

# Helping, Learning and Enjoying

## Medical Professionals' Motivation to Volunteer with World Servants



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## Preface

Before you lies the heart-rendering epos which is the final step in a Master's degree. The heart-rendering part may not be readily visible when reading through it, but trust me: this work contains blood, sweat, tears and more coffee than most people could imagine drinking in a lifetime. The tears will mostly come when this piece of paper has been deemed passable and following that, quite possibly ritually burned. Fortunately, the impression this thesis has made cannot be so easily erased. Not only have I learned much about my own character and acquired a bit of endurance, this student now has a comprehensive understanding of what motivates others to do their work and perhaps just as importantly: what motivates people to make this world a better place through volunteering. Along the way, concepts like Self-Determination Theory, Public Service Motivation and Volunteer Functions Inventories have made themselves known and will now be passed on to you, reader. Hopefully, you will find the knowledge you can glean from the next 50 or so pages to be of use to your professional or personal efforts.

As is customary, I would like to thank a few people for the work they have put into this the birth of this thesis, be it by adding knowledge or by simply putting me back to work.

First of all, Nina van Loon, who has very patiently guided me in my search for the end of this paper and was always willing to help, even if I wasn't very receiving or thankful. Many thanks to you!

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*"Don't Panic."*

*Hester Top  
15 June 2015, Zwartebroek*

## 0. Abstract

The importance of volunteers grows as the economy worsens and societal relations weaken. This makes it volunteer motivation an important subject and it has been extensively researched. However, the aim of this study is to study the different aspects of volunteer motivation for volunteer with a specific skillset, as identified by medically trained volunteers with World Servants. It attempts to do this through the theories of Self-Determination Theory (Ryan and Deci, 2000), Public Service Motivation (Perry, 1996) and Volunteer Functions Inventory (Clary et al., 1998). The interviews of 15 volunteers were analysed through a qualitative method to find the most important functions of motivation. The volunteers identified a high autonomous motivation, specifically *values/compassion, understanding* and *social*, while being least motivated by *career*. It can be concluded that medically trained volunteers with World Servants are mostly motivated by their desire to help, to experience professional and personal growth and enjoyment of the different (social) aspects of the projects. Organisations may attract more volunteers by giving them the opportunity to fulfil these needs desires and thus providing for the different intrinsic motivations of the volunteers.

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## 1. Introduction

Why do we do what we do? What makes us want to do some things more than others? Many researchers have tried to answer these questions, because motivation is an integral part of our daily lives, which gives motivational research the opportunity to answer a few of life's questions. What motivates a man to spend 40 years working for a seemingly dull government department? Why does a girl barely out of school spend an entire year in Africa to volunteer? Their choices suggest that they are motivated in a way that other individuals are not. However, motivation is a difficult subject to investigate because it stems from, amongst others, an individual's values and experiences and it does not always become apparent through the actions of the individual. Actions are often supported by different motivations and may differ between individuals. Actions do not always require the participant to want to do them or to like them. Suffice to say that motivations are as varied and complex as the individuals they belong to. For example, some individuals work because they believe it is important to have a secure income, while other simply enjoy the type of the work they do and find that more important than the amount of money they earn. Still others find satisfaction in working with their colleagues or learning more in their field of expertise.

An interesting field of study within motivational theories is volunteering. Volunteers are a common part of today's society. Many organisations, such as cancer or first aid foundations but also governmental institutions, work with volunteers. Their tasks vary from simply raising money to intensive long-term specialised work. This is one of the difficulties in volunteer motivation studies: the concept of volunteering is different in each situation. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) found that over 200 definitions of volunteering have been reviewed in prior studies and that "all definitions of volunteering discuss the provision of time, labor, and expertise and are centered on four axes: (1) free will; (2) availability and nature of remuneration; (3) the proximity to the beneficiaries; and (4) a formal agency" (p. 414). On its axes, free will can range from an individual's own inclination to school requirements or social or religious pressure. Remuneration may vary from being absent in any form to reimbursements for time and effort. Proximity can be taken literally, from helping the next-door neighbour to not even knowing who the beneficiaries will be. Finally, a formal agency indicates that the volunteering can range from formal to informal, where on the one hand a volunteer will be supported by a formal organisation, while informal volunteering is self-appointed and self-managed and therefore more difficult to assess. Although this theory somewhat limits the concept of volunteering, it still encompasses a wide range of activities that are considered to be volunteering, from serving on a board to distributing water at an event.

Volunteer motivation is a societally interesting research subject, because in our society and economy volunteers have become an important factor (Schuyt, Gouwenberg and Bekkers, 2013). Many initiatives exist because of the work that volunteers do. Because of their organisational relevance, it is important for many organisations to attract and motivate volunteers. Logically, with the recent economical recesses, their importance has grown even further and volunteer activities are being stimulated by the government. Successfully, it appears, for according to Houwelingen and Hart (2013) the percentage of Dutch volunteers has slightly risen in the last years, from 35% in 2006 to 40% in 2011. However, these hopeful results are contradicted by the findings of Schuyt, Gouwenberg and Bekkers (2013), who found that although there had been a temporary rise in volunteers, on average the amount of volunteering has dropped 8% between 2002 and 2012 (p. 18). The average amount of time spent on volunteer work has slightly risen



though, from an average of 19 hours to 21 hours per month (p. 18). These studies show how many individuals are willing to do volunteer work, but leave the question of why they do it and to successfully attract volunteers, it is important for organisations to be able to reach their target group. The need for volunteers seems to have grown, along with their importance in organisations and society, since the start of the financial crisis in Europe (Alblas, Blauw and Boss, 2011). During the financial crisis, organisations benefit from individuals who are willing to work without requiring pay, but instead desire experience or connections. The decreasing numbers of volunteers suggest there is a need to better understand their motivation in order to both retain and attract them.

Volunteer work often has a dual effect. On the one hand it furthers the intended cause, e.g. first aid, while on the other hand the volunteer also receives intrinsic and extrinsic benefits (Haski-Leventhal, Hustinx and Handy, 2011). Furthermore, Haski-Leventhal, Hustinx and Handy (2011) state that American volunteers generate services worth more than \$239 billion each year, which is over \$2800 per volunteer. Because of these aspects of volunteer work, it is important to both the government and society that individuals are willing to volunteer on a regular basis, especially in third-world countries where aid programs are often not instigated by the government and there are few funds available to help the needy. In 2011, it became mandatory for secondary schools to organise a volunteering program for students. In this way all students come into contact with the concept of volunteering and they have an early start in trying to find volunteer work that fits them. To successfully retain these and other volunteers and to attract new ones, it is important for organisations to know what motivates individuals to do volunteer work.

Many different theories aim to explain the phenomenon of motivation (Carpenter and Myers, 2010; Chatman, 1989; Clary et al., 1998; Perry and Wise, 1990; Ryan and Deci, 2000). Research suggests that different types of motivation may be specific to work sector (Buelens & Van den Broeck, 2007). This suggests that not every working environment will provide the same amount or type of motivation. The predisposition of individuals to respond to motives prevalent in public sector organisations is called Public Service Motivation (PSM). "Each person is exposed, in varying degrees to various institutional mechanisms that inculcate public institutional logics and internalize public values. Thus, public service motivation will vary across individuals. The consequence is that people will bring different levels of public service motivation with them to their organizations" (Perry and Vandenberg, 2009, p. 66). Because every person is different, it is not enough to simply say that they are public service motivated. Within public service motivation there is much distinction to be made between dimensions of motivation. Perry (1996) differentiated four dimensions of public service motivation, namely *public policy making*, *compassion*, *self-sacrifice* and *public interest*. These four dimension represent different sources of motivation for individuals.

Ryan and Deci (2000) found different dimensions of motivation in individuals which are considered applicable not only for the public sector, but also for the private sector. They propose a Self-Determination Theory (SDT) continuum with on the one hand extrinsic motivation, which stems from external input, often physical rewards or punishments, and on the other hand intrinsic motivation, which is motivation purely from the enjoyment and satisfaction of doing the task and is self-regulated. The similarities between these two models of motivation make it possible to link some of the dimensions that are closely related. A recent study by Vandenberg (2014) concurs with the idea that SDT and PSM are indeed connected. The motivation of volunteers is an especially interesting subject to investigate in light of the two aforementioned models, because

they often perform the same type of tasks with similar motivations as paid individuals, but without apparent monetary or otherwise quantifiable incentive.

However, both SDT and PSM were not designed with volunteers in mind, but with regular work motivation. Motivation specifically for volunteering has been researched by Clary et al. (1998) and was found to differ from work motivation in its regulation. They developed the Volunteer Functions Index (VFI) to better describe volunteer motivation and provide a way to measure it in volunteers. They describe a functional approach to volunteering that shows some similarities to the Public Service Motivation (Coursey, Perry, Brudney and Littlepage, 2011). Clary et al. (1998) state that

“some attitudes are thought to serve a knowledge (object appraisal) function, bringing a sense of understanding to the world; other attitudes serve a value expressive (quality of expressiveness) function, helping people express deeply held values, dispositions and convictions; and still other attitudes serve an ego defensive (externalization) function, buffering people against undesirable or threatening truths about the self” (p. 1517).

These functions are similar to regulatory styles described by Ryan and Deci (2000).

Unfortunately, there have been few studies on the motivation specifically for volunteers with certain skillsets, e.g. medical volunteers. In this thesis, a case study was done at World Servants Netherlands. World Servants is a volunteer organisation which arranges three-week aid and construction programmes for groups of around 30 (young) adults in Africa and South-America. Over the years, World Servants has experienced a decline in volunteers (World Servants Nederland, 2011). This is most notable through the difficulties they have with finding staff for their three-week programmes. Each year they need to fill between 20 and 25 staffs with diversely specialised individuals, e.g. someone to lead the construction and to lead the children’s’ program. The most difficult position to fill is that of medical staff members. These individuals need to have a degree in their field, contrary to the other members of staff who are only required to have relevant experience. The on-going search for medically qualified volunteers with World Servants provides an opportunity for investigating the motivation of medical students and professionals to volunteer with an organisation like World Servants and possibly form some suggestions for attraction more volunteers. Previous studies have considered the motivation of health care workers in their sector and other studies have been done on the motivation of volunteers, but few studies have combined these two to find the motivation of medically trained volunteers (Fletcher and Major, 2004). Investigation into this subject has the potential to add new insights to the already existing body of literature on work and volunteer motivation as described in the theoretical framework. Although the available literature on motivation is great, there seems to have been little study on the topic of motivation of skilled volunteers. The current study will hopefully add to this.

Therefore, the goal of this thesis is to study the different aspects of motivation in medically trained volunteers through a qualitative method, to allow the interviewees the opportunity to express their own thoughts on the subject. This will be done through a case study with World Servants Netherlands, where the acquired volunteers are interviewed on the subject of their motivation.

## 1.1. Research question

The main question addressed in this study is: *Which motivational functions of volunteering do medically qualified individuals express?* This question can be answered by finding the answers to



several subquestions, firstly the theoretical subquestions, which are to be answered in the theoretical framework:

1. Which motivational functions of volunteering have already been found in previous studies?
2. Are medically trained individuals expected to be motivated differently from other volunteers?

And secondly the empirical subquestions, which are answered through the results and discussion:

1. Which motivational functions of volunteering are identified by medically qualified individuals?
2. Which functions motivate medical professionals and students to choose for this type of volunteering?

Answering these question may lead to a theory on how medically trained individuals are motivated to volunteer. This case study with World Servants may provide insights into the possibilities aid organisations have for attracting more volunteers. Also, the possible differences between 'regular' volunteer motivation, as presented in the literature, and medical volunteer motivation may come to light through these questions. Furthermore, the study can lead to subjects for further study on volunteer motivation. The current research will focus on what motivates medical students and professionals to use their skills for volunteer work. This thesis begins by studying the literature available on volunteer motivation. It will then go on to further specify and describe the method used in this study to gather and interpret data. After this, the results will be presented and discussed, followed by a conclusion and practical implications of this research. Finally, the used sources are listed and any necessary appendices added.

## 2. Theoretical framework

This chapter describes the theoretical framework for this study. It is an overview of the existing body of literature on work and volunteer motivation. By focussing on the relevant hypotheses, this study has a steady foundation to build on and theoretical guidance in asking the right questions and finding answers during the actual empirical data gathering.

### 2.1. Motivation

“Work motivation is a set of energetic forces that originate both within as well as beyond an individual’s being, to initiate work-related behaviour, and to determine its form, direction, intensity and duration” (Pinder, 2008). Work motivation is a subject that has been extensively researched over the years. Not only is it useful for organisations to understand why people are willing to work, but it is also a fascinating and diverse subject. Volunteer motivation is a topic which may be just as diverse, as it also encompasses a wide variety of activities (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). In their search for an integrated theory of volunteering, Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) discovered three difficulties that theories of volunteering face and consequently, any research on volunteer motivation will face as well. First, they consider that volunteering is a complex phenomenon without clear boundaries and covering a large amount of activities in different sectors and organisations. Second, different disciplines attribute different meanings to volunteering. Third, existing theories aim to provide a general ‘law of volunteering’ with an empirical surplus, while Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) believe that they need to consider different dimensions. This conceptual framework of volunteering can be seen in Table 1.

#### 2.1.1. The problem of definition

The first layer of complexity they identify is a rather immediate one: the problem of *definition*. What is volunteering? Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) find that most theories aim to explain what volunteering is *not*. It is not paid work, but also not slavery. It is not biologically necessary, but neither is it kinship care nor spontaneous help. They quote Musick and Wilson (2008) in saying that it is also not activism, as “[v]olunteerism targets people; activism targets structures [...] The activist changes while the volunteer maintains” (p. 413). These thoughts on what volunteering is not lead Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) consider what it is and they found that all definitions of volunteering are concerned with time, labour and expertise and that these can be found on four axes as mentioned earlier: “(1) free will; (2) availability and nature of remuneration; (3) the proximity to the beneficiaries; and (4) a formal agency” (p.414). SDT and PSM can both be applied to investigate how the positioning of volunteering on these axes influences volunteer motivation, but according to Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010), the issue of definition is not necessarily that researchers have different definitions, but that volunteers have different ideas of what constitutes volunteering and what does not. This may lead to skewed results in studies of volunteering and thus proves itself to be an obstacle in the search for a unified theory of volunteering. Wilson and Musick (1997) consider that volunteer work is “(1) productive work that requires human capital, (2) collective behavior that requires social capital, and (3) ethically guided work that requires cultural capital” (p. 694). They find this to be true for both informal and formal volunteering. Contrary to Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010), Wilson and Musick (1997) find that work must also be productive to be considered volunteering, much like other forms of work, as opposed to activities of leisure or acts of consumption. Secondly, they state that, although to a varying degree,

volunteering involves collective action. This means that the volunteer work has some added value to collective goods, such as health care or neighbourhood cleanliness. Wilson and Musick (1997) indicate that social networks are important in this aspect, both to motivate the volunteer by sharing the experience or to give value to the work by noticing the effects. Finally, Wilson and Musick (1997) find that volunteering is regulated by moral incentives, such as feeling the importance of helping others. Similar to the idea of Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010), these three types of capital can be placed on axes. Wilson and Musick (1997) define an individual's capital as "work-relevant skills and material resources (e.g., tools, transportation, credit) that individuals bring to jobs" (p. 696). Human capital, the requirement for productive work, can be measured by education, income and health. According to Wilson and Musick (1997), more human capital makes a person more attractive to organisations as a volunteer and is also what qualifies him or her for the work. The second requirement mentioned in their definition of volunteering is social capital, which refers to the quantity and quality of an individual's social connections. Wilson and Musick (1997) consider that social capital provides the resources that make volunteering more likely to occur, e.g. information or combined labour. It is measured by both informal social interaction and the number of children in a household. People with many informal interactions, for example with friends, are more likely to volunteer, according to Wilson and Musick (1997). Less directly, parents

Table 1. A hybrid conceptual framework of volunteering (from: Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010)		
Layers of complexity	Theoretical building blocks	Key frameworks and approaches
The problem of definition	What do we study?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Defining what volunteering is not</li> <li>– Defining what volunteering is</li> <li>– Volunteering as a social construct</li> </ul>
The problem of multidisciplinary	Why do we study it?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Economists: impure altruism</li> <li>– Sociologists: social cohesion and social welfare</li> <li>– Psychologists: prosocial personality</li> <li>– Political scientists: citizenship and democracy</li> </ul>
The problem of theory as multidimensional	Theory as explanation: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Why do people volunteer</li> <li>– Determinants of volunteering</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Motivations and benefits</li> <li>– Dominant status model</li> <li>– Resource model</li> <li>– Theories of cross-national variation in volunteering</li> </ul>
	Theory as narrative: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– How do people volunteer</li> <li>– The context of volunteering</li> <li>– Volunteering and social change</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Styles of volunteering</li> <li>– The volunteer process</li> <li>– The volunteer ecology</li> <li>– Volunteer management</li> <li>– The changing institutional and biographical embedding of volunteering</li> </ul>
	Theory as enlightenment <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Critical perspectives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– Issues of social inequality</li> <li>– Negative consequences of volunteering</li> <li>– Unmet expectations</li> <li>– Hidden ideologies</li> </ul>

with more children are more likely to be drawn into community activities because of their children's and their own interactions. The final requirement is cultural capital, which is the most difficult to measure. One of Wilson and Musick's (1997) questions asks "how much the respondent values helping others" (p. 699). Another indicator of cultural capital is religiosity. According to the researchers, "cultural capital makes it easier to acquire and consume symbolic goods" (p. 696). These symbolic goods express values, but are not values themselves. Having symbolic goods allows individuals to act on their values, to "demonstrate their 'good taste'" (p. 696). This leads Wilson and Musick (1997) to conclude that not only is volunteering a form of work, but also a form of consumption as "volunteer work involves both the production of a good or service and the consumption of a symbolic good" (p. 696).

Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) quote a cross-national study by Handy and her colleagues (2000) which found that most individuals consider that "the individual incurring higher net cost is likely to be perceived as 'more' of a volunteer than someone with a lower net cost" (p. 414). In terms of Wilson and Musick's (1997) theory of capitals, this means that someone with a great deal of human, social and cultural capital may be considered as more of a volunteer than someone with a small amount of capital. The individual with more capital will have more 'net cost' than the individual with less capital and thus be more of a volunteer. The problem of definition is of importance, because it shows the need for a clear definition of volunteering, even if it is only applicable to one study.

### 2.1.2. The problem of multidisciplinary

A second difficulty is the problem of *multidisciplinarity*. This layer of complexity involves the varying meanings and functions attributed to volunteering by different disciplines. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) state that although there are basic concepts of volunteering that are agreed upon by all disciplines, there are also vast differences across disciplines. As can be seen in Table 1, Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) discuss four disciplines that have different perspectives on volunteering.

The *economic* perspective can be considered a paradox. From an economic point of view, humans are supposed to be rational creatures, who are looking out for their own interest. Contrarily, volunteers often exhibit irrational behaviour, where their rewards are exceeded by their costs. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) consider several "micro-economic explanations for this apparently irrational behaviour, with volunteers referred to as altruists" (p. 415). First, they consider the 'private benefits models' which assume that volunteers do receive some private benefits from their volunteer work. This can either be training or acquired skills which enhance their human capital ('investment model') or, more internal, the joy or 'warm glow' that comes from volunteering ('consumption model'). Andreoni (1989) called this *impure altruism*. He states that there are two reasons for individuals to contribute to a public good. The first is that people simply want more of the public good, which is the motive known as *altruism*. Impure altruism is the second reason, where an individual contributes because they receive some personal gain in return, even if it is only the warm glow. Andreoni (1989) further theorises that impure altruism is certainly not negative and may even increase charity, rather than decrease it as might be expected. He also considers that although they can be considered separately, it is reasonable to expect that "preferences include a combination of both altruism and egoism: people care about the public good but receive a warm glow as well" (Andreoni, 1989).

A second micro-economic explanation of volunteering is the 'public goods model'. This

assumes that individuals invest time and money to increase public goods simply for the sake of there being more of it. This is what Andreoni (1989) refers to as pure altruism. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) state that if this theory were to hold true, they would expect a 'crowding-out' effect of volunteering. This would happen if the government's provision of a public good were to increase. If it becomes high enough, there would be no more reason to volunteer. Several studies have found the opposite effect, which suggests that volunteers receive other benefits from volunteer work, e.g. those of the private benefits model (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010).

Another facet which interests economists is the supply and demand for volunteers (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). Because of the lack of wages, there is an implicit assumption that organisations are eager to use any and all volunteers that are available to them, regardless of quantity or quality, suggesting that without the need for payment the demand for volunteer work is infinite. However, the suggestion that volunteer work is free labour is not realistic. There are many hidden costs to volunteer work, varying from training and recruitment to managing and use of materials. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) state that only two studies have investigated the demand for volunteers with an empirical estimate. These studies question the idea that organisations will accept all the volunteers they can get or whether there is some selectivity to their volunteer demand.

"Emanuele (1996) estimates a downward sloping demand curve for volunteer labor for non-profit organizations in the US that suggests volunteers are not free goods. Handy and Srinivasan (2005) [...] find the determinants for the demand curve for volunteer labor and demonstrate that hospitals are sensitive to the costs of volunteer labor." (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010)

What these two studies suggest is that organisations have some criteria for volunteer labour and do not accept all that is supplied. The economics perspective on volunteering can help to see the rewards that volunteers may be acquiring, despite their lack of wages. A shortcoming of this perspective seems to be the lack of regard for morals and value in the volunteers as well as the leaving out the social benefits and pressures a volunteer may experience.

A second point of view is that of *sociology*. This discipline regards volunteering as "a social phenomenon that involves patterns of social relationships and interactions among individuals, groups, and associations/organizations" (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). Sociology studies the social bonds that tie different members of societies to one another. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) consider volunteering to be a unique type of social bond because of its voluntary, uncompensated and collectively orientated nature. They paraphrase Wuthnow (1991) in stating that volunteering "is considered an essential and exceptional form of social solidarity that binds society together" (p. 417). They continue by stating that "the act of volunteering stands out as a primary expression of core human values such as altruism, compassion, concern for others, generosity, social responsibility, and community spirit" (p. 417). Volunteering is considered a basic of community belonging and group identity, while also helping an individual to integrate in society.

This is one of the reasons that sociologists have been studying volunteers with hopes of finding their social profile, or in other words who they are and why they volunteer (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). This stream of sociological research is similar to that of Wilson and Musick (1997) who consider that social capital is an important factor in volunteering. They state that volunteering is more likely to occur when an individual has a large social capital to provide resources such as information or combined labour. Having more family and interacting with friends



are also factors which make it more likely for an individual to volunteer.

Another branch of sociological research considers volunteering as a “productive activity that serves certain functions and meets certain needs” (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). This definition shows similarities to the definition of volunteering that Wilson and Musick (1997) supplied. In this stream of research, emphasis is placed on the work and services performed by volunteers and on their collective of human resources, i.e. knowledge, skills and unpaid labour. This suggests that Wilson and Musick’s (1997) theory of the three types of capital fall within this stream of study. The sociology perspective can help research into volunteering to properly consider the importance of an individual’s social capital as well as his or her human and cultural capital in their choice to volunteer.

Third, the *psychology* perspective contains an extensive body of research on prosocial behaviour (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010; Penner, Dovidio, Poliavin and Schroeder, 2005). Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) argue that in the past the focus of psychology research was on informal volunteering, which means an unplanned, unorganised, immediate form of volunteering to help a stranger in distress, while recently focus has shifted to volunteerism for its nature of helping and prosocial behaviour. More specifically, psychological studies of volunteering are concerned with identifying personality traits that are exclusive to volunteers and consequently do not occur in non-volunteers. This interest stems from the observation that even without economical or sociological benefits, there are still individuals willing to volunteer (Bekkers, 2004). These personality traits that exist within volunteer can be organised with five common traits known as the ‘Big Five’. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) cite several studies that show “specific traits characteristic of volunteers are social value orientation, empathic concern, perspective taking, self-efficacy, and positive self-esteem (Bekkers, 2004; Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Cohen, Vigoda & Samorly, 2001; Penner & Finkelstein, 1998)” (p. 419). They further question whether variations in volunteering are truly dependant on characteristics or rather due to social situation. “Psychological differences are hypothesized to have a major impact in ‘weak situations’, that is, in social contexts that do not involve clear-cut normative expectations on how to behave, and when the behaviour costs little time and money” (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). This idea is supported by Bekkers (2004) who found that that social circumstances are clearly related to both giving and volunteering, but that an individual’s psychological traits are not so clearly related. This idea of Bekkers (2004) suggests that further research may be necessary to discover whether there are other factors that can distinguish volunteers from non-volunteers if their characteristics do not do so. Furthermore, the psychological point of view shows that the effects of psychological traits on volunteer motivation are likely to be negligible, giving hope that it may be possible to eventually produce a viable universal theory of volunteer motivation.

*Political science* is the final perspective discussed by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010). It considers volunteerism as “a major requirement for active civic society and democracy” (p. 419). Volunteers are a buffer between citizens and governments, without whom “a society is at risk of being totalitarian and oppressive” (p. 419). Furthermore, volunteering provides individuals with the opportunity to acquire more skills, especially leadership and organisational skills. However, from the perspective of political science, there are weaknesses of volunteering. While the skills that are learned are useful in different political settings, a surplus of volunteering may allow governments to escape their responsibilities if they are fulfilled by volunteers. Additionally, a large volunteer base may give small political groups added voice, thereby weakening the strength of a democratically appointed government (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010).



### 2.1.3. The problem of theory as multidimensional

The final problem which Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) address is the problem of *theory as multidimensional*. As can be seen in Table 1, they distinguish three dimensions of theory are difficult to harmonise. The first is *theory as explanation*, which asks why people volunteer and attempts to explain determinants of volunteering. Second, *theory as a narrative* aims to tell how people volunteer as well as the context of volunteering and the influence of social change on volunteering. Finally, *theory as enlightenment* hopes to give new, critical perspectives to allow researchers to gain new insights.

The dimension of *theory as explanation* knows two approaches, according to Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010). On the one hand is the symbolic (sociological) approach, in which motivation is part of one's cultural underlayment and an expression of values and beliefs. On the other hand, there is the functional (psychological) approach, which considers motivation to be an expression of needs that exist and need to be fulfilled. Contrary to the symbolic approach, this means that in the functional approach, motives precede the action (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). Using a functional approach may allow researchers to study volunteer motivation when an individual has not yet experienced a great deal of actual volunteer work, because of its nature in existing before the work and but may also be influenced by any unrealistic ideals or expectation the volunteers have. The functional approach is used in both Public Service Motivation and the Volunteer Functions Inventory, but has been combined with the symbolic approach, which is usually the case in volunteer motivation research, according to Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010). They believe that most studies distinguish between functions or dimension along the 'altruism-egoism continuum'. This concept is similar to the self-determination continuum as described by Ryan and Deci (2000) in their Self-Determination Theory. On one side is pure altruism, or intrinsic motivation, and on the other side egoism, or external and extrinsic motivation. The Volunteer Functions Index one of the most frequently used instruments in volunteer motivation and distinguishes six different functions that volunteering can serve (Clary et al., 1998). However, Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) quote Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) in saying that "[v]olunteers do not distinguish between types of motives [...] Volunteers act not from a single motive or a category of motives but from a combination of motives" (p. 421). Yeung (2004) also points out that each motivation may have its own dimensions or layers. This suggests that although the VFI may prove to be a useful tool in divining important functions, it cannot be relied upon to give a single answer to the question of volunteer motivation.

The determinants of volunteering refer to the question of who might volunteer. Wilson (2000) supposes that individuals with a higher income and social status are more likely to volunteer. This is corroborated by the model of Wilson and Musick (1997) which states that "volunteer work is (1) productive work that requires human capital, (2) collective behavior that requires social capital, and (3) ethically guided work that requires cultural capital" (p. 694). As discussed before, Wilson and Musick (1997) find that individuals with a higher amount of capital are more likely to volunteer than individuals with less capital. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) compare this phenomenon with donating money. When a person has a surplus of money it is easier to donate some of it than when they are struggling to provide for their own basic needs. Being secure in an economic sense allows individuals freedom to share it. Having more social capital provides another possible explanation for higher volunteer rates: by socialising more, people are more likely to be asked to help in one way or another.

*Theory as a narrative* aims not to explain why anyone volunteers, but rather how they volunteer. It is the dimension of describing rather than understanding. One of the theories prevalent in this dimension is the 'life cycle of volunteers' as described by Omoto and Snyder (2002). They argue that a volunteer goes through a cycle with three stages, namely antecedents, experiences and consequences. Besides these, there are three levels of analysis: individual, organisation and social system. They state that "this model seeks to characterize volunteerism as a phenomenon that is stated at, and builds bridges between, many levels of analysis and that unfolds over time" (Omoto & Snyder, 2002). Thus they attempt to describe volunteering as a means to further explain it. Similarly, Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008) propose the Volunteer Stages and Transitions Model (VSTM) which includes five separate phases in a volunteer's socialisation: nominee, newcomer, emotional involvement, established volunteering and retirement. Another aspect of the narrative dimension is observing results. Haski-Leventhal, Hustinx and Handy (2011) describe the multi-dimensional impact of volunteering, both on organisations and the community as well as on the volunteer. Theories on the context of volunteering are also considered as a narrative. This included theories such as that of Perry (1997) and Perry, Brudney, Coursey and Littlepage (2008) who attempt to describe the antecedents of Public Service Motivation. These types of studies can provide researchers with much needed theoretical frameworks to correctly interpret the overload of empirical data that is gathered each year.

Finally, the dimension of *theory as enlightenment* consider theory from a critical perspective. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) consider several aspects of volunteering with a critical view. A major issue for them is the social inequality that is present in volunteering. As described before, individuals with ample resources are more likely to volunteer and also more sought after by organisations. People with a lower socio-economic status are therefore less likely to be allowed to volunteer if there are more candidates. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) believe that this deprives them of opportunities to enhance their human and social capital. Although volunteering appears to support minority groups and help the less fortunate, it in fact allows existing power balances to be perpetuated.

Another explanation for the difference in volunteering between socio-economic groups is that individuals with a lower socio-economic status may be more involved with informal volunteering, rather than formal volunteering supported by an organisation. Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) cite several studies which show that members of ethnic communities such African – Americans indeed often perform caretaking duties which are likely to be provided by the government in other communities. However, the positive benefits of informal volunteering do not negate the fact that they might benefit greatly if they were involved in formal volunteering (Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy, 2010). Doing so may increase their human capital, e.g. by learning new skills, as well as their social capital, by being introduced to new people.

A point of caution which is pointed out by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) is the tendency of authors to focus on the positive outcomes of volunteering, without mentioning the possible drawbacks. One such drawback is the increased rate of burnouts in volunteers (Kulik, 2007). Kulik (2007) aims to investigate the paradoxical combination of volunteering and burnouts in the volunteers. She found a very real connection between volunteer work and burnout rates, but more concerning, that many individuals underestimate the dangers of stress and burnout as a result of volunteering. Because of the voluntary nature of the work, they tend to downgrade the harmful effects of stressful volunteering (Kulik, 2007).

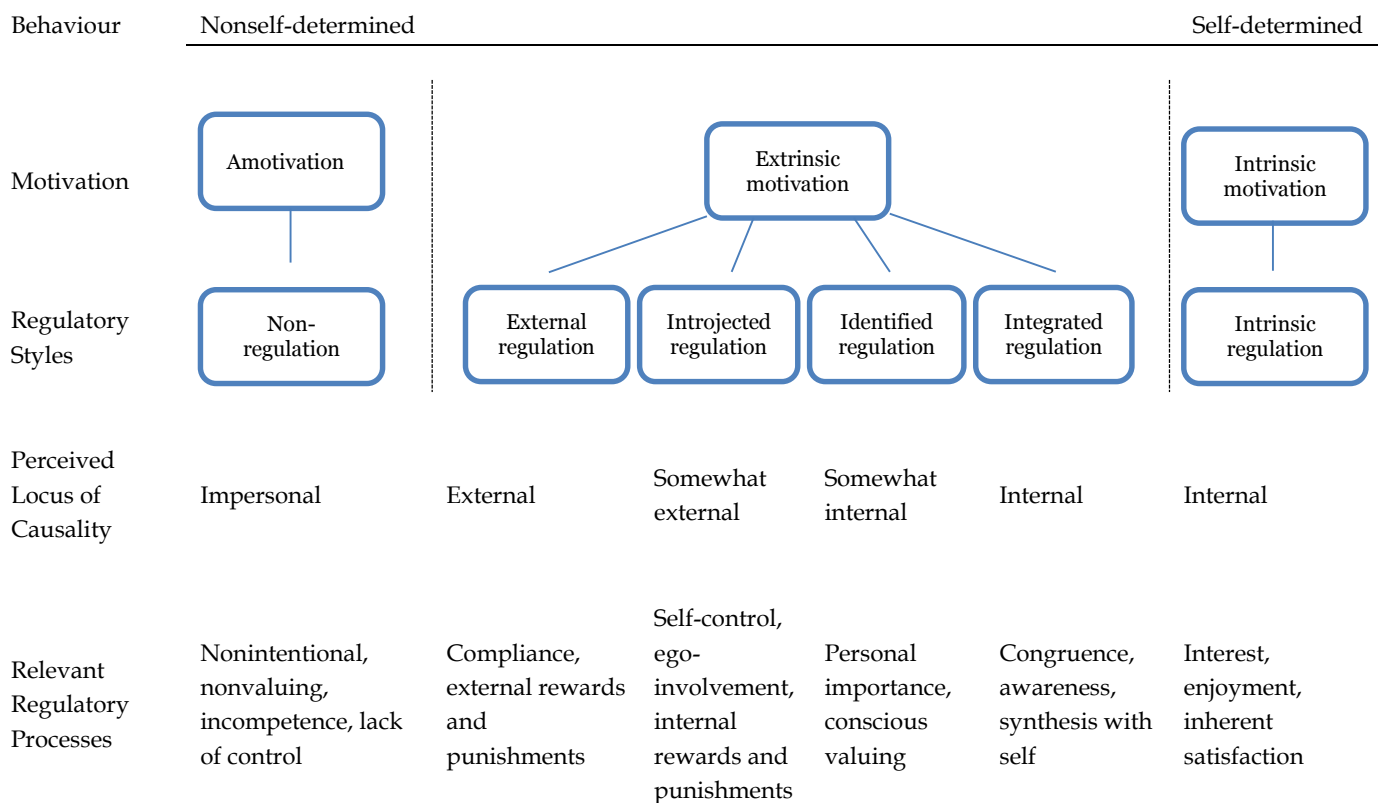
Finally, Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010) consider the negative consequences of volunteering on the role of governments in citizen welfare and public services. They state that volunteering allows governments to shirk their responsibilities because the gap is filled by volunteer organisations. This is a phenomenon well known in poorer regions on this planet, such as Africa, where volunteer tourism has become a problem rather than solution (McGehee, 2014; Smith & Font, 2014). Volunteer tourism has experienced a marked increase as a branch of tourism as well as increasingly negative reactions, mainly stemming from unmet expectations in the volunteers and governmental influences (McGehee, 2014). Volunteer tourism has taken over some of the duties of governments, such as care for orphans, while leaving the volunteers with dissatisfied feelings because when they leave there are no provisions for these children (Taplin, Dredge & Scherrer, 2014). Thus volunteering can have a negative effect on both society and volunteers.

