'That's exciting'

A research on how employees of Icco experience changes, related to their motivation.

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Preface

This report is my master thesis for the study 'Organization, Change and Management' at the USBO, University of Utrecht. The topic of this research is the motivation of employees of a development organization in the Netherlands, related to changes within the organization as well as changes in the environment. This research was held within Icco, a Dutch development organization, at their head office in Utrecht.

My interest for the development sector in general and especially NGDO's stems among other things from my former study 'International Development' and the experiences I have had with these organizations and their work. In the future I would like to work in this sector and this was an important reason for choosing this topic. Although I don't work for an NGDO myself (yet), I notice that I am often confronted with the criticism and discussions regarding this sector. This made me wonder how employees of these organizations experience the pressure and deal with it. The internal changes that take place within Icco are something that I have experienced during my former study, although from a distance, but therefore, I was interested in these changes as well. Furthermore, it seemed to be an unavoidable issue. During this research I learned a lot about the sector and about the people who work in it from a totally different perspective then I used to have. Besides the knowledge that I acquired by this research, it was a very nice orientation on the sector, the organization and the different departments. I learned a lot about organizational life within an NGDO. Furthermore, by doing this research, I was able to take a better look at my own motivation and experiences, which was very helpful and interesting.

First of all, I would like to thank Martijn Koster, for his guidance during my research. One of my goals for this thesis was to learn more about proper data analysis as well as linking this to the literature, and in my opinion I have developed in this. Next I would like to thank Kees van der Berg and Ariëlle Bloemendaal for giving me the opportunity to do this research within Icco. Thanks to their time and assistance, I was able to do my research, could meet the rights people and get the right information. Perhaps most important, I would like to thank all the employees within Icco who took their time to share their experiences and opinions with me. As mentioned above, these interviews were very interesting to me, both for my research and myself. Furthermore, I would like to thank my fellow-students Eveline, Annelies and Dorine for a nice and fruitful cooperation as well as their support. At last, I would like to thank David, Yvon, Eileen, Marije and my family for their social and financial support, their meals and especially their patience.

Summary

This research concerns the experiences of the employees of Icco regarding the changes in and around the organization. The motivation of these employees can be separated into a basic motivation - which aims at contributing to 'higher goals', such as 'contributing to a better world - and daily motivation factors. It is possible to link these daily motivation factors in different degrees to the basic motivations of people. Issues that motivate people are: seeing results, contact with people, travelling and colleagues, while demotivation arises mainly due to things that frustrate people's work. However, people distinguish demotivation and 'less motivation', which indicates that they experience different degrees in (de)motivation.

Commitment is important for all respondents, however this can take many different forms. People might experience different types and kinds of commitment at the same time and are therefore able to shift easily between the different types of commitment they experience. Motivation and commitment seem to be very similar concepts, however they influence behaviour independently and their effects might be inconsistent. All respondents believe in the ProCoDe process, while at the same time, they express their frustrations, negative opinions and doubts. There are several things that demotivate people in this process, especially when it frustrates their work or when they have to deal with all the colleagues that leave the organizations. However, sometimes, demotivation can be a source of motivation, which makes the relationship between both factors quite complex. The different types of commitment are important for the way people deal with change. It can clarify why certain things are demotivating for people or not and in the same time, people use these different types of commitment to cope with change, by shifting between the different forms of commitment. Another very important way in which the employees deal with change is through meaning-focused coping, such as 'understanding' or 'using terms that make multiple interpretations possible'. Similar coping mechanisms are used for dealing with external changes and this research shows that employees have a bag of coping responses which they use in different situations, alternating each other. This makes the 'reality' of people complex, since it is continuously moving.

There are many 'shared' characteristics of the Icco-employee, which suggest a kind of norm that shaped people's thought and behaviour regarding desired behaviour. Aspects that were mentioned among many other things were 'positive minded', 'looking at things from different perspectives' and 'careful consideration'. These are positive attitude which are very useful for people in making sense of reality and coping with changes and negative feelings. However, a norm might have other implications as well. Those changes that affect people's daily work directly influence their motivation the most, often in a negative way. Surprisingly, certain external changes such as criticism and the prospective of less funding are experienced as motivating. These issues are however an example of how employees of Icco are constantly manoeuvring through change, dealing with positive and negative issues. Therefore, people might experience positive and negative issues as the same time, when they are in search for a manageable and satisfying situation. Many experience the future of the organization as a threat, although they seem to deal with this through separating the organization from the sector. This also explains that people can cope with their personal future, since their personal future, on the long term, doesn't have to be within Icco.

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Introduction

The main question of this research is: *'How do the employees of Icco experience their motivation in a changing organization and a changing environment?'* and this question will be answered by focussing on the experiences of individuals, their interpretations and their feelings. This will be achieved by focussing on the motivation of people, on the way they experience commitment and the coping mechanisms they use. This is done to find out what happens in an organization on a micro level during change and during times of pressure, which is strongly related to the work of the organization as a whole.

My personal interest in the development sector and NGDO's in general already existed before I started this research. This specific topic was one of the topics that interested me in the sector and this one was chosen due to multiple conversations with people in the sector. A research that focuses on feelings, interpretations and experiences of people was something totally new for me. Although I am not neutral towards the development sector at all, I started quite neutral with this research, since I hadn't focused on concepts as motivations, commitment and coping before. The pressure on the sector was however a topic that I have been following for quite a long time and my personal experiences made me interested in the experiences of people who work in NGDO's. This research focuses on the employees of Icco, which is one of the biggest and oldest development organizations in The Netherlands, and besides dealing with the Dutch context, they just undergone huge organizational changes with many important implications for their employees. Therefore, this organization is a very interesting context for this research.

Organizations are part of their context; they influence the environment, while their environment influences them. Employees are part of the organization as well as an important link with the environment. They largely determine what happens in the organizations and are therefore important for the success of the organization's work. Since this research assumes that employees of a development organization have a very special and strong motivation, they might be even more important. This research focuses on their motivation and how it relates to, and is influenced by, changes within and outside the organization. Focussing on their experiences and feelings regarding these topics provide a different understanding of what happens in organizations and how the experiences of employees relate to the organization as a whole.

To understand the employees of Icco, this research makes use of qualitative research methods, especially open interviews. A special focus thereby was on how employees interpret and give meaning to the world around them, including changes, since this also influences the behaviour of individuals and thereby that of the organization as a whole. The stories of people were compared with each other, to search for similarities, differences as well as contradictions.

Chapter 1 describes the design used for this research, which explains the choices that are made and tells more about the respondents of this research. Since this research discusses many different changes, chapter 2 will give more insight in the changes in and outside Icco, as well as some other background information. This research made use of literature regarding motivation, commitment, coping and culture, to clarify and explain the results of this research. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the literature used. The results of this research are described in chapter 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 4 deals with the motivation and commitment of employees in general, as well as certain aspects of the Culture of Icco as perceived by the employee. Chapter 5 focuses on the experiences and coping mechanisms of people regarding organizational change, whereby the ProCoDe process is an important topic. Chapter 6 follows with people's experiences of changes in the environment of the organization, as well as their coping responses and future perspectives. In chapter 7 all results are combined to the conclusion in which the research questions are answered.

Chapter 1 Research design

This research aims to understand the experiences of the employees of Icco regarding change. This chapter will explain how this research is designed. Attention will be paid to the methods used, the decisions made and the points that received special attention. The first paragraph sets out why this research is started, followed by the research questions in paragraph 1.2 and the goals of this research in paragraph 1.3. Paragraph 1.4 pays attention to the unit of analysis and paragraph 1.5 describes the different methodologies used, the way the data was analysed, and pays attention to the reliability, validity and generalization of this research.

1.1   Problem statement

The (Dutch) development sector is a complex and dynamic sector, with multiple actors and stakeholders, each with their own interests and responsibilities. The sector has changed and grown over the years, as well as the organizations in it. The big NGDO's in the Netherlands have a long history, whereby they are supported by Dutch citizens as well as the Dutch government. NGDO's became bigger and more professional over the years. However, in the last decades, the support on the sector has slowly diminished; criticism is now openly expressed and the usefulness of the sector subjected to debate, by the general public as well as in science and politics. The professionalism and effectiveness are important themes in this debate. Adding to this some salary and fraud scandals, together with the economical crisis and the right-winged political tendency in the Netherlands, the Dutch NGDO's are under huge pressure. (The specific changes in the sector and within the organizations are described in chapter 2).

Research on change in development organizations is mainly focused on sector or organizational level, instead of the employee level. However, employees are very important for organizations as well as for the changes within these organizations. Organizations are socially constructed, (Giddens, 2001; Man, 2009), since people have their own interpretations of reality, which influences their thoughts and behaviour. This is also the case for organizations during change, where people all have their own interpretation of what exactly happens, what caused it and how they can or should deal with it. Demers (2007) describes the practice-centered approach, which focuses on the practices within organizations. This approach focuses especially on the capacity of individuals within organizations, the capacity to act, to interact, to create rules or norms, to choose, to use language and to behave. It is said that this makes it possible to initiate changes in the organization, small or big, to change reality (Demers, 2007; Pettigrew et al, 2001; Man, de, 2009). Therefore, a focus on micro activities is important.

This research focuses therefore on the individual employees within the NGDO and their experience of motivation during change. The motivation of these employees in assumed to be based on a strong link with the goals of the organization (Brinckerhoff, 2009). Furthermore, these employees are often labelled as 'idealistic'. If this motivation is indeed very important, it becomes interesting how people experience this motivation during change. What does it mean that their organizations are changing, developing, growing and or professionalizing? And what does it mean for them that the sector and the organization in which they work is under pressure from so many different directions? How do they experience these changes and what does it mean for their motivation, a motivation which is very important for the organization. Their feelings and behaviours are important, since they can be the antecedents of change or stability, which in turn might influence the organizations and its work as a whole. Especially in times in which the sector is under huge pressure, it is important to understand the employee in this organization.

1.2   Research Questions

From the problem statement, the following research question arises:

'How do the employees of Icco experience their motivation in a changing organization and a changing environment?'

The respondents of this research work for Icco, which is one of the biggest and oldest Dutch development organizations. Icco is an organization which has recently undergone far reaching changes, which makes it very suitable for this research. To find an answer on this main research question, the following sub questions are formulated:

1. How do the employees of Icco experience their motivation in their work?
2. In which way does this motivation change over time?
3. In which way do the employees feel committed to the organization and the goals?
4. How do the employees of Icco experience the changes within Icco?
5. How do the employees of Icco experience the changes in the environment of Icco?
6. How can the experiences of the employees regarding these different changes be linked to motivation and commitment?
7. How do the employees deal with or cope with demotivation in these times of change?
8. How do the employees experience the future of the development sector, of Icco and their own role in this?

1.3   Research goals

The goal of this research is to provide insight in the experiences of employees in a development organization during a period of change. The aim is to learn about the ways that internal and external changes are related to the individual employee, their interpretations, feelings and motivations. This research adds to the literature on coping of employees, by focussing on employees with a 'special' motivation. Initially, this research focuses on employees of a development organization. However, it might also be relevant for other employees, people with comparable motivation, such as employees in the non-profit sector.

This research isn't done by order of Icco to solve a certain problem and the aim is not to come up with recommendations for management tools either. However, this research might be useful for Icco in several ways. First of all, it can provide employees insight into their own experiences and especially that of their colleagues, since it might describe things from another perspective, and highlight those things they take for granted. By focussing on the feelings, experiences, interpretations, visions and coping mechanisms of employees, this research aims to discover, explain and describe changes from the employee's perspective. What (de)motivates them, what are their difficulties and strengths during change, how do they give meaning to change and their motivation and how do they cope with change? How these issues relate to the organization as a whole and the different policies within the organization might be very useful for the management of Icco. They can use these insights for self-reflection or organization changes, but especially to learn about their employees; how their experiences explain or clarify what happens, and how the organization can help them, or the other way around.

1.4   Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis of this research is the individual employee. Table 1 provides a brief overview of the amount of employees interviewed, as well the departments they work in. The orienting interviews were used to test and adapt the research questions as well as the topic list and at the same time to get a general impression of the organization and its employees. Since many results from the orienting interviews are relevant for this research, these results are added to that of the main interviews. The

reflection interviews were used to check certain results, from the orienting interviews and the main interviews. These reflective interviews were held multiple times with two managers of Icco.

Table 1: overview of interviews

Type of interview	No. of respondents	No. of interviews	Departments/ positions
Orientation	4	One	Different
Main	13	One	Different, but related to content of the mission.
Orientation and reflection	2	Multiple	Managers

The thirteen main interviews were held with respondents from different departments of the organization. The criteria used by selecting them were that they should a) have a position which is directly related to the mission of the organization and b) have a new position in the Global Office or at least a job until the end of 2010. Since it is assumed that the motivation of the employees is linked to the mission of the organization, employees from supporting departments were excluded. Although their experiences and motivation during change are very valuable, it might be expected that their motivation works slightly different. The respondents of this research came from the following departments: 'Policy and Development', 'Communication, Campaigns and Fundraising', 'International Programme' and the 'Regional Offices'. Only Dutch employees from the regional offices were approached, since this research focuses on the Dutch development sector and context. This research excluded people from the selection that are supernumerary or who will soon loose their job. Since this topic might be very sensitive for those people at the moment that this research was done and they were often not working in the organization anymore, these people weren't approached for practical reasons as well as reasons of respect.

The respondents of this research were selected in consultation with the managers that supported me within Icco. The reasons for this were that at the moment of this research, some people were just assigned for new positions, while for other people their future was still insecure. However, I tried to select the employees myself as much as possible, while aiming at an equal distribution over departments, ages and gender. This was done to make the results of this research as representative for the organization as possible. The respondents received an introduction email from one of the mangers, which explained my research and introduced me. After this, I approached the respondents by email myself, mentioning that I worked independently from the managers. For privacy reasons the interviews in this research are used anonymously. In annex 1 an overview is given of the general characteristics of the respondents. In this research, numbers are used to refer to the respondents.

1.5   Methodology
Since this research tries to gain insight into the experiences of individual employees, I chose to make use of qualitative research, which makes it possible to learn about the underlying meanings, interpretations and experiences of people. The research uses a framework that comes close to what Silverman describes as emotionalism (2005: p. 11, 98). This model focuses on the experiences, emotions, meanings, perceptions and authentic insights of people. The data for this research is mainly collected through open interviews. Other methods used were document analysis, literature analysis and observations. This paragraph will describe the methods and the way they were used.

