfish motivations that end up being, in the end, the most altruistic.

Summary of Altruism Research

The concept that an individual would assist another at a personal sacrifice, especially when the person needing help is a complete stranger, is usually associated with an altruistic personality. However, the research addresses areas of spontaneous helping that revolves around an unexpected need for help, which requires immediate action, and is of limited duration - usually only once. Clearly, volunteerism on a long-term basis is a different type of behavior revolving around careful consideration before undertaking. This highly suggests considerably more thought, planning, prioritizing, and personal assessment concerning interests, abilities, and goals than can be explained through altruism.
Motivations to Volunteer (MTV)

There are noteworthy studies that do not merely list reasons volunteers gave as their motivation, but employed them to develop testable hypotheses. These researchers are in agreement of the rejection of a single, or unidimensional, personality trait that would consistently predict volunteerism. Instead, they suggest that people volunteer for a variety of reasons. There is support by researchers among three separate models of this multifaceted theory. First, there is the three factor category model supported by Morrow-Howell and Mui (1986), Gillespie and King (1985) and Sills (1957). Morrow-Howell and Mui described the three categories as altruistic, social and material, while Gillespie and King adhere to earlier labels given by Smith (in Gillespie and King) of contextual factors, personal factors, and situational factors. Sharp (1978) in her studies on urban neighborhood associations categorized these incentives as material (summer employment), solidarity (common good to community), and purposive (for the goals of the organization or issue).

The second model, a two-category model, also applies different labeling by its supporters. Gidron (1978) used Herzberg's (in Pearce, 1993) classifications of extrinsic and intrinsic. Horton-Smith (1981) labeled the categories as altruistic and egotistic. Clary and Miller (1986) also categorized motives as either altruistic or egotistic.


Before examining the research on motivational functions, it must be noted that there is an emerging theory of unidimensional motivation suggested by Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991). For the basis of their criticism concerning the lack of empirical
results from current multi-motivational theories, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen reviewed 27 studies by noted researchers detailing each study's focus, instrument, and population study. Their review identified 28 of the most cited reasons for volunteering across these 27 studies. They administered a questionnaire of the 28 motives to 258 human service volunteers and 104 non volunteers.

In comparing the two-category and three-category models they found high and low motive rankings for each category at the two extremes of their list. For example, an egotistic, altruistic, and social motive each ranked between 3.8 and 4.0. They concluded that the priority given to each motive prevented any contribution of these theories to the understanding of volunteer motivation. They also subjected the 28 motives to various types of factor analysis and reported a resulting unidimensional scale identified as "a rewarding experience." They reasoned that altruistic and egotistic overlap one another forming the unidimensionality. A drawback to this model is the failure of six (6) of the motives to load on the single factor, in fact, loading into three additional factors.

A second drawback, from the viewpoint of recruitment, is the ambiguous term of "rewarding experience" as a persuasion message. Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen themselves note its importance as a screening tool to assess individual motives in relation to expectations as a volunteer, however, they fail to identify its usefulness in motivating someone to inquiry about volunteer opportunities.

Functional Approach to Volunteerism

Complex Model

The six-category model advanced by Clary and Snyder (1991) is known as the functional approach to volunteerism. This approach to understanding MTV derives from the method of functional analysis. This approach concerns itself with an individual's needs being met in relation to actions and beliefs.
Functional analysis has a deep history in psychological research. Dewey's educational philosophy was based on the functionalists' argument that psychology should be concerned with the mental and behavioral functions, and the comprehension of adaptation of an individual to the environment. Functional analysis, from the outset, has been concerned with the fulfillment of individual psychological needs. In this vein, Allport (1937) theorized that the same traits for different people would attend to different psychological functions. Katz (1960) and Smith, Bruner, and White (1956) proposed the same theories with regard to attitude and persuasion; the concept that attitudes could serve a variety of distinct social and psychological functions, and that the same attitude could serve different, individual functions. They further postulate that any change in attitude would be successful only to the degree the underlying function was met by the attitude. For the strategies of promoting volunteerism, this approach suggests that persuasive messages need to focus on the motivational functions underlying the intentions and actions of the individual.

The idea that a person may volunteer for many different reasons, with each reason satisfying a different function, refutes the unidimensional notion of a single factor serving as the MTV. The functional approach is important to understanding volunteerism because it examines an individual's functions in relation to personal experiences, current situations, and life-cycle stage. The importance of examining these relationships to functions is supported by Smith's (1966) Sequential Specificity Model (SSM), which Gillespie and King (1985) cited as supportive of their findings of Red Cross volunteers. The SSM lists the broad categories of contextual, personal, and situational factors as those necessary to explain and understand voluntary actions. Sibicky (1992) also agreed with the application of a functional approach because it suggests the relevance of past experiences, current life situations, and the individual's stage of development in the varying motivations for
volunteerism. The ideal of the functional approach is the emphasis on the attitudes, needs and goals, and plans behind the motivation (Snyder, 1988, 1992, 1993).

Functions Served by Volunteerism

Clary and Snyder (1990) identified six motivational functions derived from the taxonomies of Katz and Smith et al. The six (6) functions are labeled as knowledge (object appraisal) function, value expressive (quality of expressiveness) function, ego defensive (externalization) function, utilitarian function, social adjustive function, and enhancement function. The first three functions were equally supported by Katz and Smith (Katz's labels appear first with Smith's in parentheses). Katz also proposed the utilitarian function, which Sibicky labeled as career, and Smith proposed the social adjustive function. Clary, Snyder, and Ridge (1997) proposed the sixth function, enhancement function, that goes beyond mere ego defensive and deals with personal growth and positive ego building.

Snyder (1993) altered his initial proposal of these six functions to a set of five (5) familiar functions in his research on AIDS volunteerism. In this very specific type of volunteerism he found that a community concern function was operating in individuals who had a strong sense of concern for the gay community. Snyder did not identify an ego-defensive function in this population of volunteers. However, he did support the findings of the value, understanding and personal development (utilitarian/career) functions operating in the motivations of AIDS volunteers.

Values

The value function may serve the individual by providing a mean to express their values of altruism and humanitarian concern for others. Concern for others is often identified as a characteristic of volunteers and has been supported by a variety of studies and surveys. Allen and Rushton (1983) identified this trait as one that distinguished the volunteer from the non-volunteer. Clary himself, along with Miller (1986) and Ornstein (1991) found this function to be a predictor of whether or not an individual would complete the expected service. Snyder and Omoto (1992a) found that AIDS
volunteers who are motivated by a value function also have relatively high personality measurements of nurturance, empathy, and social responsibility.

**Understanding** Another function possibly served by volunteering is the opportunity to understand how another person may feel or cope (Snyder, 1993), provide insight about the world (Sibicky, 1992), permit new learning opportunities, or demonstrate individual knowledge and skills ((Clary, Snyder, and Ridge, 1997). It should be noted, however, that Snyder (1993) originally proposed that the personal development function addressed the opportunity to test skills and challenge one's self.

**Social** A third function that may be served involves motivations relating to relationships with others. Volunteering may provide the opportunity to work with a friend or relative, to be viewed favorably by other important people/groups, and/or to make personal contacts with important reference groups. Clary et al (1997) noted Rosenhan's (1970) research on civil rights activists that identified helpfulness as being guided by concerns regarding social rewards and punishments.

The social function was not addressed in Snyder and Omoto's (1995) research on AIDS volunteers. But, they did address the fact that individual volunteers who were low in social support had identified reasons for volunteering as a desire to make friends and to feel better about oneself (which they factored into the functions of personal development and esteem enhancement respectively). They argued that the stigma, in some cases, of AIDS volunteering, precluded the inclusion of this function in their study due to potential of negative social outcomes.