It can be concluded that theories of volunteering have certain limitations and will need to reflect on these three issues: how do they define volunteering, what perspective causes them to study it and what are they trying to achieve with their theory? The purpose of this thesis is to study motivation of volunteers with an aim to contribute to theories on medical volunteers. One of the most widely used theories of motivation is the Self-Determination Theory, which was not originally intended for study of volunteer motivation, but has been very extensively researched. However, SDT provides a very general theory. To successfully bridge the gap between theory and practice, Public Service Motivation and Volunteer Functions Inventory are introduced. Both are functional theories, but while PSM provides a wide range of contextual research and antecedents, VFI has been specifically designed for assessing volunteer motivation. Furthermore, VFI has the added sociological perspective, whereas SDT and PSM mainly come from the psychological perspective. By integrating these three theories, a unique organisational perspective is created to investigate the motivation of medical volunteers with World Servants.

## 2.2. Self-Determination Theory

Ryan and Deci (2000) have developed a model for the Self-Determination Theory in which the self-determination or autonomy of an individual is linked with their motivation and the way their motivation is regulated. Self-Determination Theory (SDT) is a broad framework for motivational theories, but states simply put that when three basic needs of individuals are satisfied, they allow optimal functioning and personal growth in individuals (Ryan and Deci, 2012). These three needs are the need to feel *competent* in their environments, the need to experience *relatedness* to others and the need to feel *autonomy* or self-determination in their lives. The three needs are the basis of SDT and have been extensively researched in various contexts (e.g., Sheldon, Ryan & Reis, 1996; Reis, Sheldon, Gable, Roscoe & Ryan, 2000; Hetland, Hetland, Andreassen, Pallesen & Notelaers, 2011). SDT states that if a person is intrinsically motivated they will experience autonomous motivation, while a person who is extrinsically motivated will experience controlled motivation (Gagne and Deci, 2005). Autonomy implies that the individual experiences freedom of choice as well as a sense of volition. Conversely, controlled motivation suggests an external force that is affecting the individual's motivation. These different regulatory styles of motivation are shown in Figure 1. This figure shows the Self-Determination Continuum, which exist between the extremes of complete autonomous motivation and completely controlled motivation. Outside this continuum is *amotivation*, which lacks any intention and motivation and stands in contrast with autonomous and controlled motivation, which are both intentional (Gagne and Deci, 2005). The use of this

Figure 1. Self-Determination Continuum (Ryan & Deci, 2000)



continuum indicates that SDT is firmly rooted in the dimension of theory as explanation (Hustinx, Cnaan & Handy, 2010). It aims to explain motivation through a combination of the psychology and sociology perspective by considering both the aspects of an individual’s personality and the influence of their social life. These different aspects are spread across the continuum, ranging from intrinsic to extrinsic motivation.

According to Ryan and Deci (2000), *intrinsic motivation* is “the doing of an activity for its inherent satisfactions rather than for some separable consequence” (p. 56). Individuals perform their tasks for the sheer enjoyment and inherent satisfaction of the work, rather than the internal or external rewards they might receive and their motivation is intrinsically regulated. Deci, Koestner and Ryan (2001) consider that “underlying intrinsic motivation are the innate psychological needs for competence and self-determination” (p. 3). This theory, also known as Cognitive Evaluation Theory, suggests that events that have a negative effect on the perceived self-determination, such as the threat of punishment or deadlines, undermine the intrinsic motivation of individuals. Such events lead to a more external perceived locus of causality, while events that increase perceived self-determination, and thereby lead to a more internal perceived locus of causality, will enhance intrinsic motivation. However, Ryan and Deci (2000) also state that “people are intrinsically motivated for some activities and not others, and not everyone is intrinsically motivated for any particular task” (p. 56). This suggests that although these studies consider intrinsic motivation a “pervasive and important” (p. 56) form of motivation, it is also a complex one; varying from individual to the next.

Figure 1 shows that *extrinsic motivation* is considered the larger part of the continuum. There are four regulatory styles that are considered to be extrinsic motivation and which vary greatly in their degree of autonomy. First of all, *externally regulated* motivation indicates that behaviour is regulated by the promise of external rewards or punishments, such as payment or a

fine. For example, a student who studies in order not to fail a course and receive punishment experiences external regulation of his or her motivation. The other three types of extrinsic motivation occur when “a behavioural regulation and the value associated with it have been internalized” (Gagne and Deci, 2005). *Introjection* is the least internalised motivation of the remaining three. It refers to a regulation that has been accepted by the individual but not internalised. It includes motivation that stems from ego involvement and the approval from themselves or others, such as peer pressure. An example of this type of regulation would be the motivation a student experiences when he or she studies to be praised as a good student and consequently satisfy their ego. When the perceived locus of causality is somewhat internal, the motivation is considered to be *identified regulation*. This is the motivation that stems from conscious valuing or personal importance, i.e. knowing that something is important, but not really feeling it. This is for example the motivation many voters experience on election days: they know it is important to vote but experience no particular pleasure in doing so. Or to continue the student analogy: a student who knows it is important to have good grades, but does not find enjoyment in studying by itself. Finally, the most internal motivation is *integrated regulation* which, as the name suggests, refers to motivation that comes from integrated values, congruence and synthesis with self. An example of this would be the student who knows the importance of learning and has integrated that value in their own set of values. Their motivation thus comes from their own value, which is still a step away from intrinsic motivation, where the motivation comes from actually enjoying the activity.

Ryan and Deci (2000) consider that although behaviour may begin with a certain perceived locus of causality, it does not necessarily remain the same over time. Certain behaviours may become more or less internalised over time, with an apparent predilection for becoming more internal. Furthermore, Ryan and Deci (2000) state that greater internalisation appears to yield “manifold adaptive advantages, including more behavioural effectiveness [...] and greater experienced well-being” (p. 63). This suggests that psychologically, internal motivation may be preferable over external motivation in individuals, because external motivation will require continued external prompting, while internal motivation becomes more self-sustaining as it further internalises. Contrary to these findings, Finkelstein (2009) considers that recent studies “have begun viewing motivational tendencies as akin to personality variables, stable across time and situations” (p. 654). This theory leads to the idea that motivation is generally stable in individuals and unlikely to change quickly nor that it is dependant on the situation. In this light, it seems unlikely that unmotivated individuals will become motivated through a change in themselves; rather their situation needs to change in order to motivate them.

SDT has been widely studied in different contexts, including religion (Perry, 1997; Soenens et al., 2012; Tienen, Scheepers, Reitsma en Schilderman, 2011). In a recent study of the motives for religiosity, Soenens et al. (2012) found that the perception of God has a significant influence on the approach of individuals on religious content, i.e. the way they interpret their religion and bring it into practice. This corroborates Perry’s (1997) idea of the antecedent religiosity having different dimensions for individuals. Soenens et al. (2012) approached religiosity using Self-Determination Theory as a framework and concluded that the perception of God as controlling and non-autonomous would lead to extrinsic, controlled motivation. A perceived autonomy-supportive God leads to intrinsic and internal motivation with the religious. These differences can help to explain the conflicting results of previous studies and may provide insight in the data gathered in the current research.



The theory of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation is applicable to the current thesis because it offers an explanation for how internal and external causes influence motivation. SDT has been used as the basis for many different studies of motivation. However, although it has been the foundation for up to six mini-theories, the broad theory of SDT makes it difficult to transfer to other, uncharted sectors: to research the theory, Ryan and Deci provide seventeen different questionnaires that each aim to study different aspects of Self-Determination Theory (Ryan and Deci, 2015). Investigating new sectors would require adaptation of an existing questionnaire or the construction of a new one. Such steps would require further study to evaluate the validity and effectiveness of these methods. The current study aims to investigate motivation of volunteers from the medical sector, but does not have the option of such extensive prior research on the context of the motivation. A different motivational theory which focusses more on the context of motivation is Public Service Motivation, and therefore does not require adaptation. PSM has been extensively used to investigate different sectors without requiring adaptations such as are required with SDT. This theory also focusses more on internal perceived loci of causality, while SDT tends to focus on extrinsic motivation.. This does produce an effective counterweight to theories such as PSM and VFI, which focus more on the internal, but may forget the external in their studies of altruism. However, Deci and Ryan (2008) show that, generally, intrinsic motivation is greater than extrinsic motivation. Furthermore, to adequately study motivation, it is necessary to find more specific theories, such as functional theories which bridge the divide between motivational theory and the practice of volunteer motivation. Although the general theory of SDT can explain why certain elements are motivating, it does not offer any predictions on what those elements may be, which PSM does do.

### 2.3. Public Service Motivation

*Public service motivation* (PSM) focusses more on the internal motivation of individuals. Perry and Wise (1990) quote Elmer Staats to illuminate the different concepts of public service motivation: “‘Public service’ is a concept, an attitude, a sense of duty – yes, even a sense of public morality” (p. 368). Perry and Wise (1990) interpret public service motivation as “an individual’s predisposition to respond to motives grounded primarily or uniquely in public institutions and organizations” (p. 368). Simply stated, this means that the motives of working for an organisation with a public identity will resonate with individuals who have the right disposition for it and will be motivated by public service motives. These public service motives can be categorised in three groups, namely rational, norm-based and affective. Rational motives are mostly practical motivations that are beneficial to both the organisation and the individual. Norm-based motives are motivations based on the norms of individuals and their wish to conform to them. Finally, affective motives are, simply put, based on the emotions of individuals. Within these three groups, Perry and Wise (1990) named eight public service motives as can be seen in Table 2. However, Perry (1996) found that only four dimensions were relevant, namely *public policy making*, *public interest*, *compassion* and *self-sacrifice*. These dimensions correspond with the three groups of public service motives. The dimension *public policy making* attracts individuals who are interested in being involved with policy formulation or believe in the importance of certain values and topics and feel the need to ensure proper policies on these. *Public interest* can simply be understood to be the desire to serve the public interest. However, Leisink and Steijn (2009) found that *commitment to the public interest* was a more fitting name in a study of Dutch participants. *Public interest commitment* and *self-sacrifice* are rather similar dimensions. *Self-sacrifice* is the dimension of commitment to the point



Table 2. Public Service Motives (Source: Perry & Wise, 1990, p. 370)

Rational	Participation in the process of policy formulation	Public policy making
	Commitment to a public program because of personal identification	
	Advocacy for a special or private interest	
Norm-Based	A desire to serve the public interest	Public interest
	Loyalty to duty and to the government as a whole	Self-sacrifice
	Social equity	
Affective	Commitment to a program from a genuine conviction about its social importance	Compassion
	Patriotism of benevolence	

where an individual is willing to substitute tangible outcomes, such as personal wages, for service to others. Last, *compassion* is the affective dimension of PSM. It refers to the feelings and beliefs of individuals that push them to help others without rewards. Perry (1996) proposes a public service motivation scale with the four dimensions that he found, to enable public service motivation to be measured. Research continues on this subject as researchers try to improve on the original model and use it to investigate PSM in different contexts (Coursey & Pandey, 2007; Perry, 1997).

Buelens and Van den Broeck (2007) found that public sector employees are less extrinsically motivated than private sector employees, although their study suggests that not the sector is responsible for this difference, but rather that differences in hierarchical level and job content are important factors of work motivation. This is contrary to the expectation that the public character of the sector would be the general motivation for employees. Buelens and Van den Broeck (2007) suggest that a possible explanation for this might be that the private and public sector have large differences. The private sector boasts a much higher percentage of sales and marketing functions, while the public sector has a considerably higher percentage of administrative functions. To compensate for this, they compared only the administrative functions of both sectors. Interestingly, they still found hierarchical level and job content to be important, but also that public sector employees are motivated by a healthy work-family relationship. They seem to prefer a balanced home over getting ahead by working more hours. The theory of motivation coming from job content is supported by the ideas of Coursey, Brudney, Littlepage and Perry (2011). They consider that individuals with higher PSM are "more attracted to altruistic public service opportunities and activities regardless of the formal organization or sector" (p. 51). Coursey et al. (2011) aim to study the variations in PSM among volunteers from different domains. They find that all domains have the same ordering, although not always statistically significant, namely with religious volunteering surpassing education/school volunteering and this followed by human services. This means that PSM levels are higher in religious volunteering than in the other domains. However, this raises the question of whether PSM is an antecedent to religious volunteering or whether religious volunteering may be an antecedent to PSM.

Previous studies have reported the importance of antecedents in predicting Public Service Motivation and volunteering (Perry, 1997). Although they are not necessarily an important factor

in all studies, it is important to be aware of antecedents in motivation to be able to gain a complete understanding of an individual's motivation. Literally, an antecedent is "a thing that existed before or logically precedes another" (Oxford Dictionary). Perry (1997) studied five sets of correlates with regards to PSM: parental socialisation, religious socialisation, professional identification, political ideology and demographic correlates. For the purpose of this study, religious socialisation is expected to be of importance, because the organisation where the study is conducted is considered actively Christian. Within the correlates Perry (1997) identified different antecedents that could be significant and several of the studied variables were indeed found to be significant. Contradicting the findings of Coursey et al. (2011), Perry (1997) finds that church involvement is negatively, rather than positively as expected, associated with PSM, which is likely to be caused by the time-consuming nature of this involvement. Still, religion can be considered an important factor for volunteering and PSM. Specifically, Perry (1997) states that "the relations affirm the underlying importance of religion to PSM but suggest that the linkages, just as they were in the case of professional ideology, are more complex than originally hypothesized" (p. 191).

Perry et al. (2008) subscribe to the idea that religious activity is an important cultural factor that underlies altruistic behaviour. Yeung (2004) on the other hand found that previous studies provided conflicting results, varying from no significant correlation to considerable positive correlation (Lam, 2002; Einolf, 2011; Tienen et al., 2011). This supports Perry's (1997) idea that the different aspects of religion must be separately researched to gather any conclusive data. For example, Lam (2002) studied "the participatory, devotional, affiliative and theological dimensions of religiosity" (p. 405) and found varying results for the different dimensions. Perry et al. (2008) studied the relationship between religious activity and volunteering and PSM and found it to be significantly positive. They temper these findings by stating that "[t]he antecedents are significant but not strong predictors of PSM" (p. 453), although "[r]eligious activity is one of the strongest PSM predictors [in this study]" (p. 453). They also find that religion and its values have a pervasiveness that strengthens the relationship between volunteering, religious activities and PSM. Therefore, although religiosity cannot conclusively be considered a predictor for volunteering of PSM, it is certainly a strong antecedent and following the conclusions of Coursey et al. (2011), also an attractive sector to volunteer in.

In their study, Coursey et al. (2011) not only use the PSM scale, but also the *Volunteer Functions Inventory* (VFI). This is a widely used scale for volunteer motivation and eliminates some of the limitations of PSM, such as the fact that it includes only one dimension with an external locus of causality (p. 60). However, PSM does give this thesis a broader contextual framework, especially with regards to religious influences on motivation. The Christian nature of World Servants gives rise to the expectation that their volunteers are likely to respond to the motives of PSM. Many of the volunteers are active Christians and following the conclusions of Coursey et al. (2011) and Perry et al. (2008), it can be predicted that the volunteers will be public service motivated. This can also be expected because *compassion* is very much like intrinsic motivation, which is expected to be a great motivator for volunteers. Coursey et al. (2011) declare that the PSM model could and should be adapted to further investigate volunteer motivation. Both SDT and PSM are designed with an eye to work motivation, but instead of adapting these theories, one could look towards the VFI, which has been specifically designed to investigate volunteer motivation, and integrate it into SDT along with PSM. Furthermore, PSM has a combined psychological and economical perspective on motivational theory, but does not appear to consider sociological aspects in its construction. In this regard, VFI can provide a sociological perspective as

well as further strengthen the psychological point of view.

#### 2.4. Volunteer Functions Inventory

The VFI was developed by Clary et al. (1998) to assess to motivations of volunteers. This model has the advantage over PSM and SDT by being specifically designed for volunteer motivation, but even so it contains many of the ideas that are also prevalent in SDT and PSM (Coursey et al., 2011), possibly because they all share the psychological perspective on volunteer motivation theories (Hustinx, Cnaan & Handy, 2010). Clary et al. (1998) state that “a central tenet of functionalist theorizing is that people can and do perform the same actions in the service of different psychological functions” (p. 1517). Katz (1960) and Smith, Bruner and White (1956) supported such functional theorising and proposed that “the same attitudes could serve different functions for different people and that attempts to change attitudes would succeed to the extent that they addressed the functions served by those attitudes” (Clary et al., 1998). Based on this function approach, Clary et al. (1998) propose the Volunteer Functions Inventory to analyse the different functions served by volunteerism. They discovered six functions, namely *values*, *understanding*, *social*, *career*, *protective* and *enhancement*. The specific functions have been identified through quantitative and qualitative means and can be assessed through the use of a survey (Clary & Snyder, 1999) and are sometimes quite similar to the original dimensions proposed by Katz (1960) and Smith et al. (1965). The function *values* indicates that volunteering provides an individual with work that matches his or her values with regard to humanitarian and altruistic concerns. *Understanding* indicates the function of volunteerism to allow an individual to exercise or develop knowledge, skills and abilities. The function *social* reflects the motivation to volunteer that comes from meeting new people, exercising existing relationships and other social motives. *Career* indicates the material benefits of volunteering for the individual with regards to their work life or career. *Protective* indicates the function of volunteering in the protection of ego and escaping from negative feelings. Finally, *enhancement* “derives from indications that there may be more to the ego, and especially the ego’s relation to affect, than protective processes” (Clary et al., 1998). This means that volunteering also has the function of facilitating personal growth in the volunteer; to be more and to consider more than the self.