1.5.1   Document analysis
For this research, multiple (internal) documents were analyzed. The aim of this analysis was to learn about the organization in general, the organizational changes, the history of the organization and policies regarding personnel. This was done to have a certain background before starting the

interviews, so that their stories could be understood in a better way. Although the reality of people was more important than the 'paper' reality in documents, documents were also studied. Besides internal documents, newspapers and articles in specific journals were studied.

1.5.2 Interviews

Interviewing has been the most important method used to collect data for this research. The interviews of this research can be described as being in between unstructured/open and semi-structured interviews. During the interviews, a topic list was used as a guidance, which contains certain topics and some specific questions. The topic list can be found in annex 2. All topics were discussed, but the order in which these topics were discussed and the length in which they were discussed, were up to the respondent. This was done to find out which topics were most important for people, to let people talk as much as possible about their views and experience and don't reduce their stories to bounded answers. During the interviews, certain questions were added or dropped, when new things were added to the topic list and to test certain results, ideas and interpretations.

1.5.3 Observations

This research made use of some observations. The aim of these observations was to get a general idea of the organization and its employees and some general impressions of the culture. These general impressions were used to understand the data from the interviews and put them in the right context. During six weeks time, when the interviews were held, I worked in the office of Icco in Utrecht. This gave me a good impression of the daily work in the organization, the building, the offices, the halls and the canteen. The interviews themselves were sometimes held in people's offices, but often in a special meeting room. Besides that, I have attended a meeting for employees, in which the latest news and developments were discussed and people could ask the management questions. Another thing I observed were some DVD's of the Icco-cabaret from the last few years. These gave a nice impression of the organizational changes and (de)motivations of the employees as well as people's feelings.

1.5.4 Literature study

The literature that is studied for this research is used as a guidance for data collection and analysis. Books and articles related to the development sector, employee motivation, coping mechanisms, culture and work place commitment were studied, as well as literature on organizational change. In the beginning of this research, the literature was used to explore certain concepts, to focus and design my research. Although it is still far from 'naturalism' (Silverman, 2005: p.379), an attempt is made to start this research with an open attitude, without using too much theoretical concepts beforehand. I tried to induce themes and conclusions from the data itself, after which I looked for similar phenomena in the literature. The literature was therefore used to explain phenomena, frame the results and relate them to social theory. Literature study and data analysis were used alternatingly, so that they could strengthen each other.

1.5.5 Analysis

The data in this research was analyzed in a way which comes close to the narrative approach (Silverman, 2005: 154, 157). For this approach the focus doesn't lie on creating true pictures of reality, but instead on the reality seen from the perspectives of the respondents. This is important because the aim of this research is to find out how people experience changes, on how people talk about it, what they feel and how they give meaning to changes and their motivation. The interviews that were held were recorded on tape and were typed out as soon as possible. The transcription contained the literal conversation, as well as my doubts, questions, remarks and conclusions. These interviews were analyzed by using MaxQDA. I encoded the interviews with very specific codes in the beginning and gradually worked to more general umbrella codes. Within these codes, I sought for links and general

themes. This analysis was a process in which coding, linking and literature study alternated each other. When the general themes were determined, a beginning was made with writing. However, until the last moment, writing was alternated again with literature study.

During my research I kept a research diary in which I wrote down my questions, early ideas, remarks and conclusions. This diary was an important way to remember and follow my own thoughts and ideas. By continuously re-reading this diary, as a sense of self-reflexivity, I was able to stay as close as possible to my previous interpretations, while adding new ideas, links and theories and checking my own process.

1.5.6 Reliability and validity

Reliability of a qualitative research requires special attention, since it is based on interpretative and difficult measurable data. By writing the results for this report, I tried to distinguish the ideas and statements of the respondents from my own interpretations as much as possible. This was done by using many quotes and explicitly adding my interpretation. This was also a point of attention during the writing process, so that my interpretations weren't lost somewhere in between. Furthermore, I tried to mention, if possible and necessary, the meanings that respondents gave to a certain statement or term, so that this becomes as explicit as possible for the reader. In addition, much attention is paid to the different interpretations of people. Since there were many different interpretations of certain concepts, this is an important topic in my research.

By using different sources of data (triangulation) such as observations, documents and interviews with managers, next to the main interviews, I was able to test and check certain interpretations and statements. However, as mentioned before, not the reality in documents or that of managers is the focus of this research, but the reality of the employees. During the interviews, many questions were asked regarding people's interpretations and the different interpretations, stories and statement of people were discussed with the respondents. Furthermore, the stories of different respondents were extensively compared.

1.5.8 Generalization

This research concerns a very specific situation within Icco. Furthermore, employees of supporting departments were excluded. Another issue is that most of the respondents of this research were in a privileged situation, since most of them, although not all can stay with the organization and had just been assigned to a new position. However, with this in mind, the result of this research might provide insight into the experiences of other employees of Icco, since the respondents are selected in a way to make them representative for the entire organization as well as possible. This research might also be useful for improving an understanding other employees and organizations as well. This is especially the case for employees with similar motivation, such as employees at other development organizations or even organizations in the non-profit sector (Kluvers and Tippet, 2009, in §3.1.3). However, it doesn't describe the experiences of people in other organizations, since this research regards certain aspects that are very specific to the organization. However, it might be used for understanding and comparing.

Chapter 2 Important changes

This chapter will briefly discuss the most important changes in the development sector and within Icco, which provide a background for this research.

2.1   The Dutch context

The Dutch development sector is a very complex and dynamic sector, a sector that has a long history and which has grown throughout the years. Over the years, many different actors have entered the sector, such as small private initiatives, businesses and many different development organizations. Since the beginning, the Dutch government has been an important donor for the sector, especially for the big development organizations, among others Icco. The subsidy system has undergone many changes as well, the number of organizations who have to share the budget has increased and procedures have changed as was the case for the new subsidy period 2011-2015. Important implications were that the amount of organizations that could receive subsidy was reduced and organizations were advised to create alliances with other organizations. Another important change regards the amount of money available for the NGO's. The budget for the sector is 0.8% of the Dutch GDP and due to the economical crisis this budget has decreased with 385 million in 2009 (Minbuza, 2010). Furthermore, at the moment of this research, elections were just held and some right-wing parties, like VVD and PVV received many votes. One of the subjects they pursue regards a diminishing support from the government to the development sector. Abolishment of the sector was even mentioned preceding the elections. At the moment this research was held, there was a lot of insecurity regarding the formation of a new coalition. Support from the government, but also from the general public, isn't as self-evident as it has been before. Since citizens are more self-conscious and assertive towards those in power, there is more pressure for accountability in the public sector in general (Noordegraaf, 2004: p.55-58). This same trend is seen towards the NGDO's (Bakker, 2008; Bouzoubaa and Brok, 2005). Some scandals in the sector, regarding high salaries and fraud have only increased this pressure on NGDO's and their work. The international development sector is under pressure and many different actors now openly debate its impact and existence. Although (financial) support from Dutch citizens hasn't decreased (Gijsbers and van der Lelij, 2009), criticism on the sector has grown. Some issues that have been questioned are the effectiveness, results, quality of the development work and the financial situation and independency of NGDO's (Bouzoubaa and Brok, 2005). NGDO's are told to use more quality requirements, be accountable to the public and donor, be transparent and show tangible results to stay credible (Minbuza, 2009). Many Dutch citizens (66% in 2005) think that the development sector needs a different approach (Bouzoubaa and Brok, 2005). The development sector was mentioned as one of the sectors where cuts where preferred (Waard, 2010). The economical crisis and the political situation at the moment did strengthen this criticism.

2.2   Changes within Icco

Icco is one of the four big NGDO's in the Netherlands that have been supported by the Dutch government for a long time. Since Icco's initiation in 1964, the Dutch government is one of the most important donors. In 2008, 90% of Icco's budget came from the government. (Icco, 2010). For the next subsidy period, Icco handed in proposals with four different alliances and in April 2010, it became known that Icco had proceeded to the second round with three of the alliances. In October 2010 it will become clear which alliances will receive subsidy and what the amounts will be. The expectation is that this will be less than before.

Icco has undergone huge changes since its initiation. Only those changes that are discussed by the respondents of this research are described here. This begins with the cooperation between Icco and Kerk in Actie in 2004. Just before that, Icco moved from their office in Zeist, to Utrecht, and started

working in the same building as Kerk in Actie and the Dutch Protestant Church (PKN). This was followed by an internal reorganization; a shift from a geographical structure to a thematic structure, a shift with far reaching impact for the employees of Icco. Since 2007, Icco has started with a new reorganization, called ProCoDe, which stands for Programmatic work, Co-responsibility and Decentralization. In short this means the following (Icco, 2009-a):

- Programmatic work: By forming strategic alliances with other actors, among which businesses, Icco works together on certain theme's (programs), to bring about more complementarity and strengthen their programs and capacities.
- Co-responsibility: The establishment of regional boards, so that representatives from the different regions can influence and advice on policy development and activities of Icco.
- Decentralization: With the establishment of 8 regional work organizations, Icco will be closer to the field. In this regional organization, Dutch staff will work together with local staff as much as possible. The regional organizations will have contact with the Global Office in the Netherlands frequently, so that they can work together on several themes.

The goal of this programme is to work together with organizations and people all over the world in a fundamentally different way, with shared trust and responsibility, so that Icco can contribute in a more effective way to sustainable development. Besides this, the organization hopes that these changes fit to the changes and developments in their environment. A major implication of the ProCoDe process is that many employees of Icco, will have to leave the organization. The Global Office in the Netherlands will have around 100 employees, which used to be 240 employees before the reorganization started. Especially this implication has many difficult and emotional consequences for the employees. At the moment that this research was held, there were three groups of people in the organization; people who can stay with the organization in their old or in a new function, people who have to leave the organization in a short time, ranging from a few weeks to a few months, and people who are still uncertain about their future in the organization (Icco, 2010, b). The ProCoDe process is build up in three phases (Icco, 2009-a). The first phase (until mid 2007), which was mainly meant to further develop the plans, together with organizations all over the world, from the North and the South. During this phase, a feasibility study was started in three regions. The result was a proposal for the ICCO boards on the transformation of Icco. In phase two (2007-end 2009) co-responsibility and decentralization were implemented in four pilot regions. Regional councils were set up, as well as regional offices and new staff was appointed in the regions. Besides that, preparations were made for the other regions. Phase three (end 2009- end 2010) is the phase in which the process is finalized in the regions as well as in the office in Utrecht. This last aspect included huge adjustments.

At the time of this research, the ProCoDe process is still in progress. New structures, procedures and processes aren't yet crystallized, while people were in between finishing their former activities and starting up new ones. In addition, the general director of the organization had just announced to resign and it wasn't yet known who would replace him. This, together with the insecurities of the budget that will be allocated, makes the future of the organization quite insecure.

Chapter 3 Motivation, commitment and culture

Motivation, commitment, coping and culture are theoretical concepts that are important for this research and therefore they will be explored in this chapter. Work motivation is the main theme of this research and will therefore be discussed in paragraph 3.1, where different motivation factors pass in review. Paragraph 3.2 will deal with commitment, a concept which is closely related to motivation. This paragraph gives insight in the different types of commitment, as well as the link with motivation. Paragraph 3.3 focuses on coping mechanisms that can be used by employees. This topic deserves attention here since people might use coping mechanisms to deal with demotivation and other negative feelings they experience during change. The last concept of this research regards organizational culture. Although this concept isn't mentioned in any of the research questions (§ 1.2), it is important to get more insight into the literature on culture. This chapter will show that culture is a concept which is interwoven with the other concepts in this research, and therefore can't be neglected. This chapter forms the basis for this research, which is used to clarify, explain and structure the results of this research.

3.1   Work motivation

This paragraph focuses on literature regarding work motivation of employees in general. First of all, intrinsic and extrinsic motivation are discussed, followed by the self-concept model of motivation. In the last subparagraph, attention is given to the motivation of employees in the non profit sector and within NGO's.

3.1.1 Intrinsic and extrinsic motivation

One of the most known distinctions made in the literature on work motivation is the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. Herzberg (1959, in: Steers et al, 1996) describes extrinsic motivation as those factors that are linked to the environment or context or an organization. Kluvers and Tippet (2009, p.7) add to this that it is caused by '*the attainment of a separable outcome from the performance of an activity*'. Examples are financial rewards, but also other kinds of rewards, such as compliments, company policy, interpersonal relations, status or security (Herzberg). Intrinsic motivation is, according to Herzberg, determined by the content or someone's work, or as Kluvers and Tippet say 'the performance of an activity for the inherent satisfaction of the activity itself'. Examples of intrinsic factors are achievement, satisfaction or pride, the work itself, responsibility, advancement and a sense of doing something worthwhile. (Kluvers and Tippet; Steers). Steers et al (1996) add that intrinsic motivation is based on 'self-administered rewards', rather than on rewards that come from external agents, which is the case for extrinsic rewards. Von Grumbkow (1989, p. 77-80) specifies this by saying that intrinsic motivation means that the individual is motivated by the act when the objective lies within the act itself. This motivates people to accomplish their tasks as good as possible. Von Grumbkow mentions that there are three conditions for intrinsic motivation, which are

- People should feel responsible for the result of their job
- People perceive their work as useful
- People know the actual result of their work

Especially the second condition seems to be interesting for employees in the development sector, since 'useful work' is expected to be one of the main reasons that people choose their work. Useful work is described by Hackman and Oldman (1980, in: Von Grumbkow, 1989), as work which appeals to a variety of skills, has its own identity, has a clear and visible final result and contains tasks that have a

meaning in itself; i.e. are useful. This feeling increases when the task affects the lives of other people, which can be both inside as well as outside the organization.

According to Herzberg (1959, in: Steers et al, 1996), only intrinsic factors can increase motivation and production. In his motivator-hygiene theory, he distinguishes motivators (mainly intrinsic factors) and hygiene factors (mainly extrinsic factors). He declares that eliminating the causes of dissatisfaction don't result in satisfaction or motivation, but instead, in a neutral state. According to Herzberg, only motivators can result in motivation. This shows something about the relation between motivation and demotivation and a question that might be interesting for this research is whether this works also the other way around; whether a lack of motivation does result in directly in demotivation or not.