**Career (utilitarian)** Another function that may be met through volunteerism is related to the skills, training, and experience the individual may obtain. It is worthwhile to note the increase from 31 percent in 1965 (Census Bureau) to 65 percent in 1987 (Gallup) of volunteers stating work and co-worker interests as a reason for volunteering. In Jenner's 1982 study of the Junior League in found that 15 percent perceived volunteering
as an opportunity for career preparation or for maintaining career related skills (in Clary et al 1997). Safrit, Burcsu, and King (1993) found in their investigation of urban volunteers that 82 percent volunteered to gain experience, 46 percent did so to benefit career, and 21 percent were actually required to do so by their employer.

**Protective (ego-defensive)** The fifth function involves motivations associated with the ego. Katz (1960) and Smith et al (1956) felt it served to protect the individual against negative feelings of the self. It may also serve to alleviate the guilt associated with feeling more fortunate than others or to help an individual to deal with their own problems. According to Sibicky (1992) this function allows a person to deal with anxiety, stress, and/or inner conflict.

**Enhancement** The sixth function addresses the concept that the ego is more than a defense mechanism, but serves to build positive personal growth and development. Cialdini, Kenrick, and Bauman (1987) found that if helping promises to make one feel good, it will serve to increase the frequency of helping behavior. In addition, Baron and Byrne (1997) cite studies from Berkowitz (1987) and Cunningham, Shaffer, Barbee, Wolff, and Kelley (1990) that also noted that prosocial behavior would be more likely to occur if the act is fun rather than difficult and unpleasant. Just as ego-defensive deals with the negative affects of ego, enhancement serves to increase the positive drives of the ego.

**Summary**

The motivations suggested by the functional approach are highly compatible with previous research on volunteer motivations. The six functions, as Clary et al (1997) attest, may not be the optimal number as agreed upon by supporters of the complex model. However, they support the six functions based on their current research that integrated and built on previous functional approach studies, including their earlier work, which only proposed four functions (Clary and Snyder, 1991). The essence of the functional approach is that it considers a vast range of personal and social motivations to volunteer. Snyder
resolves that it is possible to identify classifications of volunteers, that by virtue of their personalities, will be willing to serve. The functional approach by no means discounts evidence found by research in volunteer characteristics. The functional analysis allows the incorporation of personality psychology, which is concerned with how motivations derive from one's own traits and dispositions, and social psychology, which deals with motivations derived from social and interpersonal relationships that revolve around volunteer service. For many, including this researcher, thinking in terms of a functionalism is natural. It assists in helping to understand what an individual is trying to do, how one is trying to accomplish it, and, most importantly, why.

Research Supporting the Functional Approach

The Volunteer Functions Inventory Development

An important criticism of research concerning the motivations to volunteer has been the lack of empirical data (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 1991). Clary et al (1997) recognize the critical task of identifying and measuring psychological functions. They reiterated Cnaan's et al (1991) concerns regarding the lack of conceptual and methodological considerations, and the utilization of assessment tools that have no conceptual foundation, as well as unfounded or unknown validity or reliability (Clary and Snyder, 1991).

The Volunteer Functions Inventory (VFI) developed by Clary et al (1990) was based on their conceptual analysis of the social and psychological functions of motivation to volunteer. It also took into account qualitative and quantitative means of identifying MTV from previous research (Clary and Snyder, 1991), and eliminated any unreliable and/or ambiguous terms. The resulting VFI instrument consisted of 30 items, five each for the six functions. Interestingly, Cnaan et al (1991) did not include Clary's et al (1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1994, 1995, 1997) research in their review, stating that the rigid questionnaire could not be incorporated in their instrument.
Following the strategy outlined by Snyder and Ickes (1985) on investigating personality and social behavior, they administered the survey to a population of active volunteers involved in a variety of volunteer roles and for whom motivations to volunteer would be distinguishable, within their means, and rewarding. In addition to investigating the basis of MTV, their first investigation evaluated the psychometric properties of the VFI. The results of both the principal component analysis and scree plot provided evidence for the six factor theory. With the exception of only one item, the items from each scale loaded on to their intended factors. The exception was Enhancement statement #29 - "Volunteering is a way to make new friends," which loaded on the Understanding (fifth factor).

Although the evidence supports the theory of six distinct and evident functions, Clary et al conducted additional principal axis factor analyses with oblique rotations - one for a five factor solution and one for a seven factor solution. The resulting five factor pattern loaded identically to the six factor items of Values, Career, Social, and Understanding, with Protective and Enhancement items loading on one factor. The seven factor pattern was identical to the six factor as none of the items loaded on the fifth factor.

To provide further support of the six factor theory, they conducted confirmational factor analyses using LISREL on each of the five, six, and seven factor solutions. The results of the six factor solution resulted in: (1) LISREL's goodness of fit index (GFI) of .91; (2) normed fit index (NFI) of .90; and (3) root mean squared residual index (RMSres) of .057. The results for the five and seven factor solutions were, respectively: (1) GFI of .88 and .91; (2) NFI of .87 and .90; and (3) RMSres of .064 and .054. Chi-square consideration and the use of nested models did produce a significant change in model fit when moving from the five to six factor solution. The failure to exceed the criterion value in moving from the six to the seven factor model indicated no significant improvement.
Internal consistency was substantiated by using Cronbach's $\alpha$ coefficients and revealed the following for each factor: Values, .80; Protective, .81; Understanding, .81; Social, .83; Enhancement, .84; and Career, .89.

**Cross Validation** To examine whether or not the age and active status of the volunteers used to examine the initial validity of the VFI was responsible for the conclusions and to further test the reliability of the instrument for all populations, Clary et al set out to test in another situation. This study included university students with little or no volunteering experience and less likely to be established in their career and social lives. The researchers examined whether the same six factor solution would emerge in this situation - more diversity with respect to experience and less conspicuous motivations. Again, six factors emerged from the principal component analysis, but in a different order than their first study. The principal axis factor analysis with oblique rotation resulted with individual items loading on the intended scale. However, Enhancement item #29 again loaded on Understanding, and Career item #15 loaded on Career and Understanding. LISREL analyses provided further support of the consistency of the VFI: GFI of .89; NFI of .88, and RMSres of .065. The Cronbach $\alpha$ coefficients obtained were: Values, .82; Protective, .82; Social, .83; Understanding, .84; Enhancement, .85; and Career, .85.

The results from these studies investigating the functional approach to MTV, the six factor theory, and the VFI seem to verify the hypotheses. The coefficients of congruence were also examined to evaluate the measure of agreement of the factors by the two groups. The coefficients of congruence between the same named factors were (+1 indicates a perfect agreement): Career, .98; Protective, .98; Understanding, .97; Values, .94; and Enhancement, .93. This is a strong indicator of a high degree of relation. The coefficients of congruence were also calculated between two groups within the university students - those with volunteer experience and those without experience. The findings
demonstrated similar results indicating that the same motivational functions are operating in different phases of volunteering -- contemplation, initiation, and/or retention.

**Temporal Stability**

To establish reliability, Clary et al (1997) administered the VFI at two points in time, to employ the two-test reliability analysis. This resulted in the following test-retest correlations: Values, $r = .78$; Understanding and Enhancement, $r = .77$; Social and Career, $r = .68$; and Protective, $r = .78$ (all $p's < .001$), further indicating that the individual scales of the VFI were stable over a one month span.

**Research Studies Using the VFI**

By far, the leaders in the theory of motivational functions are Clary and Snyder, who have conducted studies both individually and collaboratively. In addition, the pair have teamed up with Ridge in studying the effectiveness of identifying motivational functions for the purpose of matching MTV with persuasive messages. Snyder has collaborated with Omoto (1995, 1992, 1990) on studies of volunteerism for the AIDS cause. Jansen and Chandler (1990) have investigated a complex model supporting five-to-six categories. However, their study was limited to the investigation of volunteerism from a career perspective. Sibicky (1992) utilized the VFI in his study investigating similarities and differences of motivational functions between senior citizens and college students who had volunteered for the same program. Sibicky's data supports many of the findings of the various studies conducted by Clary et al.