Fletcher and Major (2004) used the Volunteer Functions Inventory to study the motivation of medical students. In their case, the medical profession was a stable antecedent while gender was a variable. On the whole, Fletcher and Major (2004) found that women are more motivated to volunteer. Unexpected by them, women were found to value the instrumental motives as at least as important as the men. For both men and women, Fletcher and Major (2004) expected that the urge to volunteer stems from an increasingly difficult work environment, where the altruistic nature inherent to medical work is being smothered by the increasing workload. Volunteering provides an outlet for the altruistic tendencies of medical students and professionals. This also explains some of the results of their study, as it was found that the function *values* was rated highest by both genders. Interestingly, both genders ranked the motives in nearly the same order, with *values* rated highest, followed by *understanding*. The following motives were respectively *enhancement*, *social*, *career* and *protective*. For men, *enhancement* and *career* were switched in the ranking, although the differences were minimal. Fletcher and Major (2004) consider that similarities in responses between women and men suggest a universal structuring of motives for genders. Considering this, their results may lead to expectations for the current study, which also aims to study the motivation of medically trained volunteers, namely that they will find *values* and

*understanding* to be most important in their volunteering, while *career* and *protective* are likely to be less prevalent.

The VFI provides a well-studied functional theory which combines both the sociological and psychological perspectives on volunteer theory. It provides six functions of motivation which the respondents of the current thesis are likely to respond to and Fletcher and Major (2004) provide an expected ordering of importance for these functions. However, to fully explain how volunteers are motivated, the VFI lacks the depth of theory that others such as SDT do have. For that reason, SDT can be used to further investigate the workings of VFI. Furthermore, PSM provides more dimensions and context which may be relevant to volunteers and are not covered by the VFI. To fully assess volunteer motivation in medical professionals, it is necessary to integrate VFI into SDT and PSM.

### 2.5. Towards an integrated theory of volunteer motivation

The relative simplicity of the volunteer functions make them a great asset to this study. Their meaning is fairly easy to translate to interview topics. However, this also makes it possible to translate them to the Self-Determination Continuum and Public Service Motivation. Therefore, the VFI can function as a link between the raw data that is acquired through interviews and the founding theories of the research. However, to truly fulfil this purpose, the volunteer functions need to be integrated in the continuum as can be seen in Figure 2.

Figure 2 shows that the motivation that comes from the six VFI functions can be placed under the regulatory styles. The function *social* is difficult to place. It refers to the function volunteering has in facilitating social contacts. However, these social contacts can have very different functions and influence the place of *social* on the continuum. On the one hand, *social* is very intrinsic: the sheer enjoyment of being with friends or other people is definitely part of intrinsic motivation. On the other hand, it can also be considered as introjected: friends can also provide an individual with safety and confirmation of the ego. This brings a decidedly more extrinsic side to the subject, because there are separable outcomes and volunteering has an instrumental value. Variations between these two extremes are also a possibility, making it conceivable that the function *social* has its own continuum within Figure 2. Another possible explanation for the difficulty in placing *social* may be the fact that functional theories inherently

**Figure 2 An integrated theory of motivation**

Motivation	Extrinsic motivation				Intrinsic Motivation
Regulatory styles	External	Introjected	Identified	Integrated	Intrinsic
Public Service Motivation		Public policy making		Public interest Self-sacrifice Compassion	
Volunteer Functions Inventory	Career	Protective		Understanding Enhancement Values	
			Social	-----	Social

come from the psychological perspective on motivation theory (Hustinx, Cnaan & Handy, 2010). *Social* on the other hand, comes from the sociological perspective, which may be why it is difficult to integrate in a theory from the psychology perspective.

The function *career* has been placed under the external regulatory style. The function refers to the reward the volunteer receives for his or her work, namely addition to their cv or another direct benefit to their career. *Career* therefore indicates tangible rewards for services rendered by volunteering, which indicates this function has a rational motivation and is externally motivated through the instrumental value of volunteerism. *Career* is the function most similar to *public policy making*, but in a more external variant, where the individual is motivated by possible rewards for their career is they are involved with volunteering and the organisation around it.

*Protective* is another rationally motivated function of volunteering, but is more internalised than *career*. The effects are not as tangible, but are mostly noticeable to the individual. For example, *protective* can mean that the volunteer will feel better about his or her self after seeing less fortunate individuals in poorer countries. It also encompasses the function of volunteerism to improve the ego. According to Ryan and Deci (2000), ego involvement is a classic form of introjection. The function *protective* can therefore be placed under this regulatory style.

The function *understanding* can be placed under *identification*. Ryan and Deci (2000) consider that “[h]ere, the person has identified with the personal importance of a behaviour and has thus accepted its regulation as his or her own” (p. 62). *Understanding* indicates that the volunteer sees volunteering as an opportunity to learn more or practice an already acquired skillset and considers this to be of personal importance. Although this function is similar to *career*, it is more internalised and can become *integrated*, when an individual personally values learning new things.

*Enhancement* can be considered under *integrated* because it indicates behaviour where the volunteer considers it important because of their values. *Enhancement* indicates the function of volunteering where the volunteer experiences personal growth. It can be considered *integrated* because the motivation for *enhancement* is mostly based on the values of the individual and has almost no instrumental value, although it can still be considered *identified* if the individual has not integrated it into their own set of values, but instead is motivated because they consciously value this function.

The function *values* is considered *integrated* because the basic meaning of that regulatory style is that an individual does something because of their values, but not quite for their own enjoyment. The individual does very likely receive satisfaction from their work. *Values* also indicates that the volunteer does his or her work because of their values. This function and style therefore match almost perfectly.

In view of the Self-Determination Theory, PSM can be largely considered to consist of extrinsic motives. The nature of the rational motives and the dimension *public policy making* involves rewards other than pure satisfaction: they are likely to generate a separable outcome. In this, Public Service Motivation shows itself not to be exclusively intrinsic and perhaps not even entirely internal. The dimension *public policy making* can be considered introjected regulation or identified regulation, depending on the motivational approach of the individual. In fact, as Ryan and Deci (2000) consider it possible for certain behaviours to become more internalised, it is possible for many types of motivation to eventually become integrated. However, Perry (1996) provides the statements his subjects responded to and thereby gives a clearer view on what the mind-set is of individuals who are attracted to public policy making. One such statement is: ‘I respect public officials who can turn a good idea into law’ (p. 10). A high social opinion of public



policy makers would suggest a certain amount of ego-involvement in the wish to become one. Supposedly, by becoming a public policy maker, the individual would in return receive such positive notice from others and be able to satisfy the ego. On the other hand, another statement speaks of the ethical importance in public policy making, supposing it be a matter of conscious valuing or perhaps even personal importance. These two views suggest that *public policy making* covers an area in the continuum of Figure 1 around introjected and identified regulation.

The two dimensions *public interest* and *self-sacrifice* are both considered norm-based. According to Perry (1996), commitment to *public interest* is “integral to most conceptions of PSM” (p. 7). *Self-sacrifice* is the willingness of an individual to substitute service to others for tangible personal rewards. Perry (1996) states that president Kennedy’s call to “Ask not what your country can do for you; ask what you can do for your country” is a classic example of a call on the self-sacrifice of U.S. citizens (p.7). He considered merging these two motives, but found the four-dimension model to be superior to a three-dimension model (p.19). Although the dimensions are indeed similar, *self-sacrifice* seems to signify a more internally regulated motivation, whereas *public interest* does not necessarily include the idea that personal sacrifices are immediately required. With regards to SDT, *public interest* could be considered identified or integrated regulation, because the degree of internalisation could vary per individual, but does likely involve conscious valuing or a synthesis with the self. *Self-sacrifice* resonates with integrated regulation, considering how statements such as “I feel people should give back to society more than they get from it” (Perry, 1996, p. 11) suggest an integration of values.

Finally, *compassion* is an affective motive within PSM. Perry (1996) quotes Frederickson and Hart (1985) who define it as “an extensive love of all people within our political boundaries and the imperative that they must be protected in all the basic rights granted to them by enabling documents” (p. 7). Perry (1996) states that although Frederickson and Hart (1985) consider the concept of *compassion* to be a moral position, it can also be understood to be an emotional state. An understandable argument, as the feeling of love for people in general is difficult to categorise as either of these. If considered a moral position, *compassion* can be seen as value, while understanding it to be an emotional state implicates it is a feeling. If this is considered in the light of Figure 1 and SDT, it is possible to consider *compassion* as either integrated regulated if it is a moral position or intrinsic motivation if it is an emotional state. Although there is not necessarily any enjoyment in *compassion*, it does ring true with the description of “the doing of an activity for its inherent satisfactions rather than for some separable consequence” (Ryan and Deci, 2000). The state of love does not necessarily always provide inherent satisfaction, but does not require a separable outcome to continue to be motivating.

In the integrated theory of Figure 2, there appear to be three clusters of volunteer motives. The first is the cluster of external motives which encompasses *career*, *protective* and sometimes *public policy making* and *social*. The external motives are, as might be sensibly expected, motives which are driven by an external force, such as peer pressure, threats of punishments or, alternatively, rewards. The second cluster encompasses the internal motives. Again, as predicted by the name, these motives are driven by internal forces, such as an individual's conscious valuing or personal values. Motives such as *public interest*, *self-sacrifice*, *understanding*, *enhancement* and sometimes *values* and *social* can be placed within this cluster. Finally, the intrinsic motives can be clustered together. Although intrinsic motives are not explicitly considered in VFI or PSM, *compassion*, *values* and *social* can all be part of this cluster. For each individual, the specific make-up of every cluster may be different, but it may reasonably be considered that most individuals will



place motives in all three clusters. After all, who can always be intrinsically motivated? And alternatively, who does not enjoy any task but always requires outside forces to be motivated?

Although Figure 2 makes it seem as though the three theories of motivation are perfectly merged, it is necessary to consider their differences. While the Self-Determination Theory provides a well-studied framework of general motivation, the Volunteer Functions Inventory only functions for volunteer motivation. However, PSM and VFI are rather similar in their functional construct. They both consider that motivation for the same task may differ per individual. In qualitative research they provide a solid basis for expectations for which functions will likely be important to volunteers, while SDT appears to be the most solid theory for explaining these results. Therefore, these three theories provide the material for a thorough discussion.

## 2.6. Expectations

Previous studies suggest that volunteers are most likely to be motivated by the function *values* of volunteering, followed by *understanding* (Fletcher and Major, 2004). The results of Fletcher and Major's (2004) study suggests that volunteers with a medical background are most likely to be motivated by functions that provide internally regulated motivation. It might even be expected that the more internally regulated a motivation is, the greater the force of it becomes. Supporting this, the PSM dimension *compassion* is very similar to *values* and is also placed to the far right of the SDT continuum. Ryan and Deci (2000) consider intrinsic motivation to be a great motivator, therefore it could be possible that if motivation with a nature close to intrinsic will be greater than motivation which is more extrinsic. Figure 2 shows that this suggestion is in concurrence with all three theories of motivation. It can therefore be expected that the participants will ascribe the greatest motivational force to functions that are the most internally regulated with them. Previous studies suggest that these will be *values* and *compassion*, which may be considered largely the same, *understanding*, *self-sacrifice* and *social*.

Following the literature, it is can also be expected that extrinsic motivators are not positively received by participants who are more internally motivated (Coursey et al., 2011). Furthermore, considering both the religious nature of the organisation and the subjects, religion is expected to be part of the motivation of the participants. It is also expected that there will be differences in both motivation and expectations between the medical staff who have been on a project before and medical staff who have been asked to go on a project in their medical capacity for the first time.

## 3. Method

### 3.1. Case

World Servants Nederland (WSN) is a foundation established in 1988 that allows youngsters and adults to participate in three-week-programs, mainly in Africa and South-America (World Servants Nederland, 2010). In the three weeks they are there, the group will help the local community by building either a school or clinic and by working with the children. They will also spend some time learning about the differences between the Dutch and native culture. The World Servants motto translates to 'Building yourself by building for others'. The goal of the organisation is two-fold. On the one hand they attempt to realise a project in a third world country. On the other hand they want to develop personal leadership and community responsibility in their volunteers and in the communities abroad. These goals become clearer in a practical example of a project: It all starts with community in need.



The children in this community have to walk over an hour every day to reach their school, which is too small and not of sound construction. The community requests the building of a school in their village in Northern Ghana. This request is brought to the attention of AGREDS, a Ghanaian aid organisation, who agree that this project is necessary and work together with World Servants to start it. In the Netherlands, the project opens for admissions in September. This means that starting in September of the previous year, a maximum of 40 volunteers aged 16-23 can choose this project as theirs. For these volunteers it also means they will start to raise the money that is needed



for the journey, stay in the country and construction of the building. This is usually done in smaller groups throughout the Netherlands. For nine to ten months they promote their project in their own community, thus creating social awareness in their own social circles. In the summer the group will go to Ghana. There, they spend their time building, but also learning about the culture and habits of locals. For example, they will visit Ghanaian families to learn about their way of life and the

problems and joys that are associated with it. During these three weeks the volunteers develop their identities as global citizens, but they also aid the development of the Ghanaian community, which now has the opportunity to survive and even grow.

The type of volunteering done with World Servants can be seen as long-term and intensive. Volunteers are required to pay for their own project and thereby bind themselves to the organisation for a period of little under a year. They are also expected to spend an entire weekend in April or May to familiarise themselves with their project and work on teambuilding with their group. Every group is led by a staff, usually consisting of five or six members. These staff members each have their own specialty: the group leader, the medic, the cultural specialist, the technical specialist, a pastoral and mental support provider and usually a general member who takes on a diverse range of tasks that are left over or can fill in when one of the other members is ill or otherwise unable to fulfil their tasks. Experience shows that of all the different staff members, it is most difficult to find a medical volunteer for each group. These positions are generally the last to be completely filled, sometimes even remaining vacant until April or May, when the training days and weekends are. This is why the organisation has requested further study into the motivation of medically trained volunteers.

### **3.2. Methodology**

There are many theories which measure different aspects of motivation. This study aims to integrate three of those theories to examine a specific group of volunteers, namely medical professionals, to offer a new perspective on their motivation. This study will be therefore be performed using a qualitative method to ensure that the participants have ample opportunity to introduce any new dimensions and aspects of their motivation that may not be considered by the existing theories or motivations that show the interplay between the theories. Fifteen medical professionals and students are interviewed with regards to their motivation to volunteer with World Servants, or possibly their motivation for refusing. The group of medical volunteers within WS is relatively small (about 30 volunteers every year), making quantitative research on this group unlikely to provide any significant data. The qualitative method that is used also allows the participants to elaborate on their thoughts and feelings in a way a survey cannot. The functional approach was chosen as a guideline for the interviews, because these functions have been extensively researched and used in previous studies (Fletcher and Major, 2004; Clary and Snyder, 1999; Finkelstein, 2009). Both the VFI and the PSM follow provide a general list of expected functions that volunteering serves for the subjects. Concurring with Leisink and Steijn (2009) however, it is possible that the dimensions proposed by Perry (1996) are not applicable in the Netherlands as they are in the USA. Similarly, the volunteer functions proposed by Clary et al. (1998) may not be appropriate in a Dutch context. Furthermore, the participants in this study are strictly medical staff members, who may have differently structured motivation than expected from PSM and VFI. Therefore, the use of a qualitative method can provide more insight into the applicability of the VFI and PSM in the Netherlands and on medical staff members as well as allow the subjects to elaborate on the foundation of their motivations (Boeije, 2005).

### **3.3. Data collection**

The target group was approached through World Servants. Through convenience sampling, a group of participants was formed consisting of fourteen females and one male subject. Luckily,

this lack of male respondents ensures a resemblance to the composition of the entire group of medical volunteers within World Servants, which has a consistently low rate of males. The amount of experience with this organisation varies from none up to six different projects. Eight of the participants are considered young (18 – 30 years), five participants adult (31 – 49 years) and two subjects are older (over 50 years old). To ensure anonymity within a relatively small group of volunteer, the exact age of the participants is not mentioned. Seven participants are currently working as a nurse in a hospital or clinic and two subjects work as a nurse in home health care. Two other subjects work as doctors and the remaining four participants do not have an occupation in the health care sector, but are, for example, students. Over the course of several weeks, all selected medical volunteers were interviewed on the subject of their motivation. Semi-structured interviews provide some structure to guide both the interviewer and interviewee in finding the answers to the main question of this study (Boeije, 2005). Topics included were the intrinsic and extrinsic motivation of the medics. More specifically, the six volunteer functions of Clary et al. (1998) were included as topics to determine which functions are most important to the subjects. Furthermore, the participants were asked which function was most important in their decision to volunteer. To do this with any success, the functions were not be named as such, but instead the subjects were asked to comment on the ideas behind them and their level of connection to them. Another topic was their choice for this kind of long-term, intensive volunteering. They were also asked for input as to what WSN can do to satisfy their motivation so they could explain their own needs in volunteering. The average duration of an interview was between 50 and 60 minutes. To ensure the reliability of this study, the complete list of topics can be found in Appendix A. The validity of this study depends on the conduction of the semi-structured interviews by the interviewer (Boeije, 2005). In this case, the interviewer was also the researcher and has tried to ensure as much as possible that the subjects expressed themselves on the various necessary topics to be able to answer the research questions and by summarising their response, asked them to confirm the interpretation made.

### 3.4. Data analysis

The collected data for this thesis are the recorded interviews. These were transcribed with the use of Microsoft Word and resulted in natural transcriptions. Coding the transcripts was done with QSR NVivo 10. The transcripts were coded with open coding, which resulted in a large numbers of codes which allowed for axial coding where the researcher started to group some of the codes under the sensitizing concepts and to merge some of the synonymous codes (Boeije, 2005). The Volunteer Functions and Public Service Motivation dimensions, used as sensitising concepts, provided a first interpretation of the results. Similarly, the results were interpreted with the three basic needs as described by Ryan and Deci (2000), creating a new view of the similarities and differences between these theories, which led to the decision to finally analyse and present the collected data in the way of the grounded theory method (Boeije, 2005). This means that the raw interviews were first coded with open coding and after that the resulting codes were sorted amongst the larger themes that appeared. These themes lead to the theory as presented and debated in the discussion. The four major themes that emerged from the data are *helping*, *learning*, *enjoying* and *religion*, which are reminiscent of functions from both PSM and VFI, but are deviated thusly to cover all the responses which have been given during the interviews. Different aspects of these themes are regularly mentioned by the participants and considered important to their motivation. *Practical considerations* is another recurring theme in the volunteers' interviews. These

considerations are not necessarily part of their motivation but are important influences in the facilitation of volunteering and the processes during which motivation is aroused in the subjects. After the results are presented, they are interpreted and compared to previous research in the discussion. Finally, there will be a conclusion which also includes suggestions for future practices with regards to volunteers.