In between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation, Leonard et al (1999) distinguish another type of motivation, which is based on goal-internalization. This is the case when an individual adopts attitudes and behaviours because the content of it is congruent with one's personal value-system (Kelman, 1958 in: Leonard et al, 1999: p. 971). According to Leonard et al, this goal-internalization can be compared to what Etzioni (1975 in: Leonard et al, 1999: p.971) calls pure moral involvement. According to Etzioni, pure moral involvement means that a person has internalized certain norms. The other type of involvement which Etzioni distinguishes is social moral involvement, which occurs when a person is under pressure from groups and their members. Etzioni mentions that moral involvement isn't based on the satisfaction of needs and can even result in the denial of need satisfaction or the sacrifice of personal pleasure. Instead, a sense of affirmation is important to the individual when behaviour confirms a person's espoused values.

3.1.2 Self-concept model of work-motivation

Goal-internalization and moral involvement make clear that the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic motivation isn't sufficient for analysing motivation. Steers et al (1996) state that this distinction, along with other hedonistic-utilisation motivation models are based on needs, drives, rewards, outcomes and satisfaction alone and are therefore not sufficient to explain human behaviour. They say that these models separate the individual from society and thereby ignore one important function of work; that work connects the individual to concerns that transcend their personal existence. This means that individual satisfaction of needs isn't sufficient to explain work motivation, an issue that got already attention from Von Grumbkow by focussing on useful work. Steers et al suggest a self-concept based model of work motivation. This model is based on the following assumptions (Steers et al, 1996 p.154 – 156):

- Human beings aren't only goal-oriented, instrumental and calculative, but also self-expressive. According to Steers et al both should be analysed in human behaviour. Self expressive refers to the expressed feelings, attitudes and self-concepts. An example of this is self-sacrifice, something which is also mentioned by Etzioni. According to Steers et al, this occurs quite often, although in small proportions. Self-expressive behaviour should be analysed to explain non-rational behaviour.
- Human beings are motivated to maintain and enhance their self-esteem (a sense of competence, power and achievement) and self-worth (grounded in norms and values). According to Steers et al, self-esteem is linked to cultural invested attributes and that much behaviour of people is regulated by internal standards and self-evaluation. These self-evaluations are closely related to social values, such as the cultural notion of what is desirable. The importance of norms was also mentioned by Etzioni as being important for pure moral involvement.

- Human beings are motivated to retain and increase their sense of self-consistency; continuity between the past, the present and the future and a match between their behaviour and their self-concept.
- The self-concept consists partly of identities, which locate the self in socially recognisable categories.
- Behaviour isn't always related to clear expectations or to immediate and specific goals, but often guided by imagined possibilities of the self and faith. Possible selves, which can have an important influence on someone's behaviour, are described here as individuals' ideas of what they might become, what they would like to become and what they are afraid of becoming.

Steers et al add to this, that this model doesn't explain behaviour for a certain task and a specific situation, but it does for general work and job motivation. Also Leonard et al mention the self-concept; a combination of the perceived self, the ideal self and of social identities. They mention that the development of this self-concept *'motivates people to maintain and enhance the internalized view of oneself'* (Leonard et al, 1999: p.13). Important is that the self-concept model of motivation shouldn't replace analysis based on intrinsic or extrinsic motivation, but is should be a supplement. This model makes it possible to clarify inconsistent and non-rational behaviour.

3.1.3 *Motivation in the non profit sector and within NGO's*
The literature above covers ideas on motivation of employees in general. Since this research focuses on employees in quite a specific organization; an NGDO, it should be questioned whether there are special characteristics of these employees regarding their motivation. According to Brinckerhoff (2009) and de Ruiter (2007) this can be found in the personal link that these employees have with the mission of the organization. This link is, according to Fowler and Edwards (2002: p.8), not based on financial or material incentives (extrinsic factors), but only on the satisfaction of the personal values that a person persuades to work for an NGO. This complies with the idea of goal-internalization (Leonard) and pure moral involvement (Etzioni) and this puts attention on the personal mission of employees; 'the satisfaction of the personal values'.

Kluvers and Tippet (2009) mention that extrinsic rewards are not the first consideration of the employee in the non profit sector. However, their idea of extrinsic rewards is limited to economical rewards, while this is only one aspect of extrinsic motivation, as mentioned in paragraph 3.1.1. They state that the lower financial rewards, as often seen in this sector, are accepted since people consider the task to be very important. They point here to the altruistic values of people, which complies with the conditions for intrinsic motivation of Von Grumbkow (§3.1.1) and aspects of the self-concept model of motivation (§ 3.1.2). Schepers et al (2005) add that people who are working in the not-for-profit sector are motivated by altruism, personal growth, social contacts, opportunities to learn and intrinsic rewards. This shows that although intrinsic motivation may be very important, extrinsic factors should not be underestimated, especially the non financial extrinsic factors. In research, done by de Ruiter, regarding the link between the ideals of employees in Dutch NGO's and their work motivation, is stated that this link is two-folded. On the one hand, the work motivation of employees stems from the pursuit of personal goals, as explained with goal-internalization of Leonard et al. On the other hand, people's motivation is strengthened within the organization, due to a feeling of affirmation, because of the interaction between different employees (De Ruiter, 2007, p.38-39).

In the next chapters it will become clear how the personal missions of employees of Icco are linked to the mission of Icco as an organization. Furthermore, it will be interesting to find out how extrinsic and intrinsic motivation factors play a role for these employees, as well as non rational factors, as mentioned in the self-concept of motivation.

3.2   Commitment

A strong link between the mission and ideals of the employee of NGO's and that of the organization brings the attention to commitment. This assumes commitment of the employee with the organization and its goals. This paragraph focuses on literature on commitment, to discover the link between commitment and motivation as well as the characteristics of commitment and possible implications. Different types and forms of commitment will be discussed.

3.2.1   Commitment to what?

When talking about the commitment of employees, several 'types' of commitment are conceivable. Meyer and Herscovitch (2001) discuss multiple aspects in their article to which an employee can feel committed, which they label 'work-place commitment'. They describe a multitude of examples and the differences between these types of commitment seem often to be based on a difference in nuance. Some examples are: organizational commitment, job commitment, occupation or career commitment, goal commitment, commitment to strategy or commitment to organizational change. Muthuveloo and Che Rose mention that there are three kinds of commitment which are most important (2005, pp. 1078 -1079):

- Commitment to work/ job: this refers to the commitment of an individual with employment itself. The employee experiences a sense of duty towards the work and puts intrinsic value of the work as a central life interest.
- Commitment to career/ profession: this refers to identification and/or involvement of the employee with one's occupation or one's career, which can also be called 'professionalism'.
- Commitment to organization: this refers to the commitment to the organization itself. Loyalty towards the organization and the intention of the employee to stay are important examples.

In the literature is sought for clear and distinguishable types of commitment to make the issue manageable and to prevent overlap and disagreement. By using these general types of commitment, difference in nuance are overlooked, although these differences in nuance might be very important to understand the exact experiences of employees. The following types of commitment are added here, since they are important for this research, as will become clear in chapter 5.

- Job commitment: *'...refers to the likelihood that an individual will stick with a job and feel psychologically attached to it, whether it is satisfying or not.'* (Rusbult and Farell, 1983 In: Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001 pp. 302.)
- Goal commitment: *'... the degree to which the individual considers the goal to be important, is determined to reach it by expending effort over time, and is unwilling to abandon or lower the goal when confronted with setbacks and negative feedback.'* (Deshon and Landis, 1997 in: Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001 pp. 302.) This type of commitment can be important for understanding goal-internalization of Leonard.
- Moral commitment: *'...the acceptance of and identification with the goals.'* (Penley and Gould, 1988, In: Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001, pp. 304). This type of commitment may be very important for the employees of NGO's, since the goals of the organization are very important for their motivation. Although it is similar to affective commitment, this moral commitment emphasizes especially the goals of the organization, instead of the organization as a whole.
- Commitment to organizational change: *'...a psychological state that binds an employee to a course of action deemed necessary for the successful implementation of a change initiative.'* (Herscovitch, 1999 In: Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001). This type of commitment can be

interesting for this research, when focusing on how the respondents experience changes within the organization.

3.2.2 A three-component or a two-dimensional model of commitment?

The type of workplace commitment which is mentioned most often in the literature is organizational commitment. Before continuing, one important question should be asked: What is the organization? Is this an unambiguous entity or does it exists of multiple, (separable) aspects? This research is based on the second assumption, which will become clear in the following chapters. Most important here is the way in which employees give meaning to the term 'organization'. If a person feels committed to the organization, what is it exactly what is important for the employee? Which aspects?

Meyer and Herscovitch (2001) have developed a general model of workplace commitment which they apply on organization commitment. They add to this however, that this model can be used for other types of commitment as well. The feature of commitment in general is described by them as something that *'binds an individual to a course of action or relevance to one or more targets'* (Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001: p.301). In their three-component model, Meyer and Herscovitch, distinguish the following components:

- <u>Affective commitment</u>: This commitment is based on a strong positive feeling or emotion of identification with or attachment to the organization. The mind set that characterises this commitment is 'desire', which is caused by involvement, shared values and identification.
- <u>Continuance commitment</u>: This commitment is based on the 'costs' that en employee feels that are associated with leaving the organization. The mind set of this commitment are the perceived costs, which don't have to be pure financial costs. Meyer and Herscovitch mention the treat of an employee of losing one's investment in the work and the lack of alternatives outside the organization as aspects that influence this mind set.
- <u>Normative commitment</u>: This commitment is based on the obligation to continue employment, a feeling of 'ought to' remain with the organization. The mind set associated with this kind of commitment is an 'obligation to pursue a course of action', which can be caused or strengthened by the internalization of a set of norms concerning appropriate conduct, which happens through socialization, or when an employee has a feeling of reciprocity.

Since the link between one's own values and mission and that of the organization is assumed to be a characteristic of employees in the non profit sector and of NGO's, it is expected that affective commitment is very important for the employees of Icco. The model above aims to cover the definitions of all different kinds of commitment discussed by other authors. Cohen (2007: p.341-351) suggests instead of this and other models a two-dimensional model of organizational commitment, because it focuses on attitudinal outcomes instead of behaviours alone, it overcomes overlap between different kinds of commitment and it included the variable time. The dimensions added by Cohen result in four different types of commitment: 'normative commitment propensity', 'instrumental commitment propensity', 'instrumental commitment' and affective commitment'. The first dimension of Cohen regards 'time', whereby the difference is made between pre-entry commitment and post-entry commitment. This might be interesting to analyse changes in motivation over time. The second dimension, that between instrumental vs. normative commitment, is not very different from the distinction made by Meyer and Herscovitch. However, Cohen pays attention to the link between these kinds of commitment, by assuming a path from instrumental to affective commitment and that the quality of the instrumental exchange influences the way that the individual experiences the affective commitment. Cohen distinguishes the lower level of commitment; instrumental commitment, and the higher level of commitment; affective and normative commitment. Cohen compares this with the distinction made by Herzberg in the motivator-hygiene theory, of lower level needs; the extrinsic

factors and the higher level needs; the intrinsic factors 2007: p.344). He also links affective commitment to the moral involvement of Etzioni. In this sense, there seems little difference between commitment and motivation. However, Meyer and Herscovitch describe a clear difference in that *'commitment influences behaviour independently of other motives and attitudes and, in fact, might lead to persistence in a course of action even in the face of conflicting motives or attitudes.'* The difference between commitment and motivation is therefore mainly visible in the behavioural implications.

3.2.3   Implications of commitment

Meyer and Herscovitch pay attention in their article on the question 'to what' an employee can experience commitment and what the implications are. They point out that these implications are more than 'turn over' alone. Although continuance and normative commitment results in quite specific behavioural implications; continued employment, while the implications of affective commitment are more broad, such as attendance and performance besides continued employment. Meyer and Herscovitch state that the behavioural implications are the strongest for affective commitment. They add to this 'discretionary behaviour' (p. 314), which means *'any behaviour that is not clearly specified within the terms of the commitment, but which can be included within the terms at the discretion of the committed individual'*. The likelihood that certain behaviour will occur depends according to Meyer and Herscovitch on the mind sets of employees, which are described in their definitions above. Also Cohen focuses on the mind sets of people, but instead of looking to behaviours, he directly focuses on the attitudes that people have towards commitment and behaviour. These attitudes are very important in this research, since this research focuses on the feelings and experiences on people. He highlights the importance of the subjective norms of people (Cohen, 2007: p. 342). Cohen adds implications of commitment like organizational citizenship and in-role behaviour (p.318). Meyer and Herscovitch mention that, since the different kinds of commitment that they describe, can exist at the same time, these can result in conflicting implications for the behaviour of people. These conflicts might also be very important for this research, however, another thing of interest is the existence of different types of commitment at the same time, an issue which isn't mentioned here. In this paragraph was already said that these different types might be very important, especially the difference in nuance. Therefore, attention should also be paid to implications of these different types of commitment at the same time, whether or not conflicting.

3.3   Coping with change

Employee's experiences of change are in the literature often related with negative issues, such as burn outs and resistance. It should be mentioned that not only negative feelings, but also positive feelings should be the focus for understanding employee's experiences. N12heless, this paragraph focuses on coping mechanisms, since it gives insight in how people deal with different negative feelings they might experience during change. Lazarus and Folkman (1984, in Folkman and Moskowitz, 2005: p.746) define coping as: *'... the thoughts and behaviours used to manage the internal and external demands of situations that are appraised as stressful'*. Pearlin and Schooler (1978: p. 2-3) add to this that coping is *'...a response to external life strains that sever to prevent, avoid or control emotional distress'*.

3.3.1   Different coping responses

People use different responses to cope with situations when these experiences are perceived as personally significant and when they exceed the capacities or resources of people (Lazarus and Folkman, 1984, in Folkman and Moskowitz, 2005: 747). This may regard negative feelings, such as distress, demotivation, threat or insecurity. Many different coping mechanisms have been discussed in

the literature. Folkman and Moskowitz (2005) distinguish four types of coping mechanisms within all the literature on coping, which are:

- Problem-focused coping: These coping mechanisms aim to address the problems that cause distress. Examples of this are 'making a plan of action' or 'concentrating on the next step.
- Emotion-focused coping: These coping mechanisms focus on improvement of negative emotions that result from a certain problem. Distracting activities are an example of this, as well as avoidance.
- Meaning-focused coping: These coping mechanisms make use of cognitive strategies, which are used to manage with a certain situation.
- Social coping: These coping mechanisms include the social context, such as 'seeking emotional or instrumental support'.