**Supporting Data**

**VFI Instrument**

In the studies conducted by Omoto and Snyder (1995, 1992, 1990) on AIDS volunteers, motivational functions were compared to personality traits. They found supporting evidence on the reliability and cross-validation of the VFI through results from an initial sample and two cross-validation samples. The factor analysis supported the structure of five specific factors that were consistently identified (Omoto and Snyder
collapse Protective and Enhancement in one scale they identify as Esteem Enhancement). The mean test-retest coefficient of the scales was $r = .72$ and the average congruence coefficient of .90 and .86 for the two cross-validation samples supports the reliability of the VFI (1990). The confidence interval on population proportion measured by Sibicky (1992) in his study between senior citizens and college students to be $p < .01$, provides further evidence of the reliability of the instrument.

The consistent pattern of results in these studies not only increases the confidence level of the instrument, but supports the concept that the individual scales of the VFI can capture the motivational functions of volunteerism.

Volunteer Process Model

In their work with AIDS volunteers, Omoto and Snyder (1995) set out not only to find evidence in support of the functional approach to volunteerism, but to test a structural model of the volunteer process. The study included the completion of the VFI, as well as a seven item instrument to measure the level of empathetic concern, an eight item social responsibility assessment, and ten items from the Nurturance scale of the Personality Research Form (Jackson in Snyder et al, 1995). From there, the researchers utilized regression analysis to separately test personality, motivation, and social support against organizational integration and satisfaction as a predictor of duration of service. On the basis of four regression analyses, they proposed five direct paths as part of the model. The resulting path coefficients and correlations calculated by LISREL revealed that each of the causal paths was significant. The path coefficients for this model demonstrated that the helping personality directly and positively influences the satisfaction and integration, that motivation has a direct and positive influence on length of service, but no correlation to satisfaction or integration, and that social support actually has a negative influence on duration. In summary, with respect to AIDS volunteers, longevity of service is dependent
on strong motivation and perceived satisfaction with the volunteer experience from an individual with little social support, or perceived lack of support.

The five individual motivations were tested separately by Omoto et al in place of global motivation. This resulted in all GFI's being >.90, which was an improved goodness of fit index over the .86 tabulated utilizing the construct of global motivation. In addition, they found that Understanding and Personal Development were significant in predicting longevity of service, and Esteem Enhancement was marginally significant. In the case of AIDS volunteers, it appears that longer periods of service are more likely to result from self-oriented motivational functions. The model also suggests that specific motivations are not associated with satisfaction or organizational integration, but are dependent on personal characteristics of nurturance and altruism. This is contrary to the thought that the promotion of continued service binds volunteers to the organization (American Red Cross, 1988).

A final test of the proposed volunteer process by Omoto et al investigated the ability of the model to predict attitude change, a theoretical consequence relative to the volunteer experience. The findings indicated that motivation, satisfaction, and social support all marginally influence, directly and positively, perceived attitude change, at least for AIDS volunteers. Examination of the individual motivations revealed that Understanding, Values, Community Concern, and Esteem Enhancement significantly influenced perceived attitude change.

Motivation was found to be directly related to length of service and attitude change. This demonstrates the importance of motivational concerns not only for initial recruitment and initiation of volunteers, but also for the outcomes of the individual's service.
Persuasion Messages and Motivational Functions

Clearly, the primary importance for understanding the motivations to volunteer from a volunteer organization's standpoint is for the recruitment and retention of volunteers. So, the question arises as to whether or not the identification of specific motivational functions for particular demographics is applicable to recruitment strategies. In 1994, Clary et conducted research on the impact of persuasive messages when matched to an individual's primary motivational function. In the first phase, their sample population completed the VFI and individual scores for each of the function scales were tabulated. In the second phase, individuals viewed a public service announcement on volunteer work that was matched with either their highest or lowest scoring function area. Those who viewed matched messages, as the results revealed, found the volunteer work described in the announcement to more satisfactorily address their own goals ($M = 3.97$) than did those who viewed the mismatched messages ($M = 3.00$). It should be noted that the researchers also tested other content aspects of the announcements to verify that it was the extent to which the message served individual goals, such as perceptions of the spokesperson, clarity of the message, or the number of arguments used in support of the volunteer work. Analysis of the persuasive appeal of the message revealed that the matched messages were perceived to have significantly more ($M = 3.91$) persuasive appeal than the mismatched messages ($M = 3.40$). In their investigations of intent to volunteer, they found that the participants who viewed a matched message reported greater intent to volunteer ($M = 3.77$) than those in the mismatched group ($M = 3.10$).

Functional Approach Trends

As often will happen, history repeats itself and the functional approach to motivation - along with other analyses of psychological functions, such as attributions, stigmiticism, and stereotypes - are making a resurgence in the research field. The functional approach toward studying motives and persuasion theories was introduced
during the 1950's. This initiated a frenzy of research. Enthusiasm soon faded because of the difficulty in actually identifying functional attitudes (Snyder and DeBono, 1989). Today, interest in the fields of social and personality psychology are looking to the functional theory to help explain the dynamics of needs, motives, values, and goals in the understanding of the relationship between the individual and the society.

In the functional approach to volunteerism, which began fairly recently in 1990, the majority of research has been in the development of a valid and reliable measurement instrument. Sibicky's (1992) research was the first to utilize the VFI outside of the researchers who developed and tested the tool. His research was able to reveal similarities and differences between senior citizens and college students volunteering for the same purpose. Sibicky was also able to prove hypotheses regarding operating motivational functions utilizing the VFI. For example, as predicted, the college students scored significantly higher in the career function than did the senior citizens. In comparing Sibicky's mean scores of college students with the college student sample of Clary et al, it is noteworthy that both populations had the same function areas ranked as the top four motivations to volunteer - Values, Understanding, Enhancement, and Career (Values and Career ranked first and fourth for both groups). Sibicky himself realized that his results were preliminary, but is convinced that they demonstrated support for the functional approach and urged more research from a functional framework.

Summary of MTV Research

The functional approach to understanding the motivations of prosocial behavior, specifically, sustained volunteerism is relatively under-studied at present. However, the current research that has been conducted offers empirical results in support of the functional approach. Clary and his colleagues developed and proved the validity of the VFI with different samples that consistently revealed congruent factor explanations. The results provide evidence that each VFI scale measures a single, stable function that relates
directly to a theoretical motivation. This makes it possible to identify groups of people whose particular motivations are central to their roles as volunteers. It would follow that volunteer organizations should adapt their recruitment strategies to the particular motivational functions to particular populations of potential volunteers. The research also provides evidence that volunteers who receive benefits congruous with their motivation are more likely to be satisfied and willing to remain active in their volunteer roles. This was exemplified in Omoto and Snyder's proposed model of the volunteer process in which positive and direct paths were established between motivation and satisfaction, and motivation and integration.

Moreover, the research provides preliminary evidence that persuading people to volunteer is possible by utilizing the six motivations. One important outcome in this area is the concept that persuasive messages to recruit potential volunteers need to address the specific motivational function served by the individual's attitudes. While it would be best to target an individual's most important motivational function, it may be possible to target certain populations by postulating as to which functions are most important for them. For example, both Clary et al and Sibicky identified the Career/Utilitarian function as important for college students. Therefore, a campaign for younger audiences would include messages relating to the practical experience and career exploration opportunities the individual would gain through the volunteer service.

The functional approach allows for the acceptance that an act of service can, at the same time, be both altruistic and egotistic. At the same time, it suggests that both the individual and society can benefit from act of volunteerism. Society will benefit as volunteers serve to help in solving social problems and act on causes. The individual will benefit when personal motivations are served through the individual's volunteer actions.
The functional approach demonstrates the possibility of tailoring persuasive messages to specific motivations in recruitment plans once populations are conceptually categorized by motivational functions. It also provides a process for retention of services by understanding the function of motivations in the individual's satisfaction and decisions for remaining active.
Chapter Three

Method

Restatement of Purpose

Through three separate studies conducted by Clary, Omoto, Snyder and Sibicky, it was found that there are individual psychological functions that may be met through volunteerism. These functions serve as the motivations for which the individual will act, or be persuaded, to voluntary action. The purpose of this study was to see if similar or different functions operate between volunteers, or potential volunteers, from low at-risk and high at-risk youth development programs. In identifying the function(s) that are operating to motivate volunteerism, the development of effective strategies for recruitment from different communities can be matched with the appropriate type of "functional" message.