## 4. Results

The results of this thesis are presented in this section. The data gathered in this study were coded to find recurring themes and important subjects to the participants and the results are presented under these themes in the first part of this chapter. The sequence in which they are presented is random, because the importance of each topic is different for every participant. In the second part, four volunteer profiles are presented which emerged from the results.

### 4.1. Thematic results

#### 4.1.1. Helping

Nearly all the participants indicated their values to be the most important facet to their volunteer motivation. The volunteer's values are often the foundation of their volunteering although there are differences in how values are the basis of their motivation.

The majority of respondents feel that they are privileged to live the way they do and therefore consider it an obligation to help others:

*"I just think it's ridiculous that we have so much and they so little and I think I just want to do something about that. Just helping a little, just a little bit, as you don't usually cause a lasting change."* (Respondent 15)

*"I think it's the sharing of our wealth, sharing again. Yes, I think that's an important part. So much that I can do that and that it's asked of me. I won't say I have to, I'm not allowed to say that."* (Respondent 3)

This feeling of obligation is often pointed out to be one of the main reasons for volunteering. Their motivation comes from living in wealth and feeling that they should share it with others. Being privileged also means that many of the participants feel that they should be thankful. That feeling of thankfulness is intensified by their volunteering:

*"You're faced with the fact of how bizarrely well-off you are here. The thankfulness I think the people there have, to take that home with you. And to stay aware of that."* (Respondent 3)

*"I don't even really know who should be more thankful. Whether they should be more thankful or we. In any case, I think I should be more thankful for having the opportunity to experience something like this."* (Respondent 13)

The feeling of thankfulness is something the participants believe everyone should feel and hold dear. Interestingly, it is sometimes unclear whether this feeling is the motivation for or the result of volunteering.

A key value for many participants seems to be that they are morally obligated to help others because of their own wealth. The participants fill this obligation in different manners. Some of the participants find that helping individuals in the Netherlands is the best way to do this, while others consider volunteering in third world country the best way to fulfil this moral obligation. A small number of participants indicated specifically that helping children was their way of

expressing this value:

*"That those children need help, that's what really pushes me to go." (Respondent 9)*

Volunteering in the Netherlands is considered a good way to satisfy the need to help others by most subjects:

*"Every time I'm busy with my work in the Netherlands, I think to myself: 'There is so much to do here; why would I go to another country?'" (Respondent 1)*

Approximately half of the interviewees indicate that they do or have at one time volunteered in the Netherlands. However, many of the subjects indicated that volunteering in a different country, combined with their work in the healthcare sector fulfils their moral obligation to help others:

*"I help people here as a fulltime job and of course I get paid for that, but doing volunteer work besides that is not an option. Even so, I don't think I would want to do a project in the Netherlands. If I'm off work in the Netherlands I just want to be with my family and enjoy that." (Respondent 15)*

Interestingly, most of the subjects seem to consider the three weeks they spent on a project as the real volunteering and often neglect to mention the work they do in preparation. The preparatory work, such as raising money, often is so natural to the subjects that they initially do not mention it, which might suggest that it is very natural behaviour for them to raise money for a cause. Further questioning on this subject shows they have a great deal to tell about this part of their work.

Helping individuals in third world country is considered the main motivation for volunteering by most of the participants:

*"That's number one, that is the most important, to help other people in other, poorer countries." (Respondent 1)*

*"That's it, to do something for people. It's so good to be able to prevent people from dying, that's the basis, you know. You know people die over there of things you wouldn't die of here. Those are very basic things and it's so easy to help with that and I think that's just really good work, so it's just doing the right thing and that's why I want it." (Respondent 15)*

For the participants, helping is a motivation which is also apparent in their daily work: the caring for others. Most of the subjects bring this value into practice through their work in the healthcare sector, but it is also often mentioned as one of the motivations for volunteering because it is simply part of who they are:

*"I'm not looking forward to the pressure of the fact that I will have few vacation days left. That could stop me, if it weren't for my passion for development, and being able to do something for others will always be a source of motivation for me." (Respondent 8)*

*"Helping is probably a part of me. I don't do it because I think I have to, but you just do it, the things that have to happen." (Respondent 14)*

They consider it to be a very natural kind of behaviour to help others, even if they have to spend a great deal of time and money to do so and receive no apparent rewards.

Another motivation that becomes apparent in the subjects' responses is that they like to work with youngsters to help them discover the world and themselves. The majority of the subjects who indicated this as a function of volunteering also considered working with youngsters to be fun:

*"Well, after my first experience of working with youngsters I found it was wonderful to, firstly to work with them, but it was great to see how they grow in those few weeks, you know."* (Respondent 1)

*"Building is not my goal, building is a tool and I love going on a project with a group of youngsters. I can see what goals they set for themselves beforehand. For example, that they want to work on their faith to find more depth and that they want to learn more about God. That's where my priorities are, that's what I love to do."* (Respondent 10)

*"What I noticed is that an incredible lot of those girls have a low self-esteem and I don't want to say that that is gone in those three week, not at al. But that you can help them just little with that. That they can grow a little in that, because they do thing that they didn't really think they could. It's stimulating positive growth. Yes, I hadn't mentioned this before, but this is really important for me. Crazy, that I only think of this now, but it's an important part of a project for me."* (Respondent 3)

Facilitating personal growth is a recurring theme within the interviews with staff members that go on projects with young groups. The volunteers of adult groups do indicate it to be an important part of their volunteering, but on a lesser scale.

#### **4.1.2. Learning**

Personal growth within the volunteers is also often mentioned. Some of the subjects felt that they had learned more about life as a whole or noticed a marked difference in their way of living:

*"I don't think I can really learn new skills, but perhaps I can find a new perspective on that is important in life. And through that way I may start living differently and other people can see that and it might also bleed through in my work. So I don't think I will learn nursing skills, I don't expect so. But to really grow as a person."* (Respondent 12)

Another common response was that the volunteering had helped them to discover more about who they are as an individual and how others see them:

*"I think, especially because of those books you get at the end of the project, I've learned more about how others view me and that it's so much more positive than I had imagined. So you know, at the end of the book you laughing out loud, because the stories just make me so happy and it's always so positive and that really makes me feel good when I'm home. All those people liked me, so it must be good. I think that very positive."* (Respondent 11)

*"Experience teaches us that people don't understand when you try to explain it, so I tell them: 'You have to experience it for yourself.' Because it's very much about yourself. I think your self changes a lot during a project."* Respondent 13

*"It's like the slogan of World Servants: 'building yourself by building for others'. I think it's a great slogan and it really resonates with me."* Respondent 14

It was mentioned that this is function of volunteering that causes volunteers to come back to World Servants. The experience of self-exploration and development is something they wish to experience again.

The majority of the subjects indicated that their volunteering also forces them to reconsider our society in comparison to that of the country they go to:

*"If you're back in the Netherlands for a few months and you're still functioning in the African way, your colleagues are not going to be happy with you. So you'll have to go back – you try of course, being less wasteful. You do that, you just try."* Respondent 2

Personal growth seems to be a motivator for experienced volunteers. They have already experienced the impact of a project and already reaped the major benefits, so to speak. This gives them a good idea of the importance of the function and allows them to be motivated by it. Interestingly, the function of personal growth seems to increase during the first few projects and then stabilise. Subjects who had been on more than 5 projects indicate that this was one of the most important motivators for them, while subjects who had not yet been on a project found it to be of rather less importance on the whole.

Besides personal growth, professional development is also a recurring theme in the interviews. Some of the respondents indicated that they use their volunteering as an opportunity to refresh their knowledge of basic healthcare:

*"Because I work in psychiatry, the physical and somatic sort of fades away, but that is of course what you will often run into. Most of it just needs to be refreshed and then we wait and see."*  
(Respondent 10)

Nine out of fifteen participants work as a nurse for a hospital or other healthcare organisation, but many of them indicate that they hope to refresh their skills and knowledge. Often, this desire seems to come from working in a specialised unit within the organisation which causes them to develop a very specific skillset. Other participants indicate that they enjoy being forced to rely on their own skills with limited resources. The participants repeatedly mention this back-to-basic side of their volunteering:

*"I think this trip adds to my medical knowledge. Because I did the entire preparation for it. You read the guides, you know, the World Servants guide and the medical training guide. That's when you notice that you have to go back to basic and when you find out how far you're removed from those basics, because I've been doing my job for a long time and that involves very different skills than those basics. So it does add something."* (Respondent 12)

*"Sometimes you really have to rough it on these projects. You'll have to work with what you've got,*

*you know, back to basic. I think we're spoiled here [in the Netherlands] with all the medical equipment, with everything.* (Respondent 6)

Another recurring response to questions about learning is that the medical volunteers are excited to learn more about tropical diseases and other diseases they do not come into contact with in the Netherlands:

*"I've already been looking at malaria and dengue and those kinds of crazy things. [Respondent smiles excitedly]"* (Respondent 2)

*"We have someone with diabetes [in the group]. I already know that three weeks ahead of time I will be diving in the medical books. Those are the things that make me think: yes. Yes!"* (Respondent 6)

In these cases the learning experience is combined with the excitement of the challenge that the new knowledge represents to motivate the participants.

Surprisingly, the function of learning is not often connected to career progression. The majority of the participants do not mention this function, but do see the benefit it could have for them:

*"If I were to apply for a function in development work or some sort of project, I would of course mention it. But if I were to apply as a minister or who knows what, I wouldn't."* (Respondent 8)

Many of the respondents consider their experience in volunteering not as work experience, even though it is medical in nature, but rather an indicator of their personality if they mention their volunteering in a job interview:

*"Well, putting this on your CV says that you're motivated to do volunteer work, that you're willing to make an effort for others and that you're not just working for yourself."* (Respondent 11)

*"I think it says that I'm someone willing to help others. I'm not a lazy person. That I'm interested in the rest of the world. I think it says a lot about you as a person that you're willing to do something like this. Just the idea that you do something for others, which takes a lot of work and you even have to pay for it and it also takes a lot of time and energy. That idea, it costs a lot, but you also receive a lot. But it also costs a lot. I think it at least says that you're not egotistical."* (Respondent 12)

For some of the participants it even came as a surprise that this function could be considered:

*"No, I did apply for a job recently, but I didn't mention this. Didn't even think of it. I didn't think of it at all. [...] So funny you should say that, I really didn't consider it. I'm going to do that. Didn't even come to mind. It is- true, though. I think it can really be of real value. To show that my experience also lies abroad. Just a small part, not weeks on end or a year, but you show that your vision is bigger than what's happening here. I think that's what it says."* (Respondent 7)

The participants simply enjoy learning more about their work and executing it, without any serious expectations with regards to profit:



*"I just really enjoy caring... Yes. Because of my medical background." (Respondent 1)*

#### **4.1.3. Enjoyment**

Many of the subjects indicate that they volunteer because they really enjoy it. They just enjoy it. Further prompting leads to more specific functions that they delight in. For some, it is the experience of working together with others. They enjoy the group experience that is inherent to World Servants projects, although for different reasons:

*"I asked some friends of mine: 'Would you like to come too?' Then I realised: 'Wait a minute. I'm asking them something I don't want.' I figured it would be nice to go with a group full of strangers, you know, that's what seemed like fun." (Respondent 15)*

*"It definitely motivates me that there are a lot of people I know in our group. So, yes. No, yes, that a lot of people I know are going is absolutely a part of my motivation. The first year I went all on my own I thought: 'Poop.' No, I thought: 'I just have to go, because if I wait for people I know, I'll be waiting for a long time.' So I went on my own, but I wouldn't do that again." (Respondent 4)*

These respondents both enjoy the group experience, but while one loves meeting new like-minded individuals, the other one enjoys the volunteering activity most with friends they already know. Although the subjects are divided on the topic of the group, they are more coherent when it comes to the staff. The participants are all part of the staff, which consist of five to six individual who they have to work closely with. Most of the participants indicate that they would prefer to go on a project with staff they know. This participant explains the consideration many of the subjects described:

*"We're going on a project with some of the same staff as in 2011. And I like that, because you already know what you have in them. Not everyone from that project in 2011 is coming, but some of them and the contact is good with them, you know what they're worth in your staff and that makes it easy to go again. I like that, but it could have been an unknown staff. I think it will take longer to really get to know each other and it might take longer to really expose yourself and that's easier now, because there is already a foundation." (Respondent 10)*

While some of the participants simply enjoy the social aspects of a projects, other describe the need for familiar faces to feel comfortable in a large group. Already knowing part of the group makes it easier to function, because there are already existing connections and relations.

Whether the subjects participate in a project with or without strangers sometimes appears to be a matter of coincidence rather than a conscious choice on their parts, at least for their first experience with this type of volunteering, which often stems from promotion by friends, colleagues or other associates:

*"So in December someone in our church told me: 'I'm going to Brazil for a project and I'm still looking for medical staff and I'd like to ask you to consider it.'" (Respondent 5)*

It seems that the social aspect of the organisation has the particular function of finding more volunteers and becomes less important as the volunteers gain more experience:

*"I might go without acquaintances now, because I've already been three times. But the first time as staff I wouldn't go without people I know. I'm just a bit to insecure for that." (Respondent 13)*

The social experience of volunteering is considered relatively important by the subjects, for all their different reasons. For many of the participants, the social aspect of volunteering seems to be a practical consideration.

Mostly, the participants indicate that they enjoy the experience of volunteering as a whole:

*"Well, the first time you're just curious and you're not sure what to expect. [...] Just curious, but when you actually join in, you think: 'This was fun!' and then you'll go again and again and then again." (Respondent 11)*

*"No, I hadn't really considered [volunteering] before. I just thought it would be fun and then the opportunity came my way, so I did it." (Respondent 15)*

*"You go once and then you're infected. Or not. Either you never want to go again, or you love it and you'll probably do it many more times." (Respondent 13)*

Others find that the experience of volunteering in a third-world country is a factor in their motivation:

*"For my first project, I was like: 'This is so awesome. To go really far away, I want to know what that's like.' [...] But you know, if you take [certain family] for example, who go to Brazil for 20,000 years consecutively, that's not really what I want either." (Respondent 13)*

*"Why I choose this kind of volunteering? Well, there's a sense of adventure to this, that's what I like. [...] The country you go to is a pretty important aspect to me. (Respondent 4)*

A few of the participants indicated that their volunteering not only makes them feel good because they enjoy it, but also because it makes them feel good about themselves and that the reactions of others confirms this:

*"Yes, I suppose it's also for you own good feelings. You know, maybe you'll feel better about yourself if you do something like this. Not that I feel bad about myself, but you want to be a better person, to be as good as it gets." (Respondent 15)*

*"Well, in the beginning I really thought: 'Woah, look at me doing this awesome work.' You're going all the way to Africa and people confirm all that. They tell you how great it is that you're doing this and that you're spending your money on it. They really confirm you in your beliefs." (Respondent 4)*

Although this is not a prevalent theme in the interviews, some of the participants indicated that this external confirmation of worth does not leave them untouched:

*"You know, because you're sort of the foundation, the axis of the happening, right?" (Respondent 1)*

#### 4.1.4. Religion

Religiosity was an important subject for many of the participants. Some even felt that they had a religious duty to perform their volunteering:

*"I think it's a task that has been laid on us, coming from the Bible" (Respondent 1)*

*"For me, faith is the reason to do it. It comes purely from your faith, to want to be there for others." (Respondent 8)*

However, the majority of the subjects considered their religion simply part of their motivation, albeit an important part:

*"I mean, [name] came by and he told me some things [about the projects], but at that moment you don't really know... It seemed like fun, but there was also a drive from my religion, like: 'All right, there may be difficult things ahead, things I won't like, that will cross my path, but I believe it will be alright and I will learn to...' It wasn't just for me, you know. It's out of faith." (Respondent 3)*

Many of the respondents also indicated that their choice to volunteer had been influenced because they had been led to their volunteering by godly means. This often happened through the occurrence of chance encounters with individuals who were already volunteering, or that any obstacles were suddenly removed:

*"At one time, I got two booklets about Ukraine through the letterbox: that wasn't a coincidence. I had never received anything about Ukraine, and suddenly there were those two in the mail. That's when I thought: okay, so that's where I'm supposed to go." (Respondent 12)*

*"What I thought was really special was that we were selling toilet paper and took some to my work. And everyone was like: 'What are you doing?!' But a lot of people bought it because they saw me with it. So one day I walked into the restaurant and the restaurant staff said: 'We heard you're going to Brazil and we have this box for tips that we want to give to charity and we're giving it to you.' And it has 600 euros in it! [...] It just landed in my lap." (Respondent 5)*

These occurrences seem to motivate the volunteers with their affirmation of them being on the right track. In a sense, they are a nod from God to them, giving his seal of approval.