A similar distinction is made by Pearlin and Schooler, although they focus only on psychological resources on coping. Psychological resources might be very important for this research, especially since the experiences and feelings of people are the focus of this research. Pearlin and Schooler distinguish similar coping responses and two of these will be discussed here. The first is similar to meaning-focused coping, but is extensively described by Pearlin and Schooler. They define this as responses that aim at controlling the meaning of experiences after an event has occurred, but before the stress emerged (p. 5). According to Pearlin and Schooler, this coping response is the one which is most often used by people. The meaning that someone gives to a certain event determines to a large extend the degree of threat or stress that an individual experiences. Example are 'making positive comparisons', 'selective ignorance', which occurs through the attention on the positive, worthwhile or rewarding aspects of something, and hierarchical ordering of life-priorities', whereby people value the most strainful experiences as those things in life that less important, which diminishes their negative feelings. Giving meaning to the reality is an issue that is pointed out as crucial for understanding organizations Man (2009) and which also gets attention in the social construction of organizations. This way of coping shows how people can influence their own reality in a way that is most beneficial or manageable to them.

The other coping response mentioned by Pearlin and Schooler regard responses that aim at controlling the stress after it has emerged (p. 6). By using this response, people are able to face stressful situations, while preventing that they are overwhelmed by these feelings. Some examples are: 'times will solve the problem', 'it is meant to be, avoid confrontation or 'everything works out for the best', 'blind faith' or 'denial'. Pearlin and Schooler link these coping responses to the beliefs and values in the culture, which helps people to manage unavoidable suffering and hardship. Pearlin and Schooler add that it is very difficult to identify the different coping responses of people, since behaviour can have multiple meanings and all kinds of functions for people besides coping.

Folkman and Moskowitz (2005: p.747) describe multiple coping mechanisms that get more attention recently. Two coping mechanisms might be interested for this particular research and will be mentioned here. The first concerns 'future-oriented proactive coping', which concern coping mechanisms that aim at dealing with stressful events in the future. Important for this proactive coping is that the individual accumulates resources and acquire skills that can help them to prevent future stresses. It is thereby important that people recognise the potential stressors that might affect them (Aspinwall, 1997). Another development in the coping literature is a focus on positive emotions (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2005: p.764-767). Most literature about coping focuses on the negative feelings of people, while they have positive feelings as well. This coping response makes use of the positive feelings and an interplay between positive and negative feelings is assumed. Examples of this are that people are continuously looking for the positive sides of events that result in stressful feelings.

This comes close to the coping response described before by Pearlin and Schooler, since in concerns the positive meaning that people give to events. Folkman and Moskowitz (2005: p.765) mention 'positive reappraisal', that changes the meaning to something that fits to the values, beliefs and goals of the individual, and 'benefit reminding' as examples of a focus on positive emotions.

3.4 Organizational culture

Aspects of culture passed in review in this chapter. This paragraph aims at exploring the literature on culture briefly, so that culture is better understood. There are two links between the former concepts and culture, which are important for this research. The first link was mentioned in paragraph 3.1.3 in which was mentioned that people's work motivation can be strengthened by the interaction of people, people with similar goals and motivation. This calls attention to a norm in the organization which influences the feelings, thoughts and behaviour of people. It is conceivable that such a norm can also exist for commitment. The self-concept of motivation highlights that the behaviour of people can be regulated by internal standards of self-evaluation that are often closely related to social values, such as the cultural notion of what is desirable. This was also recognized in the definition of normative commitment as mentioned by Meyer and Herscovitch in paragraph 3.2.2. In this definition, attention was paid to the obligation to stay with the organization, which is caused and strengthened by the internalization of a set of norms concerning appropriate conduct. This idea focuses on the influence of culture on thoughts, feelings and behaviour of people. This makes culture an interesting issue for this research, to find out how the motivation and commitment of the employees of Icco is influenced by certain norms. It might be expected that such norms may be very important during changes.

The second link regards culture (or an aspect of it) as a motivation factor. People may experience a pleasant culture within their organization; the way that people deal with each other or the way of working, and this is something that motivates them in their daily work. This is an extrinsic motivation factor, since it isn't related to the work itself, but to the circumstances in which the work takes place. One step further regards commitment to colleagues or commitment to culture. If people appreciate the culture of the organization, this might be a reason for staying with the organization, actually a sense of continuous commitment, since people might experience costs of losing the pleasant culture when they leave the organization. In times of changes and pressures, aspects of culture might change along. This might influence the degree in with these aspects, such as the general atmosphere, are motivated for people, or the degree in which people feel committed to it.

These two links explain why culture are an important theme for this research and therefore this chapter want to explore some literature on culture, to find out what culture is and what it is not, what the different manifestations of culture are and how culture can be approached and analysed.

3.4.1 *Definitions of culture*

Culture is a very important aspect of organizational life and at the same time an overarching concept for many different things. Smirchich (1983, in: Man, 2009) states that culture isn't something which should be looked at as a variable, separated from other organizational aspects, but as a root metaphor. This means that you look to an organization in terms of meaning, sense making and construction. Man (2009) adds to this that when looking to an organization with this cultural vision, organizations are seen as social systems in which people create meanings, rules, languages and other issues to make it possible to act in an effective way. This comes close to meaning-focused coping (§3.1.1). As stated before in this chapter, a very important issue for the way people give meaning to their motivation and change. In addition, Man states, this vision can help to understand what is going on in organizations, since culture is something which occurs between people, which is a polyphonious process to which the management of the organization is an important contributor. In the book of Joanne Martin (2002), multiple definitions of organizational culture are compared. Martin comments that many definitions

seem to focus on a certain aspect of organizational culture, while she states that culture should be analysed as a generalist concept, i.e. a brought conception of culture (Martin, 2002: p.56).

According to Martin, there are two issued that can be found in multiple definitions of culture. The first issue is that culture often focuses on those issues that are 'shared' within an organization. Martin suggests that a complete view of organizational culture should focus not only on that what is shared, but also on those things which are conflicting or ambiguous (p.62). The next issue that Martin emphasizes is that culture often suggests being unique for a certain organization, a culture which is mainly (or only) found in that specific organization. This uniqueness is often desirable for both the organization and the employee. Employees, as Martin describes, often take pride in their unique culture, although culture is often not unique.

3.4.2 Different manifestations

However, as Martin suggests, instead of looking to the different definitions of culture, it can be helpful to focus on the different manifestations of culture. Martin distinguishes different manifestations of culture and mentions 'cultural forms', which includes rituals, stories and physical arrangements. Furthermore she describes 'formal practices', which are often on paper and contain organizational structures, tasks, technologies, rules and procedures and financial controls. As opposite to this, Martin mentions 'informal practices', which regards those practices that aren't on paper but which evolve through interaction, like social rules. These can be very important factors for the motivation and commitment of people. Martin emphasizes here the contradiction between 'what is formally required', seen in formal practices, and 'what actually happens', seen in informal practices. At last, 'content themes' are mentioned by Martin, which includes cognitive beliefs and assumptions and attitudinal values, important issues for commitment, as described by Meyer and Herscovitch as well as Cohen (§3.2.2). Norms, regarding social rules, informal practices and values were described in the beginning of this paragraph as being very important for motivation, commitment and coping mechanisms. Martin adds that not the cultural manifestations itself are important, but the way that these are interpreted by people. This complies with the idea of social construction Giddens (2001) and Man (2009) and is important for the focus of this research on emotions and narratives (chapter 1).

3.4.3 Perspectives of culture

The definition of organizational culture used by Martin is: *'Culture is a generalist rather than a specialist definition, including a broad range of ideational and materialist manifestations of culture, emphasizing depth of interpretation, but allowing for shared meanings, conflict, and an ambiguity.'* (Martin, 2002: p.61). Looking to organizational culture is possible in multiple ways and Martin describes the following three perspectives (94-108).

- The integration perspective: This perspective focuses on organization wide consensus. An organizational culture is regarded as clear (ambiguity is excluded from the analysis) and consistency among the different manifestations is most important.
- The differentiation perspective: This perspective focuses on inconsistency among the different manifestations. Consensus can only be found on the level of subcultures and ambiguity is not included within the subculture, only between them.
- The fragmentation perspective: This perspective focuses on ambiguity, which is perceived as normal and an inescapable part of organization life. There are many different views in organizations, which are constantly changing.

Although many researchers choose one of these perspectives, Martin proposes to use each perspective simultaneously. She argues that each perspective has another focus and therefore has also blind spots. When the different perspectives are used together, they complement each other, which provide a richer

analysis. A shift between those different perspectives is therefore useful. Although culture wasn't one of the main themes of this research, the literature above shows that it cannot be ignored, since culture in interwoven in organizational reality in multiple ways. Culture regards both the things that are shared by people, as well as those aspects which are contradicting or even conflicting within an organization. In this way, cultural manifestations or aspects of culture can be important to understand the motivation and commitment of employees of organizations as well as the way that they cope with organizational change and demotivation. Culture can play an important role for understanding people's interpretations, feelings and behaviours. Returning to the two links that were described in the beginning of this paragraph, this paragraph shows that norms can influence motivation and commitment and shouldn't be approached only by looking to the 'shares' norms within the organization. There might be multiple or even conflicting norms and each individual employee can interpret this in a different way. However, this doesn't mean that the influence of this norm is less. Furthermore, those aspects of the culture that might be motivation factors for certain people, might be interpreted differently by others, but still can be labelled as motivating or an aspect of commitment.

Chapter 4 Motivation and commitment of employees of Icco

How do the respondents of this research experience their motivation and commitment? This is the topic of this chapter (research questions 1,2,3 and 5 in §1.2). The results that are described in this chapter don't focus on changes yet, since these will be discussed in the following chapters. The first three paragraphs deal with the 'basis motivation' of the respondents as well as the (de)motivation factors that they experience in their daily work. The different forms of commitment that are experienced by the respondents are discussed in paragraph 4.4 and paragraph 4.5 will pay attention to the experiences regarding organizational culture. Although this last issue isn't a main theme of this research, during the interviews it became clear that certain statements and interpretations are important for this research. At last, paragraph 4.6 provides a conclusion.

4.1   Basic motivation

The basis motivation is a term which is literally used by multiple respondents. For almost all respondents, this basic motivation was the reason why they initially chose to work in the development sector or for Icco. In other words, this regards a pre-entry motivation, since many people had the 'personal goals or mission' already before entering Icco. It regards as well a post-entry motivation, since it is still very important for the respondents. This motivation refers to factors that can be described as a 'higher goal', which the respondents describe as something they want to reach or something they want to contribute to through their work. The following issues summarize the basic motivation as mentioned by the respondents:

- to contribute to something, to the world, to society;
- to improve something for people who are worse off than me;
- the difference between rich and poor, the inequality, a fair share for everyone;
- to contribute to peace in the world;
- injustice, a sense of justice, that drives me;
- to contribute to the fight against poverty, that touches me.

The mission of Icco is formulated as followed: *'Icco's mission is to work on a better world, in which people can live in dignity and well-being, a world without poverty and injustice'* (Icco, 2010). The basic motivation of the employees complies with the mission and the goals of the organization, which matches the idea of Leonard et al (1999 in § 3.1) regarding goal-internalization. One of the conditions that Von Grumbkow et al (1989) mention for intrinsic motivation (chapter. 3) and which can also be recognized in goal-internalization, is that people have to know the actual result of their work. For the goals as mentioned in this basic motivation, the knowledge and the visibility of the actual results seem to be quite difficult. The examples above illustrate that the basic motivation of the respondents often aims at very high, general goals, which are sometimes even a little vague, like: *'I want to contribute to something'*. There are however also some basic motivations that are a bit more specific, by focussing on a specific theme, like: *'to contribute to financial sustainable development of people'* or *'to work on human rights and impunity'*. But also when things are more specific, like 'fighting poverty in the world', it can be said that it is perhaps impossible ever to accomplish this goal, perhaps something like a utopia? Since quite some people use the word 'to contribute to', the unattainability of the goals is recognised in some way. This is also recognised in the mission of the organization, by the use of 'to work on' certain goals. The contribution of one individual can be seen as being very tiny and perhaps invisible to the bigger picture. This shows that not the visibility of one's personal results are the most important for the basic motivation. However, that results are important will become clear in paragraph 4.2.

Besides the factors mentioned above, some respondents mention also other factors that were important for choosing for their work or for their study. These factors are the 'international character' and the 'focus on different cultures and countries'. These are only mentioned by a few respondents, while the basis motivation factors mentioned above are shared by of them, although in varying degrees. The following quote gives an example of someone who indicates that she experienced her basic motivation at a very young age, something that is recognised in other interviews as well: *(9) 'When I was fourteen or something, my parents took me to the 'Tropical Museum' in Amsterdam and I was touched by the poverty I saw there. And I thought, I have to do something in my life so that I can contribute to the fight against poverty. Therefore I chose to study 'Nutrition', because at that time, I thought I wanted to become a nutritionist.'* Another respondent mentions, while she talks about injustice and impunity, that this basic motivation isn't only part of her work for Icco: *(11) 'Through time I started to believe that this has to do with my personal mission in my life and I continually look for platforms where I can work on that. ... It isn't my work, this is my thing, it's part of my life'.* Another respondent suggests the opposite and says: *(2) 'That idealism, that's in the whole non profit sector for me, because it attract me to know that with the things that I do, you can bring about certain things. But in the same time, I am not always thinking about that and I often experience my work as just a job.'* For most of the respondents, the choice for the development sector was a well considered decision, but especially the respondents that worked for more than ten years in the sector mention that it was also a *'logical choice at that time'*. They often relate the choice to their upbringing or to their parents who had done similar work or worked abroad for some time.

Regarding changes in motivation over time, people indicate that the principle of their basic motivation actually didn't change. The same feeling was still there. What did change was the degree of knowledge about the work and the sector. They often indicate that they had learned a lot over time about how these higher goals can or can't be reached and in which ways. They learned about the complexity of it, as the following quote shows: *(1) 'When you are young, you have little notion about the way things work. And when you invest in things, read a lot ... you learn how you can support certain issues, so that things look a little bit better for people who are worse off than you are.'* Also the following respondent gives an example of this: *(6) '... but if you have worked within an NGO, in such a country, you start to look different to things. Actually, you get only more respect for people who plead for their own society. ... You learn more and you observe what happens. For example what happens in other organizations...'* This respondent mentions that in the beginning she worked in this sector mainly for her own sake (extrinsic factors were more important), while this isn't the case anymore.