Background

A focus panel of twelve (12) volunteers involved in youth development programs was conducted to assist in the development of a telephone survey instrument to measure the motivations of voluntary service from a functional perspective. The group consisted of six (6) volunteers from each community identified as "low" at-risk or "high" at-risk; two (2) of the volunteers from the high at-risk group were also receiving stipends; one receiving a monetary stipend and one receiving college credits.

The communities were identified as either low or high at-risk through current Atlantic County demographics and the 1997 Kids Count report (Casey Foundation, 1997) in comparison to the identifiers of at-risk communities. Those communities with three or less identifiers were considered low at-risk, those with four or more were considered high at-risk. (See Table 1).
Table 1

At-Risk Community Indicators

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Availability of Drugs</th>
<th>Atlantic City</th>
<th>Galloway Twp</th>
<th>Egg Harbor Twp</th>
<th>Pleasantville</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Availability of Firearms</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws Favorable to Drug Use, Firearms, Crime</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Media Portrayals of Violence</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transitions &amp; Mobility</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Community Attachment &amp; Disorganization</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme Economic Deprivation</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The group was first asked to complete the Voluntary Function Inventory (VFI) developed by Ridge (1990). The inventory assesses six (6) major functions that could be met through volunteerism. Each function area had five statements about volunteering, but they were organized such that none relating to the same function were consecutive. For each item, the participant could rate its strength as a motivator on a seven point scale ranging from "strong motivator" to "not a motivator." The VFI was altered slightly from the original to include two statements regarding stipends. Previous studies utilizing the inventory revealed average reliabilities of: Understanding, $r = .79$; Social, $r = .74$; Value, $r = .79$; Protective, $r = .78$, Career, $r = .87$. (Clary, Snyder & Ridge, 1994) Esteem, $p < .05$ (Sibicky, 1992).

The six functions that were examined and their corresponding attitudes are:
1. The **understanding (knowledge) function** is thought to help the individual bring attitudes in line with a more general understanding of the world around them; how things and people work.
2. A value (expressive) function helps people express attitudes of deeply held values and convictions.

3. Attitudes may be served through the protective function (ego defensive), which helps a person to deal with stress, anxiety, and inner conflict.

4. The social (adjustive) function allows interaction and cooperation, as well as social contacts with important reference groups.

5. The career (utilitarian) function serves attitudes on experiences, rewards, and benefits to the individual.

6. The esteem function deals with the individual attitudes of competence and self-worth.

Next the group was facilitated in an open discussion regarding volunteerism, individual motivations, and possible constraints to volunteering. The volunteers were also asked to help identify what statements included in the questionnaire were the strongest and weakest in assessing motivational factors. Input was also requested on statements that weren't included but might be considered.

Sample and Population

The population for the study was 58,713 adult residents living in Atlantic City, Pleasantville, Galloway Township, and Egg Harbor Township located in Atlantic County (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1990). The total sample for the study was 200 based on Krejcie and Morgan's (1970) *Table for Determining Sample Size from a Given Population* (Diem, Rennekamp, 1989). The number of individuals surveyed in each community differed due to the total populations in each. A maximum of 50 individuals were sampled per community. The margin of error was +/- 7% with a 93 percent confidence level.

The sample frame was constructed by systematic random selection. The researcher used a county cross reference directory that provided the communities' telephone numbers by street. Every seventh house on each municipality's streets were identified, by means of
tabulating every \( n \)th number for random selection. The street cross reference directory provided assurance that representation from the poorest areas within a community, having the most likelihood of not having telephone services, was included. All telephone exchanges that were business, cellular, or pagers were eliminated. An initial sample frame of 250 numbers per community was generated to replace non-working or disconnected numbers.

**Instrumentation**

As a result of the focus panel, the questionnaire was narrowed down to twelve statements, two per functional aspect, for the final questionnaire. There were also five questions on demographics that were included at the end of the questionnaire; volunteer status, race, age range, education level, and income range (see Appendix A).

Face and content validity were established by a panel of fifteen professionals in community volunteerism. The panel consisted of four directors of Atlantic County's Community Centers, two volunteer placement coordinators from Atlantic County's Volunteer Center, four administrators of volunteer organizations, two Regional Agents for the 4-H Youth Development Program of New Jersey, and three volunteers involved in youth development programs.

The questionnaire was pretested with a list of 15 individuals within the selected communities that had registered with the Atlantic County Volunteer Center within the past two years. The pilot test served to (1) determine actual length of time needed to complete the questionnaire, (2) identify any unclear statements, and (3) provide an indication of reliability. The Kuder Richardson 21 was utilized in determining each functions reliability. Reliabilities for the five measures of functions are: Understanding, \( \alpha = .85 \); Value Expressive, \( \alpha = .76 \); Protective, \( \alpha = .76 \); Social Adjustive, \( \alpha = .73 \); Utilitarian, \( \alpha = .84 \); Esteem, \( \alpha = .78 \).

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Data Collection

The telephone questionnaire was initiated with a greeting to the individual answering the phone and verification of an adult, 18 years or older. This was followed by a thorough, yet concise, orientation as to the purpose of the survey and intended use of any information gained by the study. The introduction included the amount of time it would take to complete the survey, and assurance of anonymity.

Data were collected by trained volunteers and the researcher. The telephone surveys were conducted from March 23 to April 27, 1998. Calls were made to random digit dialing numbers during evening hours from 6:30 PM to 9:00 PM, as well as a minimum of two week days (Monday through Friday), and two weekend days - including a three day holiday weekend.

Volunteers were trained with respect to the purpose of the survey, familiarity with the questionnaire, practice administering the survey, answering potential questions from respondents, and how to deal with any disagreeable situations encountered (see Appendix B). Volunteers completed separated questionnaire sheets for both answered and unanswered telephone calls. Each unanswered number would receive up to five call backs before being replaced with a new sample number. Any sample numbers that were non-working or found to be business numbers were replaced with a new number.

All completed questionnaires were coded and statistically analyzed by SPSS.

Summary

Reliability and validity for measuring motivations for volunteerism from a functional approach have been proven through studies by Clary, Omoto, Sibicky, and Snyder in relation to AIDS volunteers, persuasion messages, and similarities and differences between senior citizens and college students. This study attempted to utilize their conclusive results that there are psychological functions that motivate action to volunteer in addressing recruitment of volunteers in high at-risk communities. Specifically,
it sought to find whether there were different functions working for volunteers, or potential volunteers, depending on their individual or community at-risk issues. In addition, this study was designed to explore whether or not "stipends" are strong motivators; especially for residents of high at-risk communities.
Chapter Four

Results

Focus Panel

Telephone Survey Instrument

The focus panel, which consisted of six volunteers from low at-risk communities and six from the high at-risk communities, provided valuable feedback for survey changes and volunteer perspective into the essential hypotheses.

First, they eliminated three out of five statements per motivational function from the original VFI. This shortened the telephone instrument into a timeframe that would encourage someone to participate. Consensus techniques and the redundancy, or vagueness, of certain statements provided the basis for which statements to eliminate.

Since the original VFI did not include any statements regarding "stipends," the focus panel needed to eliminate four statements from the "Career Function" category. In addition, they helped develop the statement regarding payment for voluntary services. They agreed that the statement needed to be direct and to the point, specifically stating a stipend as direct payment or credit of some type.

High At-Risk Volunteers and the Career Function

The concept of paying someone to perform voluntary service affronted the majority of the focus panel group, all of whom were volunteers. Although they did agree that someone might volunteer for the benefit of their career or for an opportunity to secure a job. Two of the high at-risk community volunteers, who were receiving college tuition credit through the local college for their work with the afterschool programs of the
city's housing authority sites, provided information to the others and rationales for the concept of stipends. For example, a rationale included the concept of wanting to do something for a community or group, while having to decide whether to get a part time job to pay for college expenses. In taking a "volunteer" job that provides the needed tuition credit actually benefits both sides - the student who is able to provide mentoring and tutoring to young people and not jeopardizing their college, and the youth who are receiving the college student's time and skills.