Many of the subjects found the religious identity of the organisation to be a happy coincidence, but did not specifically look for it. Nearly all of them indicated that they are happy with the amount of time spent concerning religion both in the preparation for and during the volunteer projects and if not motivated, were at least not demotivated by it:

*"There's not really anyone in my social circle who's religious. And somehow you keep hearing those horror stories..."*

*"That you're going on a project with some kind of cult?"*

*"[laughs] Exactly! But I noticed pretty soon... [...] Religion is the basis for these projects and I accept that completely, even if I'm not religious. I think it works; the true depth of a project comes from that foundation." (Respondent 6)*

*"I thought it wasn't that bad. We said a prayer and thanks for the meals, and on Sundays we had an improvised service, whatever you want to call it. And there were the good-morning-groups, but they don't have to be about religion, they can just be about personal issues. Someone in our group found it terribly religious. And I thought: 'It's not that bad. You sing a song after your meal; if it were up to me it would have been more.'" (Respondent 7)*

Finally, some of the subjects described the function of religious growth: to grow in their faith or to become closer to God. Similar ideas were expressed in relation to facilitating the religious growth of the young participants of the projects:

*"The main purpose for me is to bring these young individuals closer to God, to let them have an unforgettable experience and to have them learn something from the journey. I noticed that the projects have had an impact on me and that they've done something with my way I believe. There are people there I will never forget and who have brought me closer to God, and this happens each time." (Respondent 10)*

Interestingly, the subject of godly guidance and support in their volunteering had some very different reactions. On the one hand, some of the subjects indicated that they felt that without God, they could not perform their volunteering and are dependent on his guidance for it. This reasoning seems to undermine both the autonomy of the participants, but does not appear to lessen the amount of motivation that the individuals experience:

*"Coincidentally, I had a conversation about that with someone the other day and I thought 'well it is quite arrogant to think I can do things just as well as Jesus'. That I can just do it all." (Respondent 3)*

*"Well, God is necessary, you just can't go without. We need his help every day for protection too. His blessing has great value, I believe." (Respondent 9)*

*"Faith is not the main motivation, but it does support me in my life." (Respondent 14)*

As respondent 14 indicates in the quote above, faith does not appear to inhibit the motivation despite appearances. Instead of inhibiting authority and competence, the religious participants indicate that even some of the more controlling sides of their faith help them feel more secure in their lives and helps them to actually feel more competent and autonomous.

#### **4.1.5. Practical considerations**

Many of the participants indicate that the organisation of World Servants has a positive influence on their general sense of motivation for volunteering. They find it well organised, structured and reliable:

*"[We build something] that is lasting. And that World Servants stays, for seven years I think, to see*

*if it's actually used. And to finish the building. You know they'll be checking it for years, I think that's important. That it's not abandoned after a year or two. That's great." (Respondent 1)*

*"You know that the medical team is standby 24 hours a day and it's clear that everything I'm allowed and capable of doing here, I can also do there. If there are any questions you can always call and explain the situation. [...] It's just a really nice idea that you can always contact them over here. It gives me a sort of..."*

*"A safety net?"*

*"Yes, that I'm not on my own." (Respondent 10)*

*"Everything is perfectly organised. They've thought of everything and you can tell that it's because of their experience. Everything's thought of and covered. The assignments, the materials you need, everything is ready. The fun surprises, the photo booklets we got; they make you happy. And those teams, they're all jumping and singing. It's amazing. Nothing is left to coincidence. They have everything in hand. They've thought about it and it just all comes together." (Respondent 12)*

Many of the participants agree with these thoughts on the organisation itself. The staff trainings and security trainings are also positively received. The sense of security this gives allows the participants to focus on the parts of volunteering they enjoy.

Other practical concerns are equally capable of inhibiting and supporting volunteering. A repeatedly mentioned factor is time:

*"I've been doubting whether I want to put that much time in it again, because it really takes a year and besides a fulltime job, quite a lot of time goes into it." (Respondent 10)*

*"Time. I'm putting three weeks of my summer holidays into this. When were back I've added another week or I wouldn't have done this. That's why I'm not sure whether I'd do this every year." (Respondent 14).*

For volunteers with a fulltime job, the three weeks required for a project often make up most of their vacation days. Some of them indicate this to be demotivating, as they prefer to also have a regular vacation, while some see the project as a sort of vacation and simply enjoy these three weeks away as such. Many of the respondents indicate that they also spend a great deal of time preparing for the actual project during the summer. This is necessary to be properly trained by the organisation, but also to gather the necessary funds for the project. Money seems to be another factor that has influence of the volunteers' sense of motivation:

*"I can imagine that it's something that would stop people from going. Especially if you have to gather it through fundraising. I can pay it myself. I have it in my account, that's not a problem. But when I think of having to raise 2,500 euro, that is a lot!" (Respondent 13)*

*"They were going and that was a reason for me to do it: I could join them to raise the money. I couldn't have done that in about half a year." (Respondent 5)*

*"I've experienced it, six times, that money wasn't a problem. You do some fundraising and when you've got a nice group it's done before you know it. It can be a lot of fun and I don't think it's a*



*punishment to have to do more fundraising activities for that.” (Respondent 11)*

The amount of money the volunteers pay is considered to be quite high by most of them, although they all agree that it is quite possible to gather it, one way or the other. Some even indicate they enjoy fundraising for this cause and also the fact that they are raising awareness as they do so:

*“We raised a lot more money than we needed. Almost twice as much. It was incredible. We got so many positive reactions!” (Respondent 12)*

Another often mentioned factor is the family situation of the volunteers. Individuals with a boyfriend, girlfriend or family are less likely to volunteer, according to the subjects:

*“My friends have a nice family with a husband. They say: ‘No, I can’t just go away for three weeks.’ And I get that. I wouldn’t have done that. My 14-year old can stay at home and my eldest and youngest are going on a different vacation, so that’s easy. But many people in the health care sector can’t just leave their family for three weeks. The amount of people that can do that is small I thing. No one from my work could.” (Respondent 5)*

*“It does require three weeks of your relationship, that is quite a lot. We chose to do that, but it’s my summer vacation. So we won’t have a vacation together. (Respondent 5)*

## 4.2. Volunteer profiles

A model could be proposed of four recurring archetypes of volunteers. These four are the *helper*, *learner*, *Christian* and the *enjoyer*.

The *helper*, as the name suggests is largely motivated by the desire to help others. They have values that are satisfied by their volunteering and enjoy meeting the natives of the country, working together with them and helping them in any way possible. The *helper* requires little of the organisation besides the opportunity and facilitation of their desire to help. It is a largely intrinsically motivated type of individual who does not usually require any extra external motivational force, but is instead motivated by what they do. The *helper* is recognisable for exclamations such as: “That’s number one, that is the most important, to help other people in other, poorer countries” (Respondent 1).



A second archetype is the *learner*, who enjoys learning more about the strange medical issues that arise during their projects, but also the personal growth that can be experienced. They hope to take these new experiences home and to implement them in their daily lives. With this object in mind they hope to experience and understand the many situations and individuals they come across during their volunteering. The *learner* requires opportunities to learn to remain motivated, but is

intrinsically motivated to do so. This generally means that they will perform less interesting or repetitive tasks as long as there are new and challenging ones every so often. The *learner* may be overly excited by the possibility of illnesses and strange symptoms and respond to inquiries on their preparation for their project with answers such as: “I’ve already been looking at malaria and dengue and those kinds of crazy things! [Respondent smiles excitedly]” (Respondent 2).

Another type that can be identified is the *enjoyer*, who is motivated by the fun they experience in general. It is often all the little things together that motivate this individual, e.g. seeing new sights and experiencing new foods and climates, but mostly the social experience they have with their group, their staff and the locals during their project. The *enjoyer* wants to be intrinsically motivated for their volunteering and is likely to consider any task that needs to be externally motivated as near to punishment. *Enjoyers* may say things such as: “Well, the first time you’re just curious and you’re not sure what to expect. [...] Just curious, but when you actually join in, you think: ‘This was fun!’ and you’ll go again and again and then again” (Respondent 11).



Another type is the *Christian*, who feels they have a duty to volunteer. They still do this with pleasure, because their faith’s values are integrated to the point that they are indistinguishable from their own. Often the *Christian* will experience a great deal of motivation from helping, not dissimilar to the *helper*. Furthermore, the *Christian* is motivated by the desire for personal growth, often with a view to grow in their religious lives and relationship with God. The



*Christian* believes it is important to volunteer, but does not experience motivation just from satisfaction of joy they experience while doing it, but instead may feel either an internal or external pressure to do so, because of their religious beliefs and values. They may experience satisfaction from the fact that they have fulfilled their religious duty and receive an ethereal reward. *Christians* may be heard to speak sentences similar to these: “For me, faith is the reason to do it. It comes purely from your faith, to want to be there for

others” (Respondent 8) and “It seemed like fun, but there was also a drive from my religion, like ‘All right, there may be difficult things ahead, things I won’t like, that will cross my path, but I believe it will be alright and I will learn to...’ It wasn’t just for me, you know. It’s out of faith” (Respondent 3).

## 5. Discussion

Four major patterns became clear in the results, namely motivation that stems from (1) the desire to help others, (2) the opportunity to learn, (3) the enjoyment experienced in volunteer work and (4) religious values. Interestingly, most of the subjects indicate that when they start volunteering, their motivation is mainly linked with their desire to help while participants who have volunteered for a few years indicated that the pleasure they experience in the work causes them to continue.

A model could be proposed of four recurring archetypes of volunteers. These four are the *helper*, *learner*, *Christian* and the *enjoyer*. These four archetypes are proposed not as separate identities, but rather as parts of a whole, a volunteer profile. A person who is largely a *learner* may also have parts of the other three in them. Instead, a cake-model can be proposed as can be seen in Figure 3. Every individual is a whole cake, with four different flavours in them. A critical note on this model is the requirement that the volunteers are

somewhat Christian, however, the Christian values may also be substituted by societal values or parental values. After all, all individuals integrate values, regardless of their source. The antecedents model as described by Perry et al. (2008) considers family socialisation, religious activity and youth volunteering as three antecedents for volunteering and PSM. These are all antecedents that may provide individuals with values that can be integrated or identified with. Further research with regards to antecedents may provide more insight in the different antecedents where volunteers acquire their values. Still, the general idea of the *Christian* is that they have a sense of duty and obligation that is larger than their own values, which are what motivates the *helper*. The *Christian* is the only type that is not intrinsically motivated to volunteer, but instead is motivated by integrated values and is therefore the odd one out. The make-up of an individual's profile seems largely dependent on the make-up of an individual's cluster motives. For each person, there is a unique Figure 2, where the different dimensions and functions are placed in a continuum. The external, internal and intrinsic clusters are likely to be different for everyone, and may be quite dissimilar. The motives that make up the intrinsic clusters are the greatest influence on the model presented in Figure 3. If an individual places *understanding* in in this cluster and *values* in the internal cluster, they are likely to be a *learner*, while an individual who has *social* in the intrinsic cluster and the other motives in the internal cluster will likely be an *enjoyer*. The *enjoyer* may also be the profile with the most intrinsic motives. For all profiles, the motives placed furthest to the right of their own continuum, as in Figure 2, will decide which part of their profile is most prevalent. The further to the left a motive is placed, the less it will motivate them. Further research is necessary to study the validity of this model and notably, also to find whether are more or less types.

An argument could be made to exclude the *Christian* to make a three-type model, which would allow the model to be more easily applied to non-religious organisations, like in Figure 4. However, for the current study, religion is an important aspect and so often mentioned by the

Figure 3

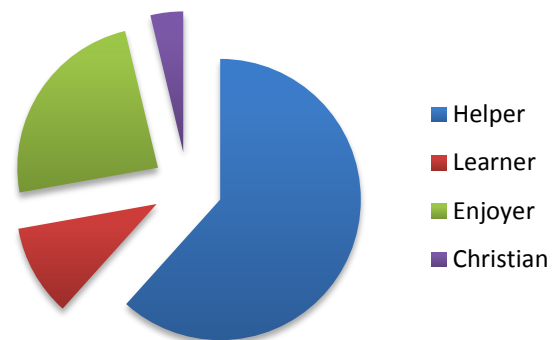
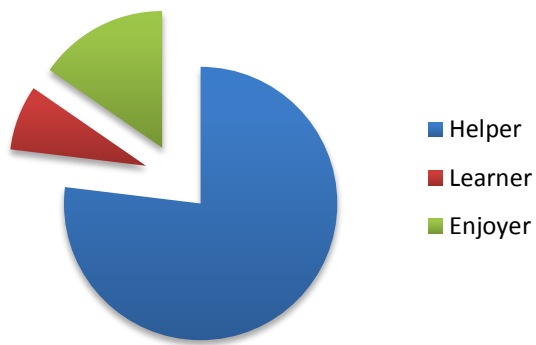


Figure 4



subjects, that excluding it would lead to skewed and inaccurate conclusions. A more likely option is to integrate the values of the *Christian* into the *helper* and the *learner*. The values that are integrated by the *Christian* are usually related to these two types. Eventually, either model may enable the testing of volunteers to find which type they are and allow organisations to adapt their business strategies to them. For this purpose, the three-type model may be more practical, as it describes the three types of intrinsic motivation that motivate volunteers. Integrated values, such

as with the *Christian* or otherwise acquired through parentage or social circles, are difficult to externally influence and take a great deal of time to affect. The three intrinsically motivated types mostly require the organisation to facilitate their volunteering. There are still many unanswered questions about this model. Further research is necessary to find whether the three- or four-type model provides more accurate results as well as to investigate whether there are more types that need to be included in this model. This could especially be the case for types that come from the economic or political science perspectives. These perspectives have not been investigated in this thesis and may therefore provide additional insight into the theory.

### 5.1. Helper

Nearly all the participants indicated that their values have caused them to join in with their organisation to volunteer. Many of them do more volunteer work besides it. This could be explained by their intrinsic need to help others: "Helping is probably a part of me," said one of the subjects. For many of the participants this is also the reason they chose to become medical professionals. The medical profession provides a natural option for individuals who like to help others. Some of the participants found that, sometimes through circumstances outside their power, they have become employed in a function that is still medical, but has little contact with patients: the people they want to help. When work becomes an insufficient outlet for their altruistic tendencies, the motivation to volunteer grows. This type of motivation suggests that their desire to help is not being fulfilled in their regular work, but is satisfied in their volunteering. These findings support the idea that volunteers are public service motivated. PSM not only affect an individual during work time, but continues in their free time and any activities they may undertake during that time, such as volunteering. Although an individual may be initially attracted to the health care sector because of their PSM, when their work no longer fulfils the dimensions they will be more likely to search for other avenues to satisfy their PSM.

It was hypothesised that the functions *values* and *compassion* would be important to the volunteers in motivating them. The results indicate that this is indeed true for medically trained volunteers, especially those who resonate with the *helper*. These findings are consistent with prior research, which indicate that both volunteers and public service motivated individuals are most likely to be motivated by internally regulated motivation as can be seen in Figure 2. These results may also be explained by the fact that volunteer work has no apparent physical rewards and therefore offers very little extrinsic motivation. Furthermore is it unlikely for individuals to



volunteer because of non-autonomous motives, meaning that the participants are not in any way forced nor obligated to volunteer.

Interestingly, the PSM dimensions *public interest* and *self-sacrifice* seem to apply to most volunteers, but especially the *helper*. The lack of physical rewards is what Perry (1996) describes *self-sacrifice* to be. In the case of medically trained volunteers with World Servants, this is certainly applicable, as they not only do not receive any tangible rewards, but they even have to pay a large amount of money to be able to volunteer. *Public interest* is also relevant because the volunteers both perform their work for the natives of another country, which can be considered world-wide public interest, and they raise awareness of problems, such as lack of schooling and health care facilities, in their own social circles. *Helpers* indicate the wish to help others and thereby serve the public interest, some even explicitly point out *public interest* as a function which is important to them.

## 5.2. Learner

The desire to learn drives many participants to volunteer, but the expression of it differs. Some of the participants indicate that they want to learn more about their profession and are motivated by the opportunity to exercise their medical knowledge in a new environment or to learn more about the tropical diseases that they may be exposed to during the project. These results correspond with the function *understanding*, which was hypothesised to be one of the more motivational functions of volunteering for medically qualified individuals. These findings are also consistent with other studies and suggest that these findings may be part of a universal structuring of motives for medically trained volunteers as suggested by Fletcher and Major (2004). However, contrary to Fletcher and Major's (2004) findings, the participants showed no interest in the function *career*. They indicated no motivation coming from the possibility of furthering their career through the experience of volunteering. On the other hand, many of the subjects did indicate that they found personal growth to be a function that was motivating to them. This ties in with the function *enhancement* as described by Clary et al. (1998), which was ranked fairly highly in the results of Fletcher and Major (2004). However, contrary to their findings, the current study finds that many of the respondents considered the function of personal growth to be at least as motivational as professional growth. This may be explained by the fact that many of the subjects were content in their current work environment and the fact that any discontent was not necessarily to be solved by learning more about their job, but instead was more related to the lack of contact with patients or colleagues. Additionally, *understanding* may be different, because it fulfils the need for competence more than the need for autonomy. The self-determination continuum is constructed on the need for autonomy, leaving the need for competence and relatedness on the background in this study. This may indicate considering only the different styles of regulation is not enough to successfully integrate the different theories of (volunteer) motivation. Further study should be undertaken to find how the other basic needs influence the current theory of a volunteer profile. Furthermore, this study shows that *career* is of negligible importance to medical volunteers, but more extensive research is necessary to discover whether these results are universal for medical volunteers or if they are restricted to this organisation.

## 5.3. Enjoyer

Many of the subjects indicate that their enjoyment of the volunteer work is an important part of their volunteer motivation. Although it is difficult to give sheer enjoyment a clear-cut box or



dimension, it is a clear indicator of intrinsic motivation. Joy and excitement are purely autonomous motivations and in concurrence with Deci and Ryan (2001), it could be said that this causes them to have a high intrinsic value, and one might even go as far as to state that consequently, they give the highest level of motivation (Coursey et al., 2011). The results concerning autonomy-controlling, external factors such as finances and family seem to support this theory. These factors appear to have a very low motivational status. Even when they do not inhibit the individual, they still do not cause them to be motivated. None of the individuals indicated that having a great deal of money or having enough vacation days motivates them to volunteer. Instead, it appears that these factors only inhibit motivation by their absence, but are not able to positively influence it. Similarly, most of the participants do not find externally regulated motivators to be important in their decision to volunteer. With little to no external rewards or punishment, the motivation that comes from functions with an external locus of causality are not important to the subjects. They prefer a more internal locus of causality, which further supports the idea that functions provide more internally regulated motivation have a higher motivational value and make volunteering more enjoyable.