The basic motivation can be summarized with the following words: altruism, solidarity, feelings for injustice, inequality or poverty, which seem to resemble ideals. However, this term isn't used too much by the respondents themselves. One respondent mentions that people sometimes call here idealistic, while she says: *(6) 'That isn't idealistic; it has to do with the norms and values with which you are raised'.* Some respondents also incline to this term, while they don't mention it themselves: *(12) 'Whether I am idealistic? Well, that is difficult to say about yourself.....I believe that people have to explain why they do certain things and that it should go beyond your own interest....Well, it that sense, I think that other people see me as someone who is idealistic, because I want to change something and eventually nobody has such a good life as we do.'* Another respondent explains the case: *(3) 'You can explain idealism in two different ways. If it stands for your drive to make something successful, than I think that it is very important. In this sense, I am also a little bit idealistic. But if it stands for people who think that they can change the whole world? Well, I think that has changed now. People are much more realistic'.* Whether you call it idealistic or not, the basis motivation is often related to a certain emotion, such as anger, sympathy, enthusiasm, a feeling of

injustice or inequality or of incomprehension. An emotion that triggers a motivation to choose for a certain job.

4.2 Daily motivation factors

The basic motivation isn't the only thing that motivates people in their work. The factors in this paragraph are called 'daily motivation factors', since they refer to those things that motivate people in their daily work. Compared to the basic motivation, which has to do with long term and 'higher' goals and which is stable over time, the following factors refer often to short term goals. This makes them also less stable in the sense that their importance varies through time. For some factors, the link with the basic motivation is however clearly present. The factors mentioned in this paragraph are factors that arose during people's work at Icco, not before entry as was the case for the basic motivation. However, most of them aren't specific related to Icco.

4.2.1   Seeing results

For the basic motivation, the feeling of 'contributing to' the goals seem to be most important. However, for most respondents, results are a very important issue for their daily motivation, as Von Grumbkow et al mentioned for intrinsic motivation (§3.1.1). The following example shows that seeing and experiencing results of the work is directly related to the basic motivation, since this respondent focuses on the small, but concrete contributions of her department to the goals of the organization. She gives an example of a person who she assisted, who had started up a small chicken farm in Cameroon and says: *'This will not change Africa, but in that village, you make a difference. I think that is my motivation. Yes, and sometimes I'm also cynical, because indeed, you are only a drop in the ocean, but on the other hand, it is sometimes quite nice to be that drop.'* As mentioned in the former paragraph, the basic motivation concerns very broad goals and therefore it can be very difficult to see what the contribution of a single person is to these goals. Many respondents were aware of this, because they really searched for the results from their own individual work. *(14) ´Political decision making is a long process. You are only one of the people who contribute to this. But I have developed a kind of feeling to recognise my contribution and that of our department.´* Sometimes the result that motivates people, isn't the result of their personal work alone, but that of the organization as a whole or even of je whole sector. *(1) ´For many years, the development sector has invested in people here (in the developing countries), that is what development work is about. And those people are now in a team in the regional offices, those people have ever worked in the sector and now they work with me. That is very exciting´.* Another example is: *(5) ´Now I see improvements in how society looks to Palestine. And although this was my former position and Icco wasn't involved in the boycott for Israeli products, I know that we have contributed to this in an indirect way. That motivates me a lot.´*

Not all experiences of results are directly related to the basis motivation. The following example shows a feeling of pride and a kick, a feeling that exist independent from the basic motivation: *(10) 'I like to coordinate those things around a proposal, you make sure that you get all parties together, make sure that you will reach that deadline and that the project has sufficient quality. ... It gives you a kick when you reach that deadline and especially when this results in a contract later on.'* This feeling of pride is mentioned by many respondents when they talk about the results of themselves, their department or of the organization. Pride, caused by results, is in that case the antecedent of motivation. The experiences of results mentioned here are examples of intrinsic motivation factors, since they refer to the activity itself that is motivating for the employee. If people talk about rewards, they talk about the rewards they give themselves; the 'the inherent satisfaction of the activity itself', not about external rewards (Kluvers and Tippet, 2009, §3.1.1). It is expected that external rewards are also important here, but since none of the respondents emphasized this, these are less important than the intrinsic rewards. Some results are directly linked with the basic motivation,

others are more independent of that and are likely to be experiences also in an organization with totally different goals.

4.2.2   Travelling

Travelling is mentioned a few times by respondents as being motivating in their work. The opportunity to travel to other countries and cultures can be seen as an extrinsic factor, since it refers that is part of the 'transactions' that comes with the job. There are a few respondents who mention this point as an extrinsic factor, such as a respondent who point to the possibility of making trips as something that makes the job pleasant and which motivate him. He mentions: *(2) '... I am very motivated because I am quite loyal, I want to go for it for 110%. ... these are very nice jobs... And in my opinion, because you are given the possibility to do this job, you also have to show some extra enthusiasm in your work, do something extra.'* Travelling is one of the reasons that he labels his job as nice.

Most respondents however emphasize travelling as an intrinsic factor, part of the tasks itself. They describe this as a way to stay in touch with reality, to meet people in developing countries and to see the results of their work with their own eyes. Travelling is also a way that makes other motivation factors possible, such as 'seeing results' and 'meeting people'. Quite some people who work already for Icco or in the sector for a while, do mention that they travel less at the moment than that they have done before. For some people, this isn't a problem at all, since they still have enough contact with reality in other ways. Others indicate that they miss the trips and the contact with the people sometimes. However, often these people also mention other issues that weight out against this, like the benefits of staying in the Netherlands: *(14) 'It has also an advantage that I am less often away from home. And it is also pleasant that I can spend more time with my family. In my other position, you could be away for eight weeks or something, that is quite difficult for them.'*

Although most people emphasize the intrinsic aspect of travelling, it is more likely that both extrinsic and intrinsic aspects are important. Perhaps this is unconscious or perhaps because emphasizing the intrinsic factor is a more desirable answer. The next respondent talks about the importance of travelling for her: *(11) 'It motivates me to travel for my work. There is enough space to travel within Icco. This inspires me. With this, you can continue with your work for another half year or something.'*

4.2.3   Contact with partners, beneficiaries and supporters.

To have contact with people in developing countries, people with whom the employees work, is often mentioned to be a very important source of motivation. This means as well contact with partners in developing countries, as well as beneficiaries of the programs or other people. Although this contact can also refer to other motivation factors, such as seeing results and travelling, the aspect which is emphasized in this subparagraph is that this contact strengthens the reasons why people choose for their work, their basic motivation. Often it sounds like a revival of people's feelings like: enthusiasm, inspiration, anger and respect, like the following respondent shows when she talks about her motivation: *(6) '...because I get the opportunity to go to those countries and I have met so many special people. Sometimes your heart is just full. Regarding the last journey which was planned, I just said "not now", because it doesn't fit anymore, you understand? You don't know anymore what you have to do with all those special people. You want to pay attention to all and keep in contact with them, but that is just very difficult. But that we get this opportunity to meet such motivated people, who are so committed to work on their own society, that is very important.'* And the following respondent mentions a similar issue: *(1) '... when I am down and I have a conversation with a Sudanese woman who fight against female circumcision and who does a lot of good things in villages, then I think: wow! That is so good. So in this case it is a person that I meet that brings me back to where I believed in before, that the work is useful and that we should continue. That is how it works for me.'* Through

this contact, the goals become more concrete for people: *(7) 'What motivates me is that I can go into the field and talk with an organization about all kinds of financial issues, but that I have also time to talk with some customers. ... that kind of things motivate me enormously. That you see that people don't have the possibilities to get access to financial services from a bank, but that they do get this through the microfinance institution that we support. Well, that is why you do your job!'* When travelling, this contact is very personal. However, people mention often that this contact isn't limited to travel. They mention e-mail, Skype and phone contact as important alternatives. *(4) 'People who send you emails, your partners. The contact that you have with them, which becomes sometimes very personal when you travel. That is very inspiring and motivation, that is why you do your job.'*

Not only contact with people in developing countries are motivators for the employees of Icco, also people in the Netherlands are mentioned. These are the people who support the organization, for example in the churches and people who started their own project and who are supported by Icco: *(3) 'to guide people who make their own steps in the development sector is inspiring, those people are so enthusiastic, it gives you energy'.* However, these people are mentioned less often as being a motivator than the first group of people. These contacts are both examples of intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Extrinsic, when contact result in a reward, for example a sense of appreciation from the people in other countries. Intrinsic when it concerns the strengthening of the importance and the quality of your work, the activity itself and the result of it. Like travelling, it is likely that people experience a mix of intrinsic and extrinsic motivation. In the same time, it also suggests a commitment with people, with people on the other side of the world and in the Netherlands; people with similar goals.

4.2.4 Colleagues

Another issue that is mentioned as a motivation factor are the colleagues within Icco. There are a few characteristics that are labelled as 'shared' by many respondents and which are experienced as influencing one's own feelings. These characteristics of colleagues are 'enthusiasm', 'commitment', 'strong motivation' and 'having similar goals'. It motivates people to work together with these people. Often is referred to the culture of Icco and the 'shared' characteristics of the Icco-employee. They also emphasize the general atmosphere among colleagues, labelled as: 'humane' and 'interested in each other'. The following person talks about the importance of the motivation of her colleagues: *(11) 'That personal drive is very important for me. For a while I emailed with Jack (the director) about the vision of the organization. I was really happy with that. It isn't always present, but I know that he has got it and that that is his drive in his work. When I was a team leader, my goal was to get that personal mission back in the minds of people, especially of the older generations. I enjoy it when that happens.* When she is asked about working together with people who don't have the same personal mission as she has, she mentions: *'Well, that can result in heavy collisions within Icco. If I meet people who work on the same theme and who see it just as a job... '* after which she describes an example of a collision with a colleague on this issue. The lack of enthusiasm or motivation of colleagues, is also labelled as demotivating, like the following respondent mentions: *(1) '... if things will not be organized in a better way and my colleagues will not be more satisfied, because they are dissatisfied about this issues as well, well than I don't think that I will stay much longer.'*

Another respondent compares the atmosphere at Icco with that of her former employer. She describes a strong shared and special feeling among her former colleagues, which she misses in Icco and says: *(5) 'You have a special feeling together. ... And within Icco, well it is more a nine-to-five job.'* Another respondent mentions 'working together' with colleagues as important. She has just talked about a demotivating aspect. When she is asked what she will do when this demotivating aspect becomes a big part of her job, she answers: *(4) 'It depends on the attitude of my colleagues. If everyone would put up with it, like "This is just the way it is", then I would quit I think. But if everyone has an attitude like "This has to change and we will work on this together" and you fight it together. In that case this*

would motivate me. The willingness to change something together, to work together, that motivates me.'

This motivating issue consists of two aspects. The first can be linked to the basic motivation of people, since it regards the strength of your colleague's basic motivation. In paragraph 3.1.3. was said that the motivation of employees of NGO's is strengthened within the organization and this paragraph shows that this is defiantly something that can be recognized within Icco. The other aspect exists independent from the basic motivation, since it regards the general atmosphere within Icco. Both aspects are important for employees of Icco. This regards an extrinsic motivation factor, since it doesn't concern the performance of the activity and tasks itself, but interpersonal relations.

Since the respondents talk about 'shared' characteristics, this issue refers also to the self-concept of motivation (Steers et al, 1996 in § 3.1.2). Here was mentioned that people are motivated to maintain and enhance their self-worth, which is grounded in norms and values and which is regulated by internal standards and self-evaluation, which are closely linked to social values and cultural notions about what is desirable. Although nobody talks about expectations within the organization regarding people's motivation and commitment, the stories illustrate that these expectations do exist. By labelling certain characteristics as 'shared', people indirectly express their expectations of colleagues. This issue will be discussed in more detail in paragraph 4.5.

4.2.5   Personal development

The last factor of motivation that is discussed in this paragraph concerns the personal development of people. Many people indicate that they are motivated when they can develop themselves in multiple ways. These issues show both intrinsic and extrinsic factors. The first example shows that a respondent is motivated by trainings: *(5) 'What I really like at Icco is that you are stimulated and supported a lot and you can develop yourself through trainings and so on. They really invest in you and I like that!'* This is an extrinsic factor since it is described as a kind of reward from the organization to the employee. However, it can also relate to the activity itself, when people can improve their work due to the personal development. The next quote is an example of this: *(1) 'I had worked in this country for six years and suddenly I was asked to give interviews on the radio... write articles for the newspaper and talk with people from the parliament. So I felt a little bit like an expert after six years. I thought wow! That is very nice, that you have something to tell to people.'* Although she mentions the fact that she has developed in her work through the years as a motivation factor (intrinsic), she also describes a kind of feeling, a reward, which is an extrinsic factor. The last quote is an example of someone who is motivated by the possibility of developing himself on other aspects than his core activities: *(15) 'I always looked for things outsides my core tasks, regarding communications, making networks. If you ask me what gave me the most pleasure in my work, then it would be that kind of things. Like preparing a symposium or a photo exhibition'.*

The issues mentioned in this paragraph describe a kind of challenge for employees; a challenge to learn new things or a challenge to develop yourself. Sometimes, the development of oneself can also be related to a sense of self-esteem, as mentioned by Steers et al (§3.1.2), since these things describe a feeling of personal achievement and it can improve to someone's self-worth, since people explore their personal potential.

4.3   Demotivation

Besides motivation factors, people were also asked about those aspects in work that demotivate them. Since most of the demotivating aspects that are discussed in this research are related to change, they will be described in chapter 5 and 6 more extensively. This paragraph deals with the meaning that people give to demotivation as well as one important issue of demotivation, related to the basic motivation of people.

4.3.1 Interpretations of demotivation

What is striking is that many respondents indicate that there aren't many things that demotivate them, like the following example illustrates: *(4) '...something doesn't demotivate me very quickly, I just like my job a lot. Of course there are sometimes days which aren't that nice, but not that often'*. Another respondent answers as followed when she was asked about her demotivation: *(9) 'I don't think this is really demotivating, however it does work the other way around, it would be more motivating if I knew what kind of organization we will be within 15 years or at least within 5 years, that we know what we can and can't do.'*

It seems that the reason that many respondents initially don't use the term 'demotivation', can be found in the interpretation of the term, the meaning that people give to this. Giddens describes the social construction of reality that occurs through the interpretations of people (§ 3.3) and this is a nice example of this. People seem to link demotivation to a diminishing willingness to work on the basic motivation. As mentioned in paragraph 4.1, the basic motivation is very strong and stable over time and this explains that people don't experience less motivation regarding these goals very quickly. This doesn't mean that people don't experience any demotivation, as will become clear in chapter 4 and 5. However, initially, people separate the less motivating issues from their motivation for the 'higher' goals in the world. The word 'initially' is used here to show that this reaction was often a first reaction of people. Later on, people did describe things as demotivating or at leas, less motivating.