As a result, the group did finally concede that some might be motivated for this reason, albeit in their opinion a negative reason, but could possibly provide much needed volunteers in limited resource communities. While the group felt that stipends would be more likely to work in high at-risk communities than low at-risk communities, they were not quite sure whether this applied to adult volunteers from within the respective communities. In other words, they felt that people not residing in high at-risk communities would take stipends to work within these environments.

Volunteers and the Value Function

The focus panel was in total agreement that values play a critical role in someone's decision to become a volunteer. While they recognized there are personal rewards of volunteer service, and that these individual rewards might be related to the five other functions, they were convinced that values play a part in every volunteer's decision. The group consensus was that there would be no difference between active volunteers in either community with regard to the Value Function.
Understanding and the High At-Risk Community

It was difficult at first for the group to comprehend the differences between the Career, Understanding, and, in some cases, the Social Function. The fact that in some of the studies using the VFI, factors of the Understanding Function often loaded under the Career Function aided the group in further refining the final instrument. The group conceded, after much discussion, that the Understanding Function was a possible motivation by providing an understanding of individual skills and strengths. In addition, it serves as an opportunity to understand how others live, work, cope, or deal with issues or situations.

Once they were clear of the concept of the Understanding Function, they were inclined to agree that residents of high at-risk communities would be more likely to rate this motivation higher than those from low at-risk communities. The rationale for this conclusion included the fact that residents of high at-risk communities would have more problems or issues to deal with. This requires the need to understand or a greater desire to learn more about their own strengths and weaknesses.

Analysis of Data

Description of Sample

A total of 200 surveys, 50 from each identified community, resulted in the desired 93 percent confidence level. Due to incomplete demographics, the study did not include one survey from a high at-risk community and two from the low at-risk communities. Therefore, the survey achieved a response rate of 100 percent and a completion rate of 98.5 percent. Someone answering the telephone and responding to the twelve motivational statements defined the response rate. Completion of all statements and
Table 3  

Demographic Characteristics of Two Study Populations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characteristics</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>High At-Risk</th>
<th>Low At-Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>59.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>40.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; 12</td>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
<td></td>
<td>55.6%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College</td>
<td></td>
<td>32.3%</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post College</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-25</td>
<td></td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>11.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-32</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>18.2%</td>
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<td>33-38</td>
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<td>18.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39-54</td>
<td></td>
<td>32.7%</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-64</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.3%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td></td>
<td>12.2%</td>
<td>20.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td></td>
<td>38.4%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td></td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td>40.4%</td>
<td>73.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt;$10,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>10.1%</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
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<td>$10-20,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>28.3%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;$50,000</td>
<td></td>
<td>11.1%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
demographics deemed the completion rate. The data presented in Table 3 compare the demographics of the two populations. Two areas that are noteworthy between the two populations, in general terms, are the education levels and racial diversity. The highest education level attained by the majority in the high at-risk group was the 12th grade (55.6%) and for the low at-risk group, the highest percentage was completion of two to four years of college (56%). The high at-risk population was nearly equal in Blacks (38.4%) to Whites (40.4%), while the low at-risk group was predominately White (73.6%). Also worthy of some note, were the differing income ranges between the two populations, again in general. The high at-risk group were predominately in the middle range and one of the lower ranges, while the low at-risk group was spread more equally across a lower, middle and upper-middle bracket.

Only 11 percent of the high at-risk group were currently volunteering as compared to 21 percent of those from the low at-risk group. Figures 1, 2, 3, and 4 shows the comparisons of volunteers to non-volunteers for both. The majority of all volunteers were those with a college degree (High: 45.5%; Low: 57%) or some graduate work (High: 36.4%; Low: 24%).

Figure 1
Characteristics of High At-Risk Volunteers
Figure 2

*Characteristics of High At-Risk Non Volunteers*

![Pie chart showing the distribution of characteristics for High At-Risk Non Volunteers.]

- 24% Other
- 11.40% 2-4 Yrs College
- 5.70% Post College
- 70.50% High School

Figure 3

*Characteristics of Low At-Risk Volunteers*

![Pie chart showing the distribution of characteristics for Low At-Risk Volunteers.]

- 24% Black
- 57% Hispanic
- 4.80% Hispanic
- 19% White
- 95.20% Other
- 7.80% 2-4 Yrs College
- 9.10% Post College

Figure 4

*Characteristics of Low At-Risk Non Volunteers*

![Pie chart showing the distribution of characteristics for Low At-Risk Non Volunteers.]

- 56.20% Black
- 2.60% Hispanic
- 7.80% Hispanic
- 7.80% Other
- 9.10% 2-4 Yrs College
- 67.50% Post College
- 40.20% High School
General Survey Results

The telephone survey listed 12 statements, two each, related to each of the 6 motivational function areas; Values, Career, Understanding, Social, Protective, and Esteem. Respondents rated each of the statements on its strength or weakness as a motivator to volunteer. The scale was a semantic scale from 1 to 7, with one being "not at all important/accurate for me" and seven being "extremely important/accurate for me." Figure 5 demonstrates the initial findings concerning the two target populations' motivations for volunteering, which lists the relative importance of each of the statements. Responses for each of the 12 statements were on a scale from one to seven, with one being “not at all important/accurate” and seven being “extremely important/accurate.” Noteworthy is the priority that each group gave to the two

Figure 5

Comparative Motivational Means Between Populations
statements relating to the Values Function, "helping others" and "for an important cause." The mean responses, respectfully, for the high at-risk group was 6.76 and 5.89, and for the low at-risk group, 6.04 and 5.45. Both populations also rated the two Understanding Function statements (to explore new skills/ideas and strengths/skills), and making important contacts for jobs in the same rank order. In general, it is interesting to see that both groups ranked each functional category in the same order, although with varying means.

The stage is set for a closer look at any significance with relation to the hypotheses and correlations between the high at-risk and low at-risk groups.

Hypothesis #1

It was expected that volunteers and potential volunteers from high at-risk communities will be more motivated to volunteer in order to meet their career functions. Furthermore, stipends were predicted to serve as the primary motivator for high at-risk respondents.

Table 4 compares the Career Function responses of the high at-risk with the low at-risk respondents.

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Career Function</th>
<th>High At-Risk</th>
<th>Low At-Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job Contacts/ Advancement</td>
<td>$M$</td>
<td>3.3535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stipends</td>
<td>$M$</td>
<td>2.9596*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Means are based on statement response scale of 1 to 7; 1 = “not at all important/accurate for me” and 7 = “extremely important/accurate for me.”

N = 99 (H), 98 (L) for both statements

*Two-tailed t-test ($p < .05$)
Contrary to the prediction that high at-risk respondents would be more motivated by stipends and general career functions; the low at-risk respondents actually had a higher mean response rate.

In testing whether the differences in means were significant, the t-test revealed no significance between the mean differences between the two groups with regard to volunteering and making job contacts or advancements. Therefore, the conclusion is that there is no motivational difference between the high and low at-risk populations with regard to volunteering for this particular reason. However, there was significant difference pertaining to the issue of stipends as a motivational function between the two groups ($t = 2.379, p < .05$). It concludes that stipends are, indeed, a stronger motivation for the low at-risk group than it is for those in high at-risk populations.

The data analysis also included the attempt to find any correlation between stipends and job contacts/advancement. An inter-scale correlation of $r = .685$ (significant at .01 two-tailed level) was found between the two. It was also interesting to find slightly significant correlation between job contacts/advancement and all but three other factors – feeling less lonely, important value of peers, and volunteering for an important cause.