Contrary to expectations, the social function of volunteering is considered to be highly motivational to the participants. Many of them indicate that it is part of their motivation, and it appears to be an especially great source of motivation for the *enjoyer*, but again there are large differences in how it motivates them. For some, it is because they enjoy spending time with friends while doing volunteer work, while others indicate they enjoy meeting new people and prefer not to know anyone when they start with their projects. Others indicate that they volunteer because they enjoy meeting the natives of the country they go to. Although these are all different motivations, they are all satisfied with the function *social* of volunteering. Contrary to the idea presented in Figure 2, most of the responses about the function indicate that it provides a largely internally regulated motivation; for the *enjoyer* it is even intrinsically motivating.

#### 5.4. Christian

Some of the volunteers indicate that they feel they have a religious duty to help others, while others feel that they are supported by their deity, but not obligated to any volunteering. Although prior studies suggest that religiosity is difficult to classify as either intrinsic or extrinsic, most of the participants described the motivation that they find in their faith as internal or integrated, when their beliefs have become internalised to the point that no distinction can be made between the values that are inherent to themselves and to their religion. Most of the religious participants describe their view of God as an autonomy-supportive deity. This confirms the ideas of Soenens et al. (2012) that an autonomy-supportive God leads to more intrinsic motivation with the religious. It is important to recognise possible bias in these results, both on the part of the interviewer, who has their own view of God, and the organisation which also publicly carries out their view of God as autonomy-supportive. The organisation may not attract volunteers with a view of God as autonomy-controlling through their image and thereby unwittingly leave this study with a one-sided view of God.

Unexpectedly, the religious nature of both the organisation and the volunteer work is reported to be consistently important to both religious and non-religious volunteers. A possible explanation for this is that the way volunteers are often attracted, through personal advertising, would immediately inform possible candidates of the religious identity of the organisation and deter any unwilling to work with it, thereby leaving only the willing as subjects in this study. In turn, the volunteers that do agree to volunteer are willing to accept the religiosity of the

organisation and may even be attracted by this spirituality. Further research could be helpful to gain more insight into the way spirituality motivates non-religious volunteers.

### 5.5. Further considerations

It can still be considered which motivational aspects are important for medically qualified individuals to volunteer in contrast to regular motivation. Prior studies suggest that the motives *values/compassion* and *understanding* are important to volunteers with a medical background (Fletcher and Major, 2004). Because these result come from the VFI, which is only used on volunteers, it is difficult to compare to other studies which investigate 'regular' motivation. Esmond and Dunlop (2004) found through a VFI study of thousands of Australians that *values* was the most important function for regular volunteers, followed by *understanding* and *esteem*, which has since then been renamed *enhancement*. This is fairly consistent with the medical volunteers' motivation, who consider *values* to be an important function. However, the medical volunteers do appear to give more importance to *understanding* than regular volunteers. This may be explained by the education level that the medical volunteers have, which suggests that they enjoy learning to some degree. Another suggestion is that the fact that they volunteer in an area which is also their profession because of their wish to gain more varied experience within that sector. The function *social* also appears to be more important to the participants of the current study than to regular volunteers. Possibly this has to do with the relatively small amount of medical volunteers within World Servants, as well as the nature of the projects. The type of volunteering that World Servants offers requires the staff members to lead a group of around 30 others, which could possibly deter any volunteers who do not experience any motivation from *social*. Surprisingly, the dimension *enhancement*, which is important for regular volunteers, is not very important to the medical volunteers. A possible explanation for this result is that the medical profession already provides the volunteers with an feeling that they do something which is important and do not require this of their volunteering.

The dimension *public policy making* is rarely mentioned by the participants. Figure 2 shows that this dimension is the most externally regulated of the PSM dimensions and therefore this supports the theory that externally regulated means less motivation. None of the participants indicated that they wished to influence the policies of the organisation or that being in charge of a group was motivating for them. The responsibilities that come with leadership were instead often described by to be slightly frightening. Interestingly, individuals who have a position of responsibility in their daily work, experience less difficulty with the added responsibilities of a project than the participants who do not experience their job this way. Still, the responsibilities of volunteering with World Servants were not considered to be motivating. Further study on extrinsic motivation in volunteering could shed more light on these conflicting results with previous research, although these differences might be explained by the nature of the organisation, which attracts similarly minded individuals and may therefore repel more extrinsically motivated volunteers. This suggests that accentuating the internally regulated functions could attract more like-minded volunteers. Further research should be done to determine whether this theory can generalised or if it is specific for this organisation, or perhaps for medically trained volunteers. Such research could determine whether providing more opportunity for volunteers to satisfy the need to help, learn or socialise would attract more volunteers to organisations such as World Servants.

## 5.6. Reflections

It is important to keep in mind that this study was performed with a relatively small number of participants. The small sample does not necessarily give a representative view of the entire population of medically trained volunteers, but it is a good indicator for this particular organisation. Another important factor of this sample group is the large amount of women in it. Although this is representative for the consistency of the group of volunteers within the organisation World Servants, it is not representative for medically trained volunteers as a population. It is therefore important to consider this when interpreting the results. Furthermore, the researcher of this study was also the interviewer and may have had unconscious influence on the subjects during the interviews, e.g. in questions about religion, the Christian interviewer may have unconsciously posed questions differently than a non-religious researcher might have done. To ascertain that this possibility is as small as possible, the interviews were conducted with the use of a topic list, which is available for perusal in Appendix A.

Another consideration may be discovered in light of the hybrid conceptual framework as discussed by Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010). Firstly, this thesis uses a rather limited definition of volunteering, namely that of a volunteer with World Servants, who fulfils a specific medical function. Furthermore, the study takes sociologist and psychologist aspects in account through the different theories that are discussed, but has no real connections with the political scientist and economic perspective. To build a truly universal theory of volunteer motivation, these perspectives would also need to be integrated in the theory. Following the reasoning of Hustinx, Cnaan and Handy (2010), doing so would provide a more complete profile of the volunteer's motivation.

There are two dimensions that this research attempts to consider: on the one hand it tries to explain why people volunteer, aiming for a theory as explanation, but it also attempts to give some context of volunteering to include a narrative side in the theory. Finally, it leaves some questions as to the critical perspectives as the interviews were mostly conducted with regards to the positive sides of volunteering (what do you like about volunteering) and less questions on the negative side (what do you not like about volunteering). This may be due to the influence of the interviewer, who is a volunteer and has a positive view of volunteering as a whole.

Finally, the three theories that have been integrated to gain insight in the results of this thesis did not all appear to have the same value. While SDT and VFI both contributed a great deal to both the construction of the profiles theory and the interpretation and explanation of the results, PSM has a somewhat limited use. It has more external dimensions than the VFI, which makes it less likely to be applicable to volunteers. It was also originally meant for study of motivation in the public sector, which is reflected in the dimension *public policy making*, which none of the participants found to be of importance to their volunteering. This could also be said of *career*, were it not for the fact that the participants indicated they could understand that function, while *public policy making* simply had no attraction to them at all. The VFI functions were more often indicated by the participants and together with the SDT would perhaps be enough to explain volunteer motivation. However, although PSM was not always mentioned as part of the volunteers' motivation, it does lay a basis for volunteering. Nearly all the volunteer responded to the dimensions *public interest* and *self-sacrifice*. This may be due to the nature of volunteering with World Servants, which aims to serve the public interest in the broadest sense, namely that of the whole world. The same can be said for *compassion*, which also appears to be the norm for volunteers with World Servants. These PSM dimensions are apparent in all the volunteers, but in a seemingly constant measure, rather than in varying degrees. These findings suggest that PSM may be an

antecedent, or even a requirement, for volunteering with World Servants. Further study is necessary to conclusively make such claims. Another interesting line of study could be whether PSM is universally apparent in volunteers or whether it is restricted to this organisation or medical volunteers.

## 6. Conclusion

This study set out to determine the motivational functions which medically qualified individuals find motivating to volunteer. This research suggests that in general they are motivated by the desire to help others, learn more and enjoy the experience as a whole. They also wish to express their values about volunteering. It is their own internal drive that leads them to volunteer and motivates them in gathering the funds necessary for the type of volunteering they do. This suggests that intrinsic motivation is what motivates the volunteers the most.

The desire to help others is an often mentioned motivation by the volunteers. The function *values* and the dimension *compassion* are related to this motivation. The participants who consider this to be their main motivation appear to be intrinsically motivated to volunteer by their desire to help.

Secondly, the desire to learn seems to be of great importance to the volunteers. This is expressed through the way *understanding* and *enhancement* motivates them, mostly through the sheer enjoyment of learning something new about their work, which is often as much a passion as it is their income, and personal and spiritual growth.

Thirdly, the participants indicate that they enjoy the whole experience of volunteering, especially meeting new individuals and volunteering with friends. The social aspect of volunteering is motivating for them, but besides that they enjoy seeing a new country, meeting the natives, doing the work and leaving behind something lasting. They are intrinsically motivated because they enjoy all the different aspects.

Finally, some of the participants indicate that they feel that they have a duty or obligation to do volunteer work, because of the values they have or believe are important. For these volunteers those values mostly come from their religious activity, but other antecedents may be the source of values they have integrated or identify with, e.g. family socialisation or youth volunteering.

These functions answer the first empirical subquestion, however, the second empirical subquestion asks what motivates medical professionals and students to volunteer with a type of organisation like World Servants, which asks them to invest a large amount of money and a great deal of time even before they spend two or three weeks in a third world country to volunteer. The first part of the answer to this question is chance. Many of the participants indicate that their first encounter with this organisation happened through a chance meeting with someone who already volunteered there and who they ran in to. These random encounters are often explained by the subjects as led by a higher power, either God or fate. Also, although this type of volunteering asks for a great deal of time to be invested in preparation for the projects, the volunteer only has to agree to do it for one year. There is a very clear timeline for the projects, which tells the volunteers precisely when their project finishes and also ends with a type of reward, namely two or three weeks of actually helping to build a project and seeing how the money they have gathered is spent. After the first experience with the organisation, what makes most of the volunteers join again is the well organised nature of World Servants. The professional way that they are instructed and provided with all the materials they need for promotion and study makes many of the interviewees not even really consider the possibility of volunteering with another similar organisation, even if they are less costly. Quality matters to the volunteers. What makes the volunteers stay for more than one year are the projects. Most of the participants indicate that the nature of a project, intensive three-week building projects, makes a person either hate it or love it.



Interestingly, the more intrinsically motivated the volunteers appear to be, the longer they volunteer with World Servants. This suggests that more intrinsically motivated individuals have more motivation to volunteer with World Servants than individuals with extrinsic motivation. This is confirmed by the observation that participants who have more experience with the organisation indicate their motivation mostly comes from how much they enjoy the projects, helping and learning, while subjects who have no or little experience find their motivation stems more from their values. This suggests that the projects itself are important in the volunteers' decision to return to the same organisation. If they find that they are intrinsically motivated by the experience, they seem to be more likely to return, while the volunteers who are not intrinsically motivated may find that it requires too much energy to remain motivated during the intense three-week projects.

Concluding, the results of this study suggest that intrinsic motives are most important for volunteers' motivation, specifically from the functions helping, learning and social. The findings of this research are consistent with earlier studies which showed that *values/compassion, understanding* and *social* are important motives for medically qualified individuals to volunteer. An important motivational aspect that causes the subjects to volunteer with World Servants is the excellent organisational structure and instructions.

### **6.1. Suggestions and implications**

The findings of this study have some important implications for future practice. First and foremost is the implication that external rewards provided by volunteer organisations will have little value for the subjects. Instead, volunteer organisations should try to facilitate the internal motivation that volunteers already have. This could be done by providing structure and materials for the preparations for projects, e.g. ways to raise funds or meetings with other volunteers. This is further proved by the volunteer responses on the subject of the organisation. They expressed their appreciation of the way the organisation works and provides necessary materials. By providing materials and some regulations, the organisation enables the volunteer in their autonomous motivation. Providing strict rules or guidelines might discourage the volunteers because it provides a more controlling environment. This might also happen when more external incentives are used to attract volunteers. Besides, the sheer enjoyment one can receive from the volunteer work is an incentive for these volunteers. Providing the opportunity for well organised volunteering is therefore the most important thing the volunteer organisation does and all that the volunteers require of them. There is little need for the organisation to find ways to further motivate the volunteers that are driven by their intrinsic motivation, because it is difficult to externally influence and already can be considered the largest driving force an individual has. The intrinsic motivation that comes from helping, learning and the projects in general are most important for volunteers who have experience in volunteering; providing for this need may prove to help in retaining volunteers.

Volunteers who express the desire to help are most likely to be supported by providing them with the opportunity to do this. An excellent way to motivate these volunteers is to show them the effects of their work and to provide opportunities to meet the locals they wish to help during their projects. An organisation may provide them with the objectives they need to do their volunteering, such as a clear target or goal for their building and other aspects of the project, e.g. local meetings and cultural visits.

Individuals who express the desire to learn can already begin to do so in the Netherlands by being provided with the opportunity to attend medical trainings and other materials they could study to prepare for the project. This could for example be done through a small course on tropical diseases, which a number of participants indicated to be a subject they are not overly familiar with. The opportunity to learn more about the medical field and to practice these skills could be motivational for new volunteers. A course of action to be considered would be to have new volunteers follow a basic training, while experienced volunteers can follow a more intensive course on tropical diseases and other less common illnesses. Although on the one hand the more complicated course may be of limited use during the project, it is likely to motivate the volunteers by satisfying their desire to learn, especially as the subjects discussed vary through the years. During the projects these volunteers will likely wish to have the opportunity to ask questions, not just see everything. Visits to a hospital or clinic may prove to be the highlight of their projects if they have the chance to satisfy their curiosity. The desire to learn can also be satisfied through personal and spiritual growth. This could be accomplished by the already existing good-morning-groups, which discuss many personal topics, and the church meetings, but could be furthered by similar meetings with locals and more in-depth discussions. Facilitating this could also increase motivation and attract more volunteers who feel attracted to these aspects.

The volunteers who are intrinsically motivated by the different aspects of a project are the easiest to satisfy. Their desire to socialise with the group, staff and locals is provided for simply by going on a project. Other than that, to facilitate their desires a project would need to include seeing the sights, tasting local foods, visiting local families and other such cultural visits. Similar to the *learner*, these volunteers will especially enjoy visits to hospitals and clinics. These are all ideas that have already been implemented by World Servants, which could explain why these are the volunteers that keep returning, sometimes even for over ten projects. The final suggestion for these volunteers is to never stop doing this: they love it.

Another implication is that in advertising the organisation and projects, the type of projects should be highlighted. The duration and intensity of the volunteer work appears to attract the medical volunteers, who may not want to spend a fixed amount of time each week on volunteering, but instead prefer to be able to determine their own hours, while only committing to a three-week period of fulltime volunteering. The structuring of their own fundraising and time spent doing that allows them to remain autonomous if they wish, but also to join an existing group or start one if they prefer.

More suggestions can always be made, but the important thing to remember in all of them is whether the ideas satisfy either the desire to help, learn or enjoy the different aspects of a project, especially social. If the answer is yes, then the ideas are likely to attract volunteer or retain them. Extrinsic motives are unlikely to cause medically trained individuals to volunteer and may even repel them because this clashes with their values and their intrinsic motivation.

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## Appendix A.

### Topiclijst

- Inleidend:
  - Wie ben je?
  - Welke opleiding/ werk doe je?
  - Hoe ben je bij WS terecht gekomen?
- Algemene motivatie:
  - Breed beginnen: wat motiveert je om op project te gaan?
- Intrinsieke en extrinsieke motivatie:
  - Wat krijg je terug?
  - Wat wil je graag leren/meenemen van een project?
  - *Values*: altruïsme en normen/waarden van WS?
  - *Social*: hoe belangrijk is het sociale aspect?
  - *Enhancement*: is persoonlijke groei belangrijk?
  - *Understanding*: is professionele groei belangrijk?
  - *Career*: denk je dat dit goed is voor je cv?
  - *Protective*: wat doet het voor je zelfbeeld?
  - *Geloof*: Hoe belangrijk is het geloof in jouw motivatie?
- Project:
  - Waarom deze vorm van vrijwilligerswerk?
  - Wat zou je motiveren om nog een keer mee te gaan op project?
- Organisatie:
  - Waarom koos je deze organisatie?
  - Wat zou WS kunnen doen om meer aan te spreken?
  - Waardoor zou je niet gaan?