4.3.2 Frustration of goal

This kind of demotivation has to do with the frustration of someone's work, which is directly linked to the frustration of the basic motivation and the goals of the organization. Multiple ways in which the work is frustrated are mentioned. Certain aspects can be found outside the organization, like politics, world powers and/or economical structures: *(3) 'When economical structures don't change, than the world doesn't change. ... it's not that I don't want to work in the development sector, but I can imagine that there comes a time that I quit because of this.'* And: *(5) 'In Palestine, you aren't concerned with development and that makes you very cynical..... To say it roughly, if the world is behind Israel and the United States would do nothing about it, that makes you... you go mad! ... I think it is good when you do this type of work not more than 5 years.'* These frustrations indicate that people realise that their individual contribution to their goals isn't always enough, that there are other actors that frustrate their work and developments they can't easily influence. Although cynicism isn't the same as demotivation at all, demotivation can finally be the result when cynicism lasts too long, as the woman mentions herself. The two respondents mentioned here, both point out that these frustrations can be reasons to quit with their job or a particular position after a while.

This type of 'frustration' has a double implication. Although it is mentioned as demotivation sometimes, it is indirectly also the reason that people chose for this work. The causes for this frustration are also (one of) the reasons of inequality or injustice, so it can therefore be seen as a motivating factor. Let's compare this kind of frustration with the conditions of intrinsic work mentioned by Von Grumbkow (chapter 3). He mentions two conditions: knowing the actual result of your work and perceive your work as useful. The frustration described in this paragraph shows that both conditions are not met. Not because the work itself isn't successful or doesn't show any result, but because there isn't to much result in the 'bigger picture'. This can be difficult for employees and one way of overcoming this was mentioned in paragraph 4.2.1, by focussing on the direct result of the individual work, on smaller things. This paragraph shows that people also tend to look to the general results, to the bigger picture. The literature on the role of results in motivation mainly discuss the individual results and not the overall results, which is actually very important for employees with such overall basic motivations, employees with goals which aren't limited to one organization.

4.4 Commitment

Commitment was one of the central themes in the interviews. In chapter 3, different types of work-place commitment were described. Furthermore, paragraph 4.2.4 discussed that commitment is something that many respondents in this research describe as a 'shared' characteristic of the Icco-employee. However, it became apparent that people use this word in multiple ways. In this paragraph, the different types of commitment that came along during this research are discussed. The most important question that should be asked is 'commitment to what?' It will become apparent that the different kinds of commitment are often intertwined with each other and people might experience different types of commitment at the same time. This explains that the following types of commitment don't represent separable groups of people.

4.4.1 Commitment to Icco

This kind of commitment corresponds with commitment to the organization, as described in paragraph 3.2.1. A few respondents in this research are clearly committed to the organization itself. These are all respondents who held multiple positions within Icco over time. It would be expected that this type of commitment is strongest for those people who work the longest for Icco, but this isn't the case. The years in service of those respondents that did mention to feel committed to the organization itself, range from 5 years to 20 years. *(4) 'It is not exactly my position, but mainly that I can work for Icco, that's where my motivation lies. Because Icco works for a just and fair world. And it motivates me that I can contribute in this way to give people a voice, wherever in the world.'* This quote shows that the commitment of this woman is based on the organisation that makes her work possible. Although this work could be done in another organization either, she really feels committed towards Icco: *'I really like to work for Icco. That is really what I want to do. For a long time, I took some temporary jobs, which, in another organization, probably would have discouraged me in my work. But that wasn't the case now.'* This commitment is a combination of commitment to the mission and to the organization. The following respondent shows that commitment with the organization doesn't have to come along with commitment to the mission of the organization or the development sector: *(2) 'I commit myself very quickly to the organization I work for. This doesn't have to be a development organization. With my former job in the commercial sector, this commitment was the same. Important for me is that I can work within a team of people to accomplish something together.'* This shows a combination of commitment to the organization and commitment to colleagues and suggest a normative commitment propensity, as described by Cohen (§3.2.2).

The first example shows a strong affective commitment, while the second example comes closer to normative commitment (propensity), regarding norms on how to work in an organization in general, or perhaps even instrumental commitment, based on the work context. Commitment to the organization isn't only mentioned by the respondents, it becomes also apparent in the way people talk. Many respondents often talk about their work and the organization as if they are the director himself. People often use the word 'we' and it was sometimes difficult to distinguish someone's own opinion from that of the organization. Although this can also illustrate a kind of habit, it also shows a kind of commitment. It seemed therefore that more people experience a commitment to the organization than was initially acknowledged.

4.4.2 Commitment to the Christian mandate

The Christian identity of Icco is formulated in the mission as followed*: 'Every human being deserves an equal treatment and has the responsibility to treat other people in the same way. From the Christian mandate of compassion, justice and wholeness of the creation, Icco works on sustainable poverty reduction. Human rights are the basic principles of our work.'*(Icco, 2010). Roughly speaking, it is possible to distinguish two groups of respondents regarding the commitment to the Christian

mandate. The first, but very small group, consists of people who feel committed to the Christian mandate of Icco, like the following respondent. *(12) 'The roots of the church of Icco and especially Kerk In Actie attract me a lot. '* Or as another respondent stated: *(14) 'When I finished with my study, Icco was quite a logical choice, because I was Protestants. I hoped that I would be that good in the end of my career, so that I could work for Icco. But when I was graduated, I directly got a job at Icco. This is the reason that I still work for Icco, I feel connected with the organization.'* Especially, this last example shows the overlap between different types of commitment; commitment to the organization and to the Christian mandate. Both mention the Christian mandate also as a reason they chose for working in the development sector. The other respondents point out not to feel committed to the Christian religion (anymore), but they do feel comfortable with the way Icco has *'translated this mandate to the work'.* Regarding to the Christian background of Icco, these respondents do feel comfortable in an organization where people with different backgrounds can work together and respect each other, like the following example indicates: *(11) 'I have no link with the Christian background. But I do respect it. And eventually, it is all about the same thing.'* Some people indicate that the Christian background was important for them before, but not anymore, like the following respondent suggests: *(1) 'Did I chose for Icco..., well that it actually quite stupid, because you just enrol in it. I started to replace someone temporarily because of a maternity leave and I thought... Well, I am protestant, not very active, but I was raised in this way. And Icco was of course the protestant NGO.'* This issue concerns affective commitment (Cohen, 2007; Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001) towards the organization, since it is characterized by emotions of attachment, shared values, identification and belonging. Commitment to the Christian identity is thereby something that gives an extra dimension to the commitment to the organization or the work, something that people often experience at the same time. The religious believes are developed in someone's life, which makes it also a kind of pre-entry commitment to the Christian mandate, but thereby also to the kind of work. Since there are only a few people who experience commitment to the Christian mandate, no correlation could be recognized with other characteristics or opinions.

4.4.3   Commitment to the job and the mission

Respondents of this research often mention they feel committed to their specific job or department, independently of the organization. The first example of this comes from a respondent who links her commitment to her specific competences: *(6) 'I shouldn't know what else I could do within Icco than my current job. This is where my strength lies.'* She mentions certain specific characteristics of her job which she enjoys and then continues by saying: *'It can be possible that I would work outside the development sector in the future, I can contribute something to our own society as well. And there is always healthcare.'* She has worked in the health sector before. However, in the same time she feels committed to the people and the atmosphere within Icco. She calls it *'a very special club'.* For her, commitment is a combination of her specific job and the colleagues. For the following respondent, commitment is mainly something she experiences towards the job, although it is close to the organization: *(1) 'Probably I am mainly committed to my work. And the organization has a goal, which I support, so that's related with each other. And because the organization gives me this opportunity, I am able do this job.'* She is really committed to the mission, the mission of her specific work and the mission of the organization. *'Because Icco exists, I can do my job'* However, for her, the mission isn't the only place where she can work on this mission: *'If nothing improves in the professionalism in the office, or whether there will be no more challenges in my job, I could decide to do something else.'* Although she prefers to work in the development sector for a while, she mentions that it isn't something that she has to do for the rest of her career. A job on a university or something is also possible. There is also a respondent who feels mainly committed towards her job, although this accounts especially for Icco: *(5) 'At the moment I am very committed to my specific work. That's why I*

still work for Icco.' This respondent explains that this was totally different than the commitment she felt towards her former employer, because there she felt commitment towards the whole organization: '*I took many different positions there, because I really wanted to work there.'* The following example illustrates commitment towards a certain speciality, in this case the method or strategy the respondent beliefs in the most: *(7) 'I feel committed to my work, the economical aspect of it, especially microfinance. I wouldn't do anything else in the development sector. However, I could also do this kind of work for another NGO or for an investment company'.*

This subparagraph illustrates that commitment to the job show both aspects of instrumental (Cohen, 2007) and continuous commitment (Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001), like the first respondent shows by focussing on her competences and the practical possibilities that are important for commitment. Affective commitment was mentioned by the other respondents. This kind of commitment is often a combination of commitment to work/job and to goals, as described in paragraph 3.2.1. Commitment to the goals is seen by most of the respondents, while commitment to the job shows that this commitment focuses on the way that the goals are pursued within their speciality or department. This paragraph makes clear that the line between different commitments is very thin, but very important to understand the feelings of people. Those people who feel mainly committed to their job and the mission, don't really have special characteristics as a group. Some people have only worked in the development sector, others worked outside the non profit sector, some in the same position and others in different positions. This can simple be explained by the point that commitment goes along with other kinds of commitment and shows both affective and instrumental aspects, which shows that people all highlight different aspects of commitment, depending on their situation and thoughts.

4.4.4 *Commitment to colleagues*
Although there aren't respondents who solely experience commitment to their colleagues, there are quite some people who indicate this as a very important issue. Some people who work with the organization for a longer time mention the commitment to colleagues, since they have built personal relationships with those people over time. When talking about possible considerations of leaving the organization or not, a respondent says: *(12) 'I feel commitment to the people too. There are just so many nice people. So, that is another issue which I should consider.'* The following quote is another example of this: *(11) 'Those people who work for Icco are very nice and good people, they have a good heart. I feel committed to the people within the organization and because of that I also feel committed to Icco, because I hope for the best for those people. ... I want to work for those people. Icco doesn't exist for me, it's just an abstraction. Icco is just a name which is given to a group of people.'* In paragraph 4.2.4 was stated that colleagues and the atmosphere in the organization are important motivators for people. Commitment to colleagues can be distinguished since people indicate this as so important that it affects their choice to work for the organization or not, as shows in the quotes above. Often this commitment referred to specific colleagues. It should be distinguished from commitment to culture or the atmosphere in the organization, which will be described in the following paragraph. This type of commitment is mainly based on feelings and emotions, which makes it a kind of affective commitment, not to the organization, but to the colleagues. Furthermore, this is a clear example of commitment which develops and grows during the post-entry phase. However, when talking about the decision to say with the organization or not, this type of commitment can also refer to the costs of leaving or the benefit of staying as mentioned by instrumental and continuous commitment (§ 3.2.2).

4.5   Culture

In former paragraphs certain aspects of culture were mentioned, linking to motivation or commitment. As mentioned in paragraph 3.4, there are two ways in which culture is linked to motivation in this research. The following two subparagraphs will deal with these two links.

4.5.1   Norms within the organization

The first link described in paragraph 3.4 regards the way that culture, those aspects that concern an existing norm, may influence the motivation of the employees. The question is whether there exists a norm within the organization regarding these aspects, as norm that influences people's ideas (conscious or unconscious) about what is desirable. Such a norm was mentioned by Steers in the self-concept of motivation (§ 3.1.2), since it may be part of the social values and the cultural notion within the organization, which may influence people's internal standards, self-evaluation and the ideas people have regarding their possible or ideal self. In this way, it may influence the thought that motivate people for certain behaviour. This may be the reason that people in Dutch NGO's experience a strengthening of their motivation through the interaction of colleagues.

A clue for the existence of such as norm is the fact that so many respondents mention certain characteristics of the Icco-employee as shared and sometimes labelled it as characteristics of the organizational culture. The most important example of this, mentioned by almost all respondents, concerns the 'strong motivation and commitment' of the employees of Icco. They talk about these issues like they were shared by everyone in the organization (only about those employees in the supporting departments they aren't sure). This indicates already a norm on these things. When the following respondent was asked about a certain norm, she answers: *(4) 'Well, perhaps that is true. ... I never thought about it like that, probably there is such a thing. Probably you need a certain commitment to like it here.'* This respondent mentions that she thinks that there exist a kind of pressure in the organization, that influences people's behaviour, but she doesn't experience this as negative.

Another sign of a norm is described by people who indicate that they deviate from the norm, such as the following quote shows: *(2) 'This motivation and commitment is less strong for me than for my colleagues.'* Later on, this respondent uses the work 'selfish' for the fact personal development is one of the factors that motivate him. Also another respondent mentions explicit his different motivation when he is asked what attracts him to work in the development sector: *(7) Well, I am afraid that I am not one of those typical-idealistic kind of types, with huge ideals, to improve the world, I am afraid not. I'll was interested in other countries, other cultures and to stay there for a longer time. And to do so, I had to find work which I found attractive and I found that in my current job, in the economical sector.'* These comments focus the attention on deviation from what is perceives as 'normal' or desirable in the organization.

People often talk about the 'Icco-feeling' to characterize the culture of the organization. This is explained in different ways by people, but some issues mentioned often are: 'informal', 'cosy', 'family', 'a warm feeling', 'interested in each other', 'contacting each other outside work' and 'humane'. Also the way people deal with criticism within the organization is mentioned as very positive. There were however also people who's statements indicated the opposite, like the following quotes suggest: *(11) 'That fights for power, because the management isn't always very clear and things aren't very clear communicated, which results in an arena in which everyone tries to do his thing and therefore, you need power. So everyone is securing his or her power. And that demotivates me a lot. Because I think, it falls apart in this way. I don't like it when the organization becomes an arena instead of a pyramid in which everyone has the same goal.'* Or the following quote from a woman who mentions that the way people deal with each other isn't always that nice and understanding, as she describes a situation when she just got offered a new position: *(1) 'People mentioned: "Oh, you can go along with the reorganization, you can enjoy that and at least you have a*

job, but we don't." This indicates that, besides shared characteristic of the Icco-employee and the atmosphere within the organization, other opinions do exist. This brings the attention to the use of the integration perspective as well as the fragmentation perspective (Martin, 2002) which seem both useful here.