There was also some association noted between stipends and all other factors except feeling important, feeling better about self, and feeling less lonely. All significant factors were at either the .01 or .05 two-tailed level (Table 5). A moderately significant association was found between both stipends and job contacts/advancement and “explore strengths/skills,” which suggests some connection.
Table 5

Correlations of Motivational Function Scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Motivational Function</th>
<th>Career</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Job Contacts/Advance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.685**</td>
<td>.199**</td>
<td>.173*</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>.217**</td>
<td>.260**</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>.298**</td>
<td>.403**</td>
<td>- .099</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stipends</td>
<td>.685**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.127</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>-.020</td>
<td>.203**</td>
<td>.165*</td>
<td>.145*</td>
<td>.257**</td>
<td>.426**</td>
<td>-.197**</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel Important</td>
<td>.199**</td>
<td>.127</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.310**</td>
<td>.307**</td>
<td>.163**</td>
<td>.151*</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>.140*</td>
<td>.160*</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel Better About Self</td>
<td>.173*</td>
<td>.052</td>
<td>.310**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.359**</td>
<td>.297**</td>
<td>.175*</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>.113</td>
<td>.360**</td>
<td>.188**</td>
<td>.169*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less Lonely</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>-.020</td>
<td>.307**</td>
<td>.359**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.440**</td>
<td>.234**</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>-.097</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Escape Troubles</td>
<td>.217**</td>
<td>.203**</td>
<td>.163*</td>
<td>.297**</td>
<td>.440**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.187**</td>
<td>.276**</td>
<td>.151*</td>
<td>.221**</td>
<td>-.120</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends/Family</td>
<td>.269**</td>
<td>.165*</td>
<td>.151*</td>
<td>.175*</td>
<td>.234**</td>
<td>.187**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.317**</td>
<td>.194**</td>
<td>.297**</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td>.173*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important Value of Peers</td>
<td>.129</td>
<td>.145*</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>.028</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>.276**</td>
<td>.317**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.143*</td>
<td>.330**</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>.264**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Skills/Idcas</td>
<td>.298**</td>
<td>.257**</td>
<td>.140*</td>
<td>.113</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>.151*</td>
<td>.194**</td>
<td>.143*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.259**</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.146*</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explore Strengths/Skills</td>
<td>.403**</td>
<td>.426**</td>
<td>.160*</td>
<td>.360**</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>.221**</td>
<td>.297**</td>
<td>.330**</td>
<td>.259**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>.296**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help Others</td>
<td>-.099</td>
<td>-.197**</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.188**</td>
<td>-.097</td>
<td>-.120</td>
<td>-.028</td>
<td>.068</td>
<td>.016</td>
<td>.057</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>.390**</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important Cause</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>-.003</td>
<td>.138</td>
<td>.169*</td>
<td>-.018</td>
<td>.021</td>
<td>.173*</td>
<td>.264**</td>
<td>.146*</td>
<td>.296**</td>
<td>.390**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Numbers under each Motivational Function refer to the corresponding statement number from survey.

Correlations are for n = 197

** p < .01  * p < .05 (two-tailed)
Hypothesis #2

It is expected to find the same results for active volunteers in both low and high at-risk communities with regard to the Value Function. Past research has shown that committed volunteers are more motivated by a concern to help others.

As predicted, there was no significance between volunteers from high at-risk communities and low at-risk communities in terms of the Value Function. Given the commitment necessary for volunteering it is not surprising that both groups of volunteers expressed a desire to help others, and therefore score high in this function.

In comparing the response means of volunteers to non-volunteers (Table 6), it was found that there was significance between the two mean responses with regard to the “important cause” factor of the Value Function ($p < .01$, two-tailed).

Table 6

*Means of Value Function Factors between Groups*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>High At-Risk</th>
<th>Low At-Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Volunteers  n = 11</td>
<td>Non Volunteers n = 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Help Others</td>
<td>$M$ 7.00</td>
<td>6.76*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Important Cause</td>
<td>$M$ 6.82</td>
<td>5.89</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .01 (two-tailed)*
Hypothesis #3

Volunteers from low at-risk communities will rate high in the understanding functions.

Initial review of the statistics reveal relatively high means for “to learn new skills/ideas” ($M = 4.76$) and “to explore strengths/skills” ($M = 4.59$) for the low at-risk group. In fact, these statements ranked third and fourth, respectively, out of the twelve factors. However, this is the exact same rating priority for the high at-risk group (see Figure 5). The mean responses (Table 7) for the high at-risk population group were $M = 4.66$ ("new skills/ideas") and $M = 4.02$, ("explore strengths/skills").

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Understanding Function</th>
<th>Low At-Risk</th>
<th>High At-Risk</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Learn New Skills/Ideas</td>
<td>$M$</td>
<td>4.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explore Strengths/Skills</td>
<td>$M$</td>
<td>4.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In comparing the mean responses of both groups there was no significant difference between the means. Therefore, the assumption is that motivations of understanding one’s own skills and/or strengths are equally important to both high and low-at risk groups. Although the original hypothesis of the low at-risk group rating this function high was correct, the results did not signify the Understanding Function to be a higher motivation.
The correlational analysis (see Table 5) demonstrates an association between the two Understanding statements. In fact, the positive relationship ($r = .61$, $p < .01$) is a good predictor that as an individual will rate one Understanding statement high, the respondent will also rate the other Understanding factor high, and vice versa.

The association of “explore strengths/skills” is slightly significant between “escape troubles,” “friends/family,” and “important cause” (all $p$’s < .01). These associations are only marginally significant with regard to “new skills/ideas.”

There is a stronger correlation of “explore strengths/skills” to “feel better about self” and “important value of peers.” Again, while significant, these associations are not as indicative for “new skills/ideas.”

**Other Data**

Although there were no other predictions made, further comparison of the demographics revealed some interesting raw data. For example, it appears from general comparisons and simple mathematics that there is a strong relationship between the level of education achieved to volunteering or considering volunteering. Of the 37 current volunteers and/or those considering volunteering from the high at-risk group, 46 percent were college graduates. From the low at-risk group, 69 percent of the 65 current volunteers and/or those considering volunteering had college degrees. However, a more advanced college education was not an indicator of greater volunteerism. In fact, for both groups, having a high school degree is a stronger indicator for volunteering (H: 38%, L: 23%).
Summary

The VFI demonstrated to be a useful tool in assessing the motivations of certain populations. The results offer further evidence to the work of Clary and Snyder that the single, most motivating function for an individual volunteering can be identified. While there are other functions also operating, the VFI allows through simple calculations to identify the rank order of an individual’s motivations.

In this study’s attempt to find any similarities or differences between the two at-risk populations, the findings were more for similarities than differences. Values and Understanding functions play a critical role in both groups motivations to volunteer. Job contacts ranked in the same order for both groups, however, Social and Esteem Functions varied slightly. It was interesting that for both groups, Protective Functions rated least important.

The critical thought that high at-risk adults’ motivations to volunteer increase with the offer of stipends proved false, in fact completely opposite than proposed. However, there is evidence in support that Understanding factors play a significant role in guiding motivations for this group.

Further investigation into any significant correlation between demographic characteristics, such as educational level, marital status, and age, appears to be an additional area that warrants investigation.
Chapter Five
Discussion

For every potential volunteer, especially those with low socioeconomic status or other issues of limited resources; there are formidable barriers that may keep them from getting involved. In the case of high at-risk communities, not only are there limits of time and energy, but also there are fears of danger, inadequate skills, and lack of transportation. What, then, can motivate some people within high at-risk communities? This study attempted to find this answer by using the Volunteer Function Inventory, guided by the functional approach, to assess the primary motivations for volunteerism with a comparison between high and low at-risk communities.

A result of the inventory finds individual-to-individual variability of which motivations are most and least important. The scores for each motivational function span the full scale, rating from least important by some and most important by others. One clear message that came through this study was that there doesn’t appear to be any one motivational reason for volunteerism. The act of doing volunteer work seems to derive from different motivations for different people.