## Appendix B.

### Paper publieke functie

# Publieke functie van World Servants

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Hester Top 3511138

Master Strategisch Human Resource Management

Utrechtse School Bestuurs- en Organisationswetenschap

Universiteit Utrecht

11 maart 2013

## Introductie

Als er sprake is van een publieke functie denken we al snel aan de overheid. Toch is de scheidslijn tussen publieke en private organisaties enigszins vaag. Welgesteld zijn er immers ook private organisaties die een publieke functie vervullen. Bozeman (1987) stelt zelfs dat “[s]ome organizations are governmental, but all organizations are public” (p. xi). Hij beweert dus dat alle organisaties een publieke functie vervullen binnen onze samenleving. Een supermarkt is bijvoorbeeld een private onderneming, maar vervult wel de publieke functie van voedselvoorziening, één van de basisbehoeften van een samenleving. Ook moet een supermarkt rekening houden met institutionele regelgeving. Dit betekent dat de er dus wel degelijk een vorm van publiek toezicht is op een private organisatie. Op deze manier valt dus te beargumenteren dat alle organisaties publiek zijn. Bozeman stelt verder dat er niet zwart-wit gekeken moet worden of een organisatie publiek is, maar dat er verschillende gradaties zijn in de *publiekheid* van organisaties (p. xi). Er zijn dus niet alleen publieke en private organisaties, maar ook organisatievormen die daar tussen vallen. Rainey (2003) onderschrijft de ideeën van Bozeman en noemt dit hybride organisaties (p. 59). Hiermee bedoelt hij zowel private organisaties die publieke aspecten hebben als publieke organisaties met private kenmerken. We kunnen dus concluderen dat een organisatie bijna nooit helemaal privaat of publiek is, maar van allebei de organisatievormen aspecten heeft. In dit paper wordt gekeken naar de publieke en private kenmerken van World Servants Nederland.

## Formele aspecten

Rainey (2003) benoemt een tweetal formele aspecten waaraan een publieke organisatie te herkennen is, namelijk financiering en eigendom. In dit paper wordt eigendom uitgesplitst in eigendom en zeggenschap. De drie formele aspecten die in dit paper dus bekeken worden zijn inkomsten, eigendom en zeggenschap.

World Servants Nederland is een stichting en heeft dus geen eigenaren. Het is dus moeilijk om te iets te zeggen over eigendom, maar aangezien de overheid geen invloed heeft gehad op de oprichting kunnen we stellen dat de stichting toch privaat eigendom is. In ieder geval kunnen we spreken over privaat geestelijk eigendom.

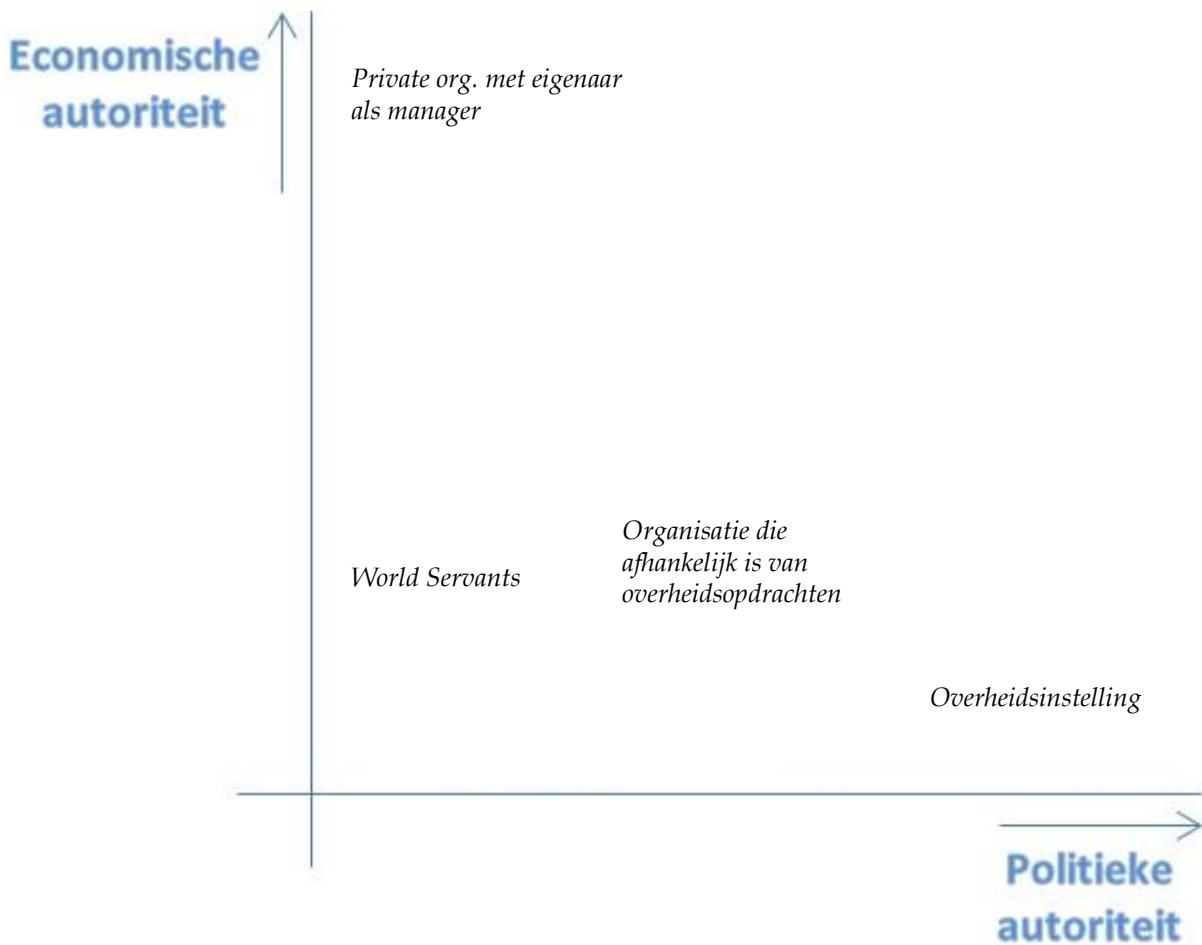
Zeggenschap ligt volledig in handen van het bestuur dat bestaat uit bestuursleden die onafhankelijk zijn van de organisatie. Zij mogen bijvoorbeeld geen familieleden hebben die werken voor World Servants en komen vaak uit verschillende sectoren (World Servants, 2011). Zeggenschap over de organisatie is dus bijna volledig privaat. De organisatie moet namelijk natuurlijk wel rekening houden met constitutionele fit, aangezien ze zich aan de wet moet houden.

De belangrijkste bron van inkomsten van World Servants zijn de deelnemers zelf. Zij zijn verantwoordelijk voor 65% van de totale inkomsten van de organisatie (World Servants, 2011). Daarnaast komt nog 23% van de inkomsten binnen via giften en andere resultaten en 12% komt van premies en subsidies. World Servants is dus voor 88% privaat gefinancierd. We kunnen dus concluderen dat de organisatie formeel gezien bijna helemaal privaat is.

## Positionering

Om een beter idee van publiekheid te krijgen positioneert Rainey (2003) organisaties in een grafiek met op de assen economische en politieke autoriteit. Met economische autoriteit bedoelt hij de mate waarin organisaties controle hebben over hun eigen geld (hier scoren private organisaties met de eigenaar als manager bijvoorbeeld hoog op). Politieke autoriteit slaat op autoriteit die een

organisatie heeft om voor burgers besluiten te nemen(hier scoren overheidsinstellingen hoog op). In Figuur 1 is te zien hoe World Servants Nederland zich verhoudt tot andere soorten organisaties.



**Figuur 1 "Publiekheid"**  
Bron: Aangepast van Rainey, 2003.

De economische autoriteit van World Servants is beperkt omdat ze als stichting weinig eigendom heeft. Verder is er weinig vrijheid om te bepalen waar het geld heen gaat, aangezien ze als stichting geen winst mag uitkeren. Ook de politieke autoriteit van World Servants is minimaal. Het is immers een kleine organisatie die alleen voor haar eigen vrijwilligers besluiten kan nemen en geen politieke invloed heeft. Dit zorgt ervoor dat World Servants op allebei de assen laag scoort.

### Identiteit

Een andere manier om naar de publiekheid van organisaties te kijken is door de private en publieke identiteiten zoals Noordegraaf & Teeuw(2003) die beschrijven. Noordegraaf & Teeuw benoemen verschillende elementen van identiteit, namelijk doelgerichtheid, oorzakelijkheid, tijd en orde(p. 8). Volgens Noordegraaf & Teeuw heeft een publieke organisatie een “teleologische opvatting van doelgerichtheid, een holistisch idee van oorzakelijkheid, een dynamisch besef van tijd en een horizontaal idee van orde”(p. 8). Daarentegen omvat een private identiteit “een ateleologische opvatting van doelgerichtheid, een atomistisch idee van oorzakelijkheid, een statisch besef van tijd en een verticaal idee van orde”(p. 8). Om een goed idee te krijgen van welke identiteit World Servants heeft, moeten we eerst kijken naar wat ze willen uitstralen en wat ze werkelijk doen.



World Servants Nederland is een stichting die in 1988 is opgericht in navolging van World Servants USA. Jaarlijks stuurt World Servants rond de 800 vrijwilligers (voor het grootste deel jongeren van 16-23 jaar) naar voornamelijk Afrika en Zuid-Amerika om daar in drie weken aan de ruwbouw van een project, zoals een school of kliniek, mee te werken. Ook wordt geprobeerd om de vrijwilligers een stuk van de cultuur van het land te laten zien waar ze zijn en wordt daarnaast gewerkt aan persoonlijke groei en het geloofsleven van de vrijwilligers.

Het motto van World Servants is 'Bouwen aan jezelf door te bouwen voor een ander'. Het doel van de organisatie is dus tweeledig. Enerzijds en meest voor de hand liggend is het doel om een project te realiseren in het buitenland. Anderzijds wil World Servants een stukje maatschappelijke verantwoordelijkheid en persoonlijk leiderschap ontwikkelen bij de vrijwilligers. Dit wordt duidelijker in een praktisch voorbeeld: de kinderen van een gemeenschap in Ghana moeten ruim een uur lopen naar de dichtstbijzijnde school. De gemeenschap dient een aanvraag voor een school in bij AGREDS, een Ghanese ontwikkelingsorganisatie die de aanvraag goedkeurt en doorspeelt naar World Servants. Samen regelen zij dat dit een World Servants project wordt. Dit betekent dat maximaal 40 vrijwilligers zich in kunnen schrijven voor dit project. Die vrijwilligers komen uit heel Nederland, vaak in kleinere groepjes die samen het geld ophalen dat nodig is om het project te realiseren. Zo zijn ze dus in Nederland al bezig met persoonlijke ontwikkeling en bewustwording en wordt ook in hun omgeving maatschappelijk bewustzijn ontwikkeld. Vervolgens gaat de groep drie weken naar Ghana. Daar besteden zij hun tijd aan bouwen, maar ook aan kinderwerk en cultuur. Zo gaan ze bijvoorbeeld op bezoek bij Ghanese gezinnen om kennis op te doen over andere culturen. Hiermee bouwen ze dus aan zichzelf als wereldburger, maar ook aan de ontwikkeling van de gemeenschap in Ghana. Daar kunnen de kinderen naar school en heeft gemeenschap het belang van samenwerking kunnen zien.

Uit dit voorbeeld van een gemiddeld project blijkt dat World Servants een holistische opvatting heeft van oorzakelijkheid. Er is geen eenduidig idee van oorzaak en gevolg; het effect van een project is complex en heeft meerdere doelen. Dit is zowel de intentie van World Servants, gekenmerkt door het eerdergenoemde motto, als ook de praktijk. Sinds 2009 heeft World Servants gewerkt met de *Most Significant Change* theorie (World Servants Nederland, 2010). Dit is een "participatieve monitoring- en evaluatietechniek, waarmee verhalen en gegevens over de impact van een project of programma vier of vijf jaar na de implementatie verzameld en geanalyseerd worden" (p. 6). Met deze techniek onderzoekt World Servants de impact die de projecten hebben gehad op de gemeenschap. Zo meten ze niet alleen of er meer kinderen naar school gaan, maar ook het effect op de gemeenschap door het project. De opvatting van oorzakelijkheid kan dus zeker als holistisch worden gezien.

De doelgerichtheid van World Servants is sterk teleologisch. Teleologisch betekent: gericht op het verwezenlijken van een hoger doel (Noordegraaf & Teeuw, 2003). World Servants is gericht op ontwikkeling zowel in het buitenland als in Nederland. In Nederland willen ze maatschappelijke bewustzijn ontwikkelen en in het buitenland educatie en gezondheid. Ook de christelijke identiteit draagt bij aan het teleologische idee van doelgerichtheid. Dit doen ze door het uitdragen van dienstbaarheid en naastenliefde en ze stimuleren vrijwilligers om dit ook te doen. Dit gebeurt in de praktijk doordat er op project elke ochtend gespreksgroepjes zijn om over deze en andere onderwerpen te praten.

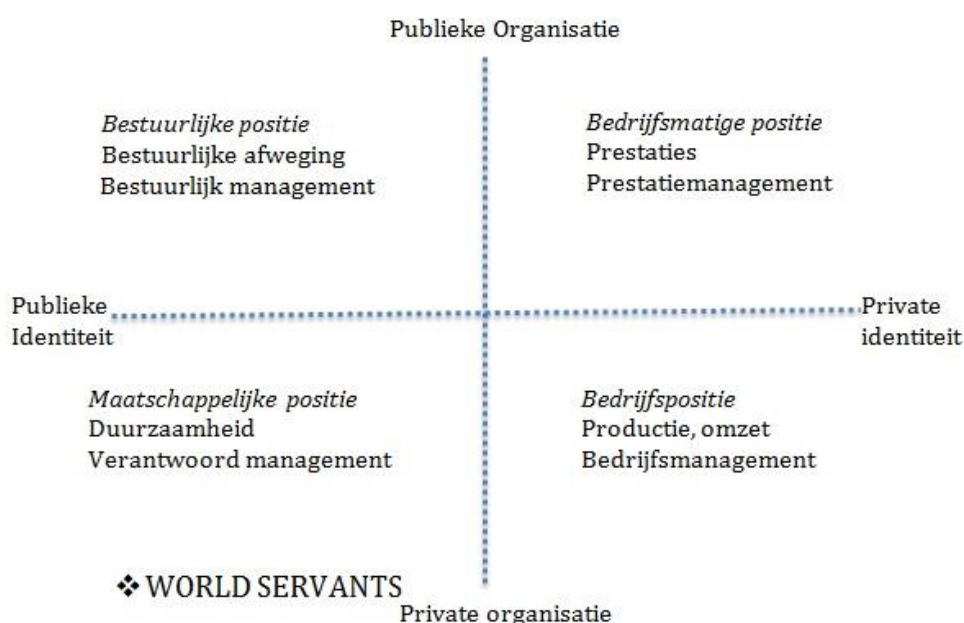
Het idee van tijd bij World Servants is op het eerste gezicht statisch. Een project wordt vaak opgezet en uitgevoerd binnen twee jaar. Daarna wordt er nog gedurende tien jaar regelmatig gecontroleerd en daarna is het project klaar en het doel bereikt. Toch stelt de organisatie zelf dat ze

met deze projecten ook op langere termijn werkt. Immers werkt World Servants eraan om jongeren te ontwikkelen tot wereldburgers (World Servants Nederland, 2010). Ook de projecten in het buitenland kunnen vanuit een dynamisch idee van tijd beschouwd worden. Wie weet zit een volgende president van Ghana wel op de school die World Servants daar gebouwd heeft. Het idee van tijd is dus dynamischer dan dat het lijkt.

Er is bij World Servants veelal sprake van horizontale orde. Hoewel de officiële structuur ook enigszins hiërarchisch is, namelijk doordat het bestuur de leiding heeft, is er in praktijk weinig sprake van een gezagsverhouding door hogere positie. Goed overleg op een informele manier is de dagelijkse gang van zaken op het kantoor. Hierdoor wordt optimaal gebruik gemaakt van de variëteit aan kwalificaties binnen de organisatie. Dit is ook nodig om zo goed mogelijk gebruik te kunnen maken van de talenten van zowel werknemers als vrijwilligers. De horizontale orde geeft veel ruimte voor de motivatie en het enthousiasme van de verschillende betrokkenen bij de organisatie.

Toch is er in de praktijk ook veel te vinden van private identiteit van World Servants. De vrijwilligers melden zich aan voor een jaar en in die tijd proberen zij hun doelen te halen. Dit getuigt van een statisch idee van tijd en ateleologische doelgerichtheid. De doelen die gesteld worden zijn praktisch, variërend van een financieringsdoel tot het realiseren van ruwbouw binnen de beschikbare drie weken. Ook is er voor de vrijwilligers op project zeker sprake van verticale orde. Op reis gaat er een staf mee die de leiding heeft en verantwoordelijkheid draagt voor de groep. Dit is een duidelijke gezagsverhouding en de taken zijn ook sterk afgebakend. Binnen de staf is er zelfs ook nog sprake van verticale orde. Er is een hoofdleder die de leiding heeft over de staf en een medisch staflid die zich zelfs daar nog boven kan verheffen in medische situaties. Ook zijn er duidelijke financiële targets die gehaald moeten worden. In zekere zin is het bedrijf dus winstgericht, al dient die winst wel tot een hoger doel. De private identiteit van de organisatie komt vooral boven wanneer het moeilijk gaat, bijvoorbeeld door de financiële crisis. Het wordt dan belangrijker om geld binnen te halen en er wordt dan meer energie gestonken in fondsenwerving dan in vorming en toerusting.

*Figuur 2 Organisatorische posities*



We kunnen dus concluderen dat World Servants een sterke publieke identiteit heeft. In Figuur 2 is te zien hoe de organisatie is gepositioneerd in het conceptuele schema dat Noordegraaf & Teeuw(2003) hebben opgesteld (p. 9). World Servants valt gezien haar publieke identiteit en private organisatiekenmerken in de linkeronderhoek, oftewel in de maatschappelijke positie.

## Conclusie

World Servants is formeel een private organisatie, maar met een duidelijk publieke identiteit. Het is een organisatie die streeft naar maatschappelijke ontwikkeling bij zowel Nederlanders als bewoners van derdewereldlanden. De private kenmerken die te vinden zijn bij de organisatie dienen over het algemeen het hogere doel van de stichting. Het feit dat de organisatie formeel privaat is, draagt dus bij aan het publieke karakter dat ze heeft en zorgt ervoor dat haar maatschappelijke functie uitgevoerd kan worden.

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