4.5.2   Culture as motivator and commitment to culture

Another way that the culture of the organization comes up in this research concerns the culture as a motivator. This aspect was already described in paragraph 4.2.4. If the culture is experiences as something that binds you to the organization, especially when it is a reason to stay with the organization, culture isn't a motivation factor alone, but we can speak of commitment to culture. In paragraph 4.4.4 was spoken of commitment to colleagues, which referred to specific people. Commitment to culture is here used when people indicated that they experience the atmosphere in the organization as something to which they feel committed. The following quote gives an example of this: *(3) 'I feel commitment with everyone in the organization.'….'There work so many nice people here, that's something you notice on parties for example. Everyone is dancing and so on. This really enjoys me and I can see that other have the same feeling.'* This complies with the general characteristics that people labelled to the culture, such as 'informal', 'cosy' and 'family'. Again, this shows that there are many different things to which someone can feel committed to, often closely linked, but with differences in nuance.

4.6   Conclusion

The basic motivation of the respondents of this research seems to be very important. Not only for their motivation on the long term, but also for the daily motivation and demotivation. Goal-internalization, as mentioned by Leonard in paragraph 3.1.1, has huge implications for the way that people make sense of organizational life; the way that employees give meaning to their reality, such as their demotivation. As mentioned by Pearlin and Schooler as well as Folkman and Moskowitz, giving meaning can be an important way for people to cope with stressful situations. This might be interesting for the next chapters. This chapter also showed that the relation between motivation and demotivation are complex. Herzberg describes in paragraph 3.1.1 that only motivators can result in motivation and not the diminishment of demotivators. This chapter suggests that this can also work the other way around and that a diminishment in motivation doesn't automatically result in demotivation, at least, not in the experiences of people. As described in chapter 3, goal-internalization lies in between extrinsic and intrinsic motivation. This situation is illustrated in this chapter, since both types of motivation factors are recognised, often in a mixture. In addition, also issues that are mentioned in the self-concept of motivation are highlighted in this chapter, in the way that a norm in the organization may influence people's ideas on motivation and commitment. Furthermore, commitment may explain why the motivation factors and the behaviour of people may not always be rational, calculative and logical decisions, but instead based on their commitments such as commitment towards colleagues, religion or goals. This chapter showed that different cultural perspectives of Martin might be useful, since 'shared' feelings in the organization as well as many different interpretations are revealed in this way. For commitment, it became clear that a difference in nuance is very important, while in the literature this difference in nuance is often overlooked in a way. It became also clear that the different models of commitment, the different dimensions and components can be applied on different types of commitment as well, as was already mentioned by Meyer, Herscovitch and Cohen. Although culture isn't a main theme of this research, this chapter showed that there are multiple links with (aspects of) culture, motivation and commitment. Therefore, it cannot be ignored by analysing organizational life of Icco, the changes within and around the organization and the experiences of people.

Chapter 5 Organizational change

The former chapter revealed some general experiences of people, however this chapter goes further by focuses on the changes within the sector and how people experience these (sub questions 4, 6, 7 in § 1.2). During the interviews, questions about organizational changes in general were asked as well as questions that focused specific on the most recent changes, related to the ProCoDe process. The ProCoDe process was a 'hot topic' during the interviews, which explains why the bulk of this chapter is about this reorganization. However other changes are also discussed, but since the experiences and coping mechanisms are most important, the different changes are discussed together. The first paragraph focuses on the specific phase of the ProCoDe process in which the organization was in the moment this research was held. Subsequently, paragraph 5.2 describes the general belief of the employees in the goals of this process. Paragraph 5.3 focuses on aspects that demotivate people during change and paragraph 5.4 discusses the different ways that the respondents deal with change and demotivation. This chapter will end with a conclusion.

5.1   Phases in the ProCoDe process

As is described in chapter 2 of this report, the ProCoDe process is implemented in different phases. At the moment that this research was done, the organization was in the middle of phase 3, the last phase which will last until the end of 2010. This process was started in 2006 and since that time, many things have been implemented, such as the opening of the eight regional offices, the start up of the regional councils and the transformation of the organization in the Netherlands. In this period, many colleagues became supernumerary or already left the organization. At the moment that this research was held, there were still quite some farewell-parties and probably more will follow in the next six months. Furthermore the office in Utrecht was rearranged and departments where physically split up and located in other parts of the building. The timing of the different phases should be considered when the results of this chapter are analyzed. Roughly speaking, it can be said that the most extreme phase was already completed. People have had some time to get used to the ideas and already experienced many of the changes. This has also implications to the level of resistance at the moment of this research, as the following respondent illustrates: (3) *'Many employees didn't agree with the realization of the process. That is over now, more or less. But in 2007 there was a peak of dissatisfaction in the organization.'* Terms which are mentioned by some respondents to represent the general feeling of employees regarding the reorganization, are *'resignation'* and *'meekness'* after a period of dissatisfaction and resistance. People realize that they cannot influence or stop certain changes anymore, which has impact on the way that people talk about the process. However, people do still care about the process, since they are very concerned and express their analysis and opinions regarding it. Another thing which should be kept in mind while reading this chapter, is that the respondents are mainly people who got a new position in the organization due to the reorganization or people who could keep their position. Only a few respondents had a chance of becoming supernumerary after December 2010.

5.2   Believing in ProCoDe

In this paragraph the first opinions of the respondents regarding the goals of the ProCoDe process are discussed. Almost all respondents mention that they believe in the goals of ProCoDe. At a glance a positive reaction, but what does it exactly mean? At least it doesn't mean that people don't have any doubts, questions, remarks or negative feelings regarding (aspects of) the organizational change, the implementation and the effects of it.

First of all, when looking to the goals of ProCoDe (chapter 2), it is seen that the goals are described in quite general terms, which are closely linked to the mission of the organization. Since all

respondents have a basic motivation which is similar or at least linked to the mission of Icco, this explains why it is easy to believe in these goals. Some terms and comments which are mentioned in the formulation of the goals are: 'complementarity', 'the representatives of the regions can influence policy development and activities of Icco', 'ownership', 'closer to the local context and to local solutions', 'work together', 'shared trust and responsibility', 'contribute in a more effective way' and 'fit to the changes in the environment' (Icco, 2009-a; Icco, 2009-b). These seem to be goals that are pursued by the employees as well. Besides this, the ProCoDe process consists of three elements; programmatic work, co-responsibility and decentralisation. Three elements which are interwoven with each other, but which have different and multiple effects. The following quote shows an example of a respondent who only believes in part of the process: *(7)'In principle, I believe in the decentralization, the fact that you work closer to the partners, that you can adjust your service to the partners, that you can have more contact, that is something I believe in. .... The P of programmatic work, I have my doubts about that.....And de C of co-responsibility, I think that is an issue which takes a long time to accomplish. I also question this. To give more responsibility to the organizations in the south, well that sounds of course very nice, but experience shows that it doesn't work like that and it never has.... I am not reluctant towards this process, but I have my question about it.'* Another quote shows an example of a woman who mentions that she does believe in the process, although not in all elements: *'And I think also, like many people within Icco I think, well ProCoDe, that is fantastic. However, the 'De' of decentralization, well actually I never understood that.'*

The first, positive reaction may be a socially desirable answer, but since almost all people indicated this and were also honest about their exact opinion, this doesn't seem to be the only reason. Their first reaction shows a positive feeling, based on the general process and goals. Despite people's questions, objections and doubt, this positive feeling can still be highlighted. This is important and matches with an important strategy within the organization for the communication regarding organizational changes, as mentioned by a manager. This strategy focuses on the general goals of the process. However, this also shows that the first reactions don't give a complete picture of people's feelings and experiences, it only covers certain aspects and goals.

5.3 Demotivation and organizational change

Demotivation isn't something which is mentioned by many respondents, as was mentioned in chapter 4. In the same time however, they can mention things that they don't like, which don't motivate them or that discourage them. This is also the case when the changes within the organization are discussed, although the word 'demotivation' was more often used here. This paragraph points out which aspects and issues resulted in negative feelings for the employees.

5.3.1 Frustration of work

As mentioned in § 4.3.2, frustration of work is one important demotivation factor in general and this subparagraph shows that it can also be recognised during organizational change. Important examples of this are the changes in personnel and the reduction in staff. One effect of this was that people don't really know to whom they should turn and who is responsible for what. People perceive this as irritating and having negative effect on their work at that particular moment, like the following example shows: *(2) 'It is a hectic period and at this moment it isn't easy to do your job and that it is a little demotivating. We have obligations towards donors and for this I need reports and therefore I need information to make it a good report. The European Commission is waiting, they ask me: "Why didn't we hear from you for so long?" I am really depending on those people who are responsible for the contacts with the partner organizations. But they have partly left or they have transferred their responsibility already. This means that I have to take over certain tasks and get in touch with the partner organizations myself. Because I just need that information. In this sense it escalates at the*

moment and that isn't motivating." Other people talk about the impact that the reorganization has on the professionalism of the organization and the quality of the work; the complexity, the arrival of new personnel (who still need to be trained) and the loss of knowledge because of the replacement of people. Another issue which was mentioned here was the idea that the organization has become more internal-focused and there is more bureaucracy because of organizational change. Some people perceived this as becoming worse over time, like the following respondent: *(12) 'More and more time is spent on internal issues, because of reorganizations. And the amount of reorganizations is only growing..... Every time there is a preparation phase in which you prepare everything which has to be arranged; this costs a lot of time...yes, perhaps you can eventually deduce that it is somehow good for the work in the field, but the field is far away then. ... I think it could be a reason that I will look for something else at a certain moment, also because you get tired of it.'*

For some of these issues, people recognise the temporality of the frustration, although something like 'loss of knowledge' and 'internal focus' was perceived as a long term problem. People labelled these things as demotivating, irritating, discouraging and sometimes even resulted in burn outs or thoughts about leaving the organization. Since the motivation of people is based on goal-internalization (Leonard, § 3.1.1), frustration of work means that people's personal goals or missions are jeopardized. Those activities that have to be done during organizational change aren't the activities that result in intrinsic motivation. Thereby, a feeling of usefulness of the work, as mentioned by Von Grumbkow (§ 3.1.1) as important for intrinsic motivation, is often lacking or difficult to recognise. Contributing to the goals as mentioned in the basic motivation are experienced as difficult or is hindered. This issue can be explained by the commitment of people to the organization, their work and the goals of the organization.

5.3.2 Departing colleagues

That many people lost their job and had to leave the organization due to the reorganization is mentioned by almost all respondents as having huge impact. Some people describe it 'only' as something gloomy, such as the following example shows: *(3) 'It doesn't influence my work or the pleasure in my work, but it is something like a general gloom. People go away, you keep writing farewell-parties in your agenda, yeck, it is such a dreadful time at the moment. But you also get used to it.'* For other people it is more than this, like the following example illustrates: *(14) 'A lot of people leave with whom I build a strong relationship. They would have stayed, but that isn't possible. ... Colleagues are very important for me.... also because I attach a lot of value to the quality of a relationship. I don't look only at people in the sense of what they can do for me. So, that affective relationship is cut because the organization is going to restructure. ... That demotivated me a lot, so much that I became depressed and I couldn't work a lot for a while.'* Although this might be an extreme example, it shows what commitment to colleagues can mean for your motivation, if this commitment is affected. The next respondent is another example of this: *(8) 'I am quite busy now with the farewell-parties of people, I want to organise this, so that everyone gets the right attention, as a person. But at the moment that isn't possible, not in the way that we say goodbye normally. ... In the end of May many people had to leave in my department, that is very demotivating. I almost don't have any colleague left ... I noticed that people are very important to me, not only on my department. Those people who leave at the moment, those are people who have made my work nice.'*

For these last respondents, commitment to colleagues explains the effect of the departure of colleagues on their motivation. For other people this demotivation can be explained by the fact that people experience the atmosphere and their colleagues in the organization as a motivating factor in their daily work, as mentioned in paragraph 4.2.3 as recognised in the first quote. The department of huge numbers of colleagues results in a less nice general atmosphere in the organization and relationships with colleagues are broken. The degree in which this issue impact someone's motivation

can be explained by looking at those things that motivate people and to what they feel committed. Commitment to colleagues can easily result in demotivation as might also be the case with commitment to culture (i.e. the nice atmosphere). However, when a nice atmosphere is only a motivation factor without real commitment, the result may be limited to an experience of 'less motivation' or as something 'gloomy'. For each person, the dependency between motivation and demotivation is therefore different.

5.3.3   Disagreement regarding content

In the interviews it became clear that many respondents have clear visions concerning the way that the reorganization should have been implemented and regarding the goals of the process. This issue of less motivation concerns a different opinion than the management regarding the content of a change. The respondents describe multiple different issues on which they experience disagreement. Examples are the cooperation with PKN/Kerk in Actie in the sense of different identities and visions, or certain aspects of the ProCoDe process which are perceived as too traditional or too naïf. During the interviews it became clear that many respondents have clear ideas about what is best for their organization and their work, which can be seen as a logical result of goal-internalization. In this way, it is a logical consequence as well, that people don't always agree with all aspects of reorganization, especially when it concerns a huge process as ProCoDe. The impact on motivation of this disagreement doesn't seem to be permanent or lasting very long, or at least that wasn't pointed out in the interviews. This issue shows the alertness and involvement of the employees. People are aware of policies, develop their own opinion about it and seem to monitor the organization. This is the result of goal-internalization in combination with commitment towards the mission, the organization and/ or the job.