The adults in this study were representative of the geographic and demographic breakdowns of the respective high and low at-risk communities. In addition, the volunteers identified were demographically similar to the general population of the United States identified by other studies and the Bureau of the Census (1996). The mean average income of volunteers in this study ($20,000 to $40,000) compare to those found nationally ($20,000 to $39,999). The education levels are also similar with 54 percent
nationally having a college degree and an average of 57.5 percent within this study. The volunteers and/or potential volunteers in the study also compared to the general population of volunteers in being within the same general age range (52% age 33 – 54 as compared to 57.5%).

As predicted, motivations that engaged functions of values were characteristically important to volunteers in both high and low at-risk communities. This is similar to a variety of studies on volunteer motivation where respondents give similar reasons for volunteering. In fact, Gillespie’s (1985) study of Red Cross volunteers indicated that individuals differing by age, sex, and marital status all tend to give same reasons to volunteer to “helping others” and “contributing to community.” In the studies utilizing the VFI, both Clary ((1997) and Sibicky (1992) found the mean responses for the Values Function to be higher for their populations of college students and senior citizens.

This is an important finding in recognizing that, above all, values still play the biggest role in deciding whether or not an individual will volunteer. As with Clary’s study on matching motivational messages to functions, it implies that volunteer recruitment messages for most general target audiences will need to include value statements and benefits.

There is little theoretical knowledge to understand the relationship between the reasons one might give as a motivation to volunteer and demographic characteristics. However, there is the Sequential Specificity Model (SSM) that explains individual voluntary action in three broad independent variables – contextual factors, personal factors, and situational factors (Smith, 1966). The third variable, situational factors, refers to the specific situational stimuli that is relevant to an individual’s action, including age,
life cycle, and temporal goals. These factors appear to have influenced the volunteers in this study with regard to age, education, and income. This is an important assumption that, as personal and social circumstances are improved, and conditioned by age, goals change and so will the motivations for volunteering. If this is true, than it could have major implications for volunteer recruitment, training, and satisfaction strategies. However, to study the correlation, if any, between specific social and personal issues to identified motivational functions requires more longitudinal studies.

**High At-Risk Responses Related to Career Function**

Contrary to the thought that the high at-risk audience would rate Career, especially with regard to “stipends;” higher than that of the low at-risk group did not prove true. It was interesting to see that the low at-risk group in fact rated this response significantly higher. The mean response to “make job contacts/advancement for the low at-risk group was also higher than the high at-risk group, however, there was no significance found in these differences, though.

The two low at-risk communities researched in this study are rapidly growing communities within the county. In fact, the one township is a high-growth area under state law. The influx of new families into these communities are the result of new jobs being created by the casino industry, as well as businesses that cater to the needs of the casinos (printing, legal, insurance, building contractors, etc.). Those residing in these communities are predominately career oriented with college or advanced degrees (Census, 1990).
Sibicky (1992) did find that college students were more motivated than senior citizens for reasons of gaining career related experience. It stands to reason that those just entering a professional field, or in a fast-paced career, would be likely to volunteer for a role that would provide influential contacts and experience to include on resumes or vitas. In addition, Cousen (1964) found consistent association between socioeconomic status and the types of organizations joined. For example, middle to upper middle class tends to join those of associated with business and professional interests, service, political lobbying, the arts and cultures, and education. The implication of stipends serving as a motivator for those who rate high in the Career Function is the view of voluntary organizations and associations as simply part of the job. For those in the low at-risk group, their priorities appear to be more in line with their careers than other aspects of their present lives.

Another implication is that these volunteers are likely to move on to a regular career path or paid employment. This would result in greater turnover among volunteers in proportion to those volunteering for the purpose of gaining training or an extenuation of their normal, paid job.

Similarities Between Communities with Regard to the Values Function

As predicted, the volunteers from both communities were similar in the high priority they gave to the two factors regarding the Values Functions. Noteworthy here is the priority that all respondents gave to the Values Function factors, with each group rank ordering "to help others" first and "for an important cause" second (based on means for each group).
The debate over the issue of volunteering for truly humanitarian reasons is a continuing debate, despite the overwhelming statistics from numerous studies. The debate continues because of the strong belief that respondents give the answers they feel are expected, and that will put them in a more positive light. However, if the term prosocial is utilized instead of altruism, it takes away the concept of volunteering for truly self-sacrificing motives. Instead, it allows the individual to still volunteer for their own benefit while fulfilling their own motivational need of doing something for others (with values consistent with their beliefs). These motives must retain some role in understanding volunteers, as volunteering is a leisure activity that can provide personal growth. Volunteering is also unique in that it provides valuable service to others while providing an opportunity for the volunteer to feel they are contributing something of value.

There was some significance found between the high at-risk volunteers to non-volunteers with regard to volunteering for an important cause. It is worth noting that the non-volunteers are less likely to be motivated to volunteer for an issue or general cause in their community. This has important implications for recruitment strategies in high at-risk communities. Often service organizations appeal to communities to get involved in their neighborhood issues and to take active roles to empower themselves. Since issues-oriented action isn't a motivator for this population, than these types of appeals will not attract the volunteers necessary. It further implies that volunteer recruitment strategies should always include an appeal to one's sense of right and wrong, strong believes, and the social norms of the community.
Understanding Function and High At-Risk Communities

Although the high at-risk participants did rate the factors for the Understanding Function, to "learn new skills/ideas" and "explore strengths/skills," third and fourth, respectively, it was not found to be any different than for the low at-risk audience. In fact, all other studies using the VFI have consistently found the Understanding Function to be the second highest scores (Clary, 1997; Sibicky, 1992; Clary and Snyder, 1992) for a variety of audiences - from senior citizens to college students.

One thought as to why the Understanding Function rates so highly is the way in which volunteer work provides a unique type of social setting. Volunteer settings are one of the few social scenes in that there is freedom to construct social relationships without the normal constraints of society, such as employment and economic pressures. In this way, volunteers are not limited to their job skills or previous training and can assume a variety of roles - such as policy makers, or organizers, or essential leaders. Volunteering can provide the perfect opportunities for an individual to find out more about themselves, their skills, the needs and concerns for others, and the workings of the world in general. Thus, the social contact made possible through volunteering may provide the perfect outlet for satisfying a need to understand the world around them and the people in their environments.

Implications for Motivating Volunteers from At-Risk Communities

The preliminary findings from this study reveal that stipends, unlike expected, will not motivate volunteers from high at-risk communities to serve. However, stipends may be able to be implemented with low at-risk volunteers to serve as mentors, or in other capacities, for programs in high at-risk environments. The results also indicate that
the values and understanding messages may be used with audiences in both high and low at-risk communities with equal chances of being effective for recruitment.

Although this study did not attempt to further investigate any associations between demographics and motivations, the results demonstrate support for the Functional Approach to volunteer of Clary and Snyder. Again, the clear message that comes through from this study, as supported by other studies, is that there does not appear to be any one reason why a person is motivated to volunteer. Instead, there are six main categories, or functional areas, of reasons for service work. The Functional Approach anticipates the concept that the same act of volunteering derives different motivations for different. It would follow, then, that different recruitment efforts tailor the particular motivations of the specific target audience.

Since Clary and Snyder (1992) have demonstrated with the functional hypothesis that messages matched to motivations have an enhanced persuasive result, there are direct implications applicable to organizations dependent on volunteers. Using the VFI to initially assess the target audiences' motivations can provide the information necessary to develop promotional and recruitment pieces that address the key motivations of the potential group of volunteers.

The retention of volunteers is highly dependent on the motivations for joining in the first place. The functional approach also focuses on the ongoing nature of volunteerism. Therefore, the volunteer role must match the individual's motivations if the recruited volunteer is to derive satisfaction and more apt to continue in their role. In other words, the benefits of their volunteer experience must meet the initial motives.
In general, the results of this study reveal no significant motivational reasons for high at-risk community residents in comparison to the low at-risk population, or the general population. However, it does reinforce that values and understanding functions play a critical role in motivating a person to volunteer and provides direction for service organizations to implement recruitment strategies.

The aspect of planned helpfulness, providing voluntary service on an on-going basis, is one of great concern for a variety of social service organizations - especially community-based programs and those experiencing government cutbacks. By reviewing the process of volunteer recruitment and recognizing that individuals' behaviors are influenced by their motivations - in relation to their personalities and situations - organizations will be better prepared to recruit and retain the necessary voluntary staff to conduct their programs and goals.

Further research, however, needs to build a broader base of the similarities and differences between various sub-populations of volunteers.
Hello, ____________________________ This is ____________________________ with Rowan University. I need to ask you some questions that can help the youth in your community. I want to assure you that this is the only time you will be contacted, but the information you can provide on this issue is extremely important in helping our young people succeed and making communities better. Would you take a few minutes to help us find out why people might volunteer for youth programs in their community?

I need to interview someone age 18 or older, so that the results will represent the total population of Atlantic County adult residents.

Are you 18 years or older? _____ Yes or _____ No  
If yes, proceed with survey
If no, may I speak with someone who is? _____ Yes or _____ No  
If yes, proceed
If no, ask when would be a good time to call back ______________________ and thank them for their time.

Have you ever been a volunteer for a youth program? _____ YES _____ NO  
(if yes, go to next question)

Are you currently a volunteer for a youth program?  
_____ YES _____ NO

Have you, or would you, ever consider to volunteer for disadvantaged youth?  
_____ YES _____ NO

For this part of the survey, I will give you 12 statements - one at a time, that might be a motivation for you to volunteer or consider volunteering. Please rate the importance of the following reasons to volunteer for you on a scale from one (1) to seven (7). One means not at all important or accurate for you and seven (7) means extremely important or accurate for you.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
not at all important/neutral extremely important/or accurate for you

But, before starting, I want to mention that should you have any questions regarding this study you may contact the Deborah Cole, 4-H Program Associate with the Atlantic County 4-H Program at 625-0056. She will be happy to explain the purpose of the study and provide you with additional information.
In answering, think of the question beginning as: "I would be motivated to volunteer...

1. Because my friends and/or family volunteer. 
2. To make me feel important. 
3. To feel less lonely. 
4. To make new contacts that might help me get a job or advance in my career. 
5. To learn new skills or ideas directly from the volunteer work. 
6. It is important to help others. 
7. To help me financially by providing a stipend - either through direct payment of my services or education credits. 
8. To do something for a cause that is important to me. 
9. Because it is an important value to the people I know best. 
10. It is a good escape from my own troubles. 
11. To make me feel better about myself. 
12. To explore my own strengths and skills.

There are just five more questions I need to ask.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Your sex is?</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>What is your age range?</td>
<td>18 - 25</td>
<td>26 - 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is the highest grade you graduated?</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>2-4 yrs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What is your race?</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>Hispanic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May I also ask your income range?</td>
<td>less than $10,000</td>
<td>$10,000-20,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B
THE INTERVIEW

1. Be sure to write the information from your "Number List" sheet into the box in the upper left hand corner of each survey. You might want to do this ahead of time.

   a. be sure to personalize the interview by adding Mr. or Ms. and the last name listed on your sheets.

2. Read the statements as written.

   Even a single word can change the meaning of a statement for the respondent. If you attempt to interpret the statement it might change the response. Key phrases you can use if someone asks, "What do you mean?" are:

   • I'm sorry, I don't have that information.
   • It's important that you try to answer as best you can in terms of the way it's stated, maybe I could read it to you again with the beginning statement.
   • I will write down your concern about that statement so it will be taken into account in the analysis of the surveys.

3. If respondent becomes angry or uses abusive language, etc. - be nice! Do not hang up, do not answer angrily or with foul language - you are representing 4-H. Remain cool and try the following:

   • Yes, I understand that you feel strongly on this matter. But, we really do need the information to help us in finding how we can get adults to volunteer.

   If all else fails:

   • I think I understand how you feel and your not wanting to complete the interview. Thank you for your time anyway. Good-bye.
WHAT SOMEONE MIGHT LIKE TO KNOW ABOUT THIS STUDY

WHO IS SPONSORING (PAYING) FOR THIS SURVEY?

The study is a Rowan University graduate student's project. Her name is Deborah Cole and she is sponsoring the survey as part of her course work. The survey is being conducted by volunteers trained by Ms. Cole and who are donating their time and telephone services.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?

The well-being of our youth is an important issue today. Many disadvantage youth, living in limited resource or at-risk communities, are especially in danger of not succeeding in today's world. Research has shown that young people involved in community organizations fair much better than those with no involvement in clubs, sports, or community activities. However, attracting volunteers to work in community youth programs has been difficult. We are hoping to find out the reasons why adults would volunteer so we can provide them with opportunities to receive personal rewards for their efforts.

WHO IS THE PERSON RESPONSIBLE FOR THE SURVEY? MAY I TALK TO HIM/HER?

The person is Deborah Cole. She is a graduate student at Rowan University and I am sure she would be happy to talk with you. I can have her call you, or you may call her. Her office telephone number is 625-0056 ext. 6120.
ABOUT THE RESPONDENT'S ROLE IN THE SURVEY

HOW DID YOU GET MY NAME & NUMBER?

All numbers for the study were drawn from the Cross Reference Directory for Atlantic County residents. The method used gave all numbers for Atlantic City, Egg Harbor Township, Galloway Township and Pleasantville an equal chance of being drawn and it is strictly by chance that your number was selected.

HOW CAN I BE SURE THIS IS AUTHENTIC?

You may call Deborah Cole at the office number. I will put your interview sheet on hold until I get verification from her that you have called and are convinced that this is an authentic study.

IS THIS CONFIDENTIAL?

Yes, most definitely! After the interview is completed the answers are analyzed without any names - only the first three numbers of your phone number are used to verify the community where the study was taken. All information released after summarizing will only include the percentages of people who volunteer grouped under six major "reasons" - values, career, social concern, esteem enhancement, knowledge, and protective.

The numbers selected at random will not be compiled into a list for any further contact or recruitment purposes. However, if you are interested in becoming a volunteer, the 4-H Office would be more than happy to provide you with more information. Would you like to leave your name and number?

CAN I GET A COPY OF THE RESULTS?

yes, we would be glad to send you a copy - if you will give me your current address. We hope to have all the results within two months.
### Possible Answers for Reasons Not to Participate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason for Refusal</th>
<th>Possible Responses</th>
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| Too Busy           | This will really only take a few minutes.  
I'm sorry I caught you at a bad time.  
I would be happy to call back if you can tell me when would be a good time to call back within the next several days. |
<p>| Bad Health         | I'm sorry to hear that. But, this is not a request for you to volunteer - only to answer questions on what might be a motive for you to volunteer. |
| Too Old            | Older people's opinions are just as important in this study. A lot of research has shown that older adults serve as valuable mentors and volunteers to young people. We really do want your opinion. |
| Don't Know Enough to Answer | The statements are not at all difficult. They concern only your opinions and beliefs about volunteering - not how much you know about volunteering. Maybe I could just read you a few of the statements to you and you can see what they are like. |
| Not Interested     | It's really important we get the opinions of everyone in the sample - otherwise the results will not be useful. So, I'd really like to talk to you. |
| No One's Business Think | I can certainly understand, that's why all of our interviews are confidential. Protecting your privacy is one of our major concerns. No single individual will ever be identified. |</p>
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<tr>
<th>REASON FOR REFUSAL</th>
<th>POSSIBLE RESPONSES</th>
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<tr>
<td>Objects to Surveys</td>
<td>The issue of positive youth development is very important to all of our futures. If there were another way to find out this information, we could eliminate this inconvenience to you. But this is very important and we would very much like your opinions.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surveys by phone are much faster and less expensive than other methods of getting information. This is very different from telephone sales and this will be the only time you will ever be contacted.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
References


Stevens, Carla J. (1990). *Description of the Lighted Schoolhouse program*. Houston, TX: Texas Department of Education.