5.3.4   Participation in decision making

The former subparagraph concerned the content of decisions, while the following concerns the process of change. The former issues showed that people want to express their opinion, something that is also mentioned by some managers, as a characteristic of the Icco-employee. However, one thing that is pointed out as demotivating is the lack of involvement in decision making. Many people have the feeling that their opinion wasn't included in the decision making or that it wasn't seriously considered: *(4) 'People really try to think along with the organization and in it self, there is space for participation, but it is the question whether it is really picked up. Everybody can take part in the conversation, but then suddenly there is a decision and you think, "where does that come from"?'* Another example of this is given by the following respondent: *(11) 'In my opinion it would be better when they listened better to the bottom-up voices. This whole change process is triggered by some old men who don't work in the field anymore for twenty years, who only talk with general directors of other big NGO's, who have a theoretical and abstract perspective. In my opinion they should have listen better to the field. This was quite demotivating.'* The last example emphasizes the importance of the process, as opposite to the content of the change: *(5) '...if I would know the vision and the course of the organization... and it isn't even necessary that I always agree with that, but at least it should be clear. That is what we want and for this and this reason. I prefer that management makes choices. And perhaps I would be fed up sometimes, but when they keep you at a string, that's more difficult.*

The influence of this issue on people's motivation seems to be much stronger than was the case when it regards the content. Also this issue can be clarified by the commitment to the organization; the least thing that they want is being heard and involved and are taken seriously. It demotivates people when they are excluded from decisions and especially from reasoning. Not that the organization doesn't involve people, because as mentioned by a manager and described in documents, multiple workgroups were organized during the ProCoDe process. What actually happens is that the

organization doesn't acknowledge the commitment of people towards the organization or don't show their appreciation for or. However, reluctance and acceptance were also recognised in the stories of some respondents.

5.4 Coping with change

The former paragraphs showed some of the issues that people indicate as demotivating or less motivating by the respondents. Important for this research is the way that people deal with these feelings. Changes in an organization may bring along different feelings, such as demotivation, insecurity, threats or disagreement. In this paragraph, multiple coping responses are described. Some are literally mentioned by the respondents, others are deducted from their stories. In paragraph 3.3 coping was described as the thoughts, behaviours or responses used to manage, avoid, prevent or control situations that are appraised as stressful. This shows that coping responses may take place after as well as before demotivation occurs. Therefore, it is difficult to say whether a certain response prevents demotivation or concerns motivation, as will become clear in this paragraph. Some issues in this paragraph concern attitudes towards change, some show clear examples of dealing with change and demotivation, others regard issues to which people put their attention. Since the respondents use multiple coping responses in the same time, the following coping responses can't be ascribed to certain groups of respondents.

5.4.1 Change as inevitable

This subparagraph regards an attitude on change in general. A group of respondents see change as something which is inevitable and necessary for the organization. It is mentioned that the organization has to go along with its time, adjust to the circumstances and answer to the new requirements of the environment. One respondent mentions that it was inevitable for his department that the organization decided to decentralize. He argues that other institutions do the same and that his work will become difficult or even impossible if decentralization wasn't implemented. Another respondent gave the following comment: *(1) 'Well, actually this change isn't wrong, you have to keep up with your times.'* Then she starts talking about ProCoDe: *'Something had to change, I understood that also. Because the whole MFS system in the Netherlands was under pressure.'* This shows a quite progressive view of organizational change from employees, which shows a kind of understanding of the reasons of the organization on why they had made certain decisions. It also gives the impression that people don't blame the organization for certain things, because the organization is just doing what it has to do. Kotter (2000, p.60) wrote an article about the management of change in organizations. In this article he mentions certain points which are important and one of those is creating a 'sense of urgency' for the employees. Some of the respondents from Icco do experience this sense of urgency, very well. This issues concerns a commitment to change (§ 3.2.1), since people perceive things as necessary for the successful implementation of the change.

5.4.2 Employees should choose

Another issue which is remarkable concerns an attitude or vision on desirable behaviour of employees during change. Employees are supposed to decide whether they want to stay or whether they want to leave the organization. The following quote illustrates this point of view: *(6) 'Perhaps it is dreadful, but probably it is better to find a job somewhere else. That is better for the organization and better for you. Or you go along with the change or you are the one who obstructs the organization and yourself. You have to find out whether you still fit in the organization. That is dreadful, but the organization has to move on. The organization is bigger than just you. That's the way it is. Otherwise, the organization cannot move forewords. People have to leave and new people have to join, to make it possible for the organization to make a next step.'* Another respondent mentions: *(9) 'People who couldn't keep up*

with it, they just have quit. I think that is better anyway, because otherwise they stand in the way of the process. I don't want to become someone who says: "no, we have tried that already, we know all that, that doesn't work" Those people frustrate renewal. If I become someone like that, I would resign.'

This illustrates a progressive attitude regarding employees in a changing organization. However, it can also be a reaction on the behaviour of colleagues who didn't made this decision in the past, who decided to stay but who didn't really fit in the organization anymore. Some people mention they know people in their department or their team who did made this decisions, although it is acknowledges that these are only a few. It also seems to suggest a kind of norm on desirable behaviour, which means that it isn't appreciated or respected when people don't follow this norm. It also influences the ideas people have regarding their possible selves (§ 3.2.1) and ideas on what people are afraid of becoming. It seems to suggest that you can't criticise the organization anymore, however this isn't the case, since people still do. However, it can still have impact on people's thought and behaviours. The following respondent shows that people agree with things or accept them after a while, which can be an example of behaviour that is influenced by this norm: *(11) 'It is interesting to see how the process has gone; resistance, followed by acceptation. Most people have a drive, at least at my department, you see that personal visions become important, for people's opinion on what is good and what isn't and what should be different. A lot of discussion. And eventually, everyone puts up with it, they accept it. Or they hope that it will turn out positively, or they see that there are indeed good aspects.'*

5.4.3 Temporality

When talking about more negative issues regarding organizational changes, quite some respondents literally emphasize the temporality of this. One respondent mentions multiple times that he doesn't experience it as positive, ideal or fantastic in his work, whereby he emphasizes that it is the situation at 'this' particular moment. He adds: *(2) 'But it isn't that bad that I think about leaving or something, especially because I think it will become better eventually. I really think that we have to pull through for a while; it is a process.'* Multiple respondents mention similar issues. Some people talk about the hope that certain things would eventually become better, such as the following respondent who talks about a general trend she notices in the organization: *(11) 'I hope that this time will soon be over, that short-sighted policy and the compartmentalization along religious lines. Because Icco pulls to the PKN corner more and more.'* This shows that there is a kind of trust that things will become better again, perhaps even a blind faith (Pearlin and Schooler in § 3.3.1)

Another group of people talks about the reorganization in a doubtful way and add that they just decide to wait what will happen. This gives an indication that people give the organization the benefit of the doubt. Furthermore it also gives the impression of temporality, however in a different way; more doubtful. People might hope that decisions will be reversed or their motivation will soon return: *(11) 'Although there is a lot of resistance, which was also the case with the thematic reorientation, everyone will go along with it eventually. And then, suddenly there will also be that motivation again to go for it and to ensure that you achieve result in this new situation.'* Another example comes from a respondent who sets a certain probation time for the organization, after which she will decides to stay or leave: *(1) 'I have said to myself, my contract is for two years and one year is already over, so I want to finish this other year too. But if nothing has changes after that, in professionalism ... if these things don't change, I don't think I will work here much longer.'*

Experiencing something as temporary, makes it easier for people to deal with stressful or demotivation issues, as indicated in paragraph 3.3 as 'meaning-focused coping' with events. Knowing that things will be temporary, improves the prospect and a good prospect is something that people want to believe in, even if they aren't sure. This focus shows a positive attitude, as well as a focus on results, on the final goal. It can be questioned whether this temporality is realistic or whether is

provides just a good excuse to postpone demotivation or stressful feelings or even decisions on how to deal with it. Furthermore, it may also be that people cope with postponing their negative feelings for anther time. Postponing feelings as well as focussing on the positive aspects are emotion-focused coping responses, since it is a kind of way that people look for distracting activities (Folkman and Moskowitz in § 3.3.1).

5.4.4 Normality

Labelling something as normal is a clear contradiction to the former issue. Some respondents see organizational change as something which is quite normal or a little indifferent: *(3) 'It is just something you do. We just dive into the next organizational change. First the relocation, after that the shift from regional to thematic orientation in the structure and now this ProCoDe is next.'* This gives the impression that there are so many changes, that it just becomes part of your normal work, part of the things you do. There are a few more respondents who literally refer to the huge amount of changes. The following respondent quotes one of his colleagues: *(12) 'A colleague said: "In 1993 we had the first reorganization within Icco and from that moment, we will keep reorganizing" I found this a good reflection of reality'* And: *(14)'Change is a constant within Icco. I have passed through so many changes and reorganizations'.* The following respondent refers to normality, despite all the changes: *(16) 'I held many different positions over the years, but I can't say that I experienced that many changes. Perhaps the shift toward thematic orientation was something that was difficult for many, but since I just took another position, I didn't experience this change myself. In my direct work, nothing really changed much, I always had the idea that I could do what I wanted to do.'* This says: 'when you change yourself, you have little to do with the organizational changes'.

Organizational change as a constant is often discussed in the literature. Demers (2007, p 222) described the natural evolution as well as the social dynamics perspective in which change and stability aren't each other's opposites, but instead part of the same process. According to these theories, this separation is faded away, since organizations are constantly moving. However, these theories don't deal with the opinions of employees, but on how scientist can analyze change and in this way, the meaning that these respondents give to change is quite remarkable. This again might be an example of meaning-focused coping, because when a situation is normal, it just belongs to your tasks and when you are committed to your job, that is just something you should do. In this way, it is better to speak of coping with change instead of coping with stressful situations.

5.4.5 In search for understanding

It often happens that respondents express their criticism on the organization, their complains or doubt, followed by an expression of their understanding for the decisions made. The following quote shows an example of this: *(9) 'In my opinion they (the management) should have listen better to us. The order in which they made certain adjustments isn't logical, like; first merging our department with PKN and making policy afterwards. We prefer to work in the other way around, to think from the future. But I can also understand this decision, because the rest of the organization had to make the shift in July. We had to go along with this, that is just the way it is.'* Another respondent mentions a similar issue: *(1) 'The quality and control system we have, it isn't flexible and it doesn't fit to our reality as program officers. This is because of all those rules of the Ministry. I have problems with this. But on the other side, I can understand. If you are decentralizing and there are several regional offices, it is necessary to have certain rules that everyone should follow, to keep the different offices together. Otherwise, people are doing things which you can't follow, can't control. So I understand, but it frustrates me in the same time.'*

Whether the reasons that people put up describe the real situation isn't even important here, it does matter that this reasoning can justify situations for people. It doesn't make people forget about

their own opinions, but understanding why things happen is the first step towards acceptance. This is also a way that people give meaning to changes, to situations. This is another meaning-focused coping response (Pearlin and Schooler in § 3.3.1). That people are in search for understanding is a positive attitude, also linked to the commitment to the organization. People look beyond their own perspective and want to stay committed to the organization. A personnel manager explains however the other side of it, by mentioning that employees of Icco often look for the arguments themselves, without asking for the real arguments. She says that the result is that many 'truths' are created in the organization, not all based on explanation of management, like Giddens (2001 in § 1.1) describes as the social-construction of reality. This makes it difficult for the organization to find out what is really in the minds of people. However, it also highlight the importance of communication during organizational change. This was highlighted by a respondent who talked about a change in the past, which wasn't communicated well, while everyone knew what was going on: *(1) 'Moving from Zeist to Utrecht, that was really annoying. It was a kind of preparation of the cooperation with Kerk in Actie, but they never said that. But everybody knows that you don't move to the building of PKN without a reason.'* After she describes the (plausible) reasoning of the organization, she says: *'But I found this so..... like we are stupid or something.'*

5.4.6   Putting things in perspective

Another striking issue, in a way related to the former one, is that the respondents often (try to) to put their own opinion into perspective. The first example comes from a woman who is quite positive regarding the organizational change in general. The only thing that she finds less positive is the way the organization deals with the employees who became supernumerary: *(4) 'It is a shame that the management couldn't deal with this in a better way. .... For example... there wasn't enough budget to organize a proper goodbye for people, they didn't think about this at all. It would have been more Icco-like to pay more attention to this. So that's a shame. But well, what does it mean? It just shows that the rest of the organization took over this responsibility.'* By directly changing to the positive side effect; people in the organization that do feel responsible, she puts the behaviour of management into perspective. Another respondents talks a long time about those things she doesn't agree with, because she finds that the reorganization doesn't bring about enough change. In the end she says: *(5) 'But it can also be a matter of time. I can have a vision on something, but there is also something as practice. I can mention my opinion about this, but I am not the director of the organization. And the director has to deal with the decentralization, with an office that should fire people and hire new ones. There is definitely a disappointment for me in this process, but on the other hand, I should be realistic.'* What she actually says is that her opinion is perhaps not realistic. She seems to put her own, ambiguous visions into perspective, diminishing her strong negative opinion about the current situation.

Putting the situation in perspective, another form of meaning-focused coping, makes things less dramatic, less severe and less negative and therefore easier to deal with. Sometimes, it also assumes that people use this as an excuse for their own strong opinion, for their criticism. Whether this is the case is uncertain and perhaps it is even unclear for people themselves. However, it suggest a kind of norm, regarding how to express yourself and your criticism.

5.4.7   Feelings of pride

This subparagraph regards the feeling of pride that people expresses, while talking about the reorganization. The reason that this is discussed in a paragraph regarding coping, stems from the fact that people described these feelings while talking about their negative feelings. It seems that people weight the pros and cons of the situation and a feeling of pride is thereby an extra positive focus. Quite some people mention to be proud on the organization for the decisions it has made and this influences their idea of the reorganization process. One respondent gave his opinion about the ProCoDe process

in general: *(16) ' Well, very positive. A brave attempt to find an answer on all the things that the organization has to face at the moment'.* Pride on Icco is for the following respondent strengthened by her environment: (9) *'Quite often, employees from other development organizations step up to me and say "Oh, Icco is in the middle of such an intense process, how is that going? That is so brave of you" Well, then I think, "Oh, Icco is such a precursor" and I find that very positive..'* This feeling of pride, often towards the environment of the organization, can also result in a strengthening or embracement of commitment towards the organization.

Another important issue about which people express their pride and respect, is when they talk about their colleagues who became supernumerary, but who were (or still are) motivated until the last moment. The following quote is an example of this: *(10) 'I talked about this with my colleagues, how is it possible that people are so incredibly motivated until the last moment? And so committed to the organization until the moment they transferred their work to the regional offices. I think that's incredible. And I think there aren't many sectors in which you can find similar things, such commitment and motivation among the majority of the employees. In another sector, they would have said: "I loose my job, forget about it, I will not transfer my work anymore" But here, you see that people care about their work until the bitter end. ... I admire that. If you know that you loose your own job....'.* It was seen that people experience their colleagues as very special and unique at this point, compared to other organizations, like the following respondent: *(12) 'And an external consultant also mentioned that he never saw something like that before. .... Here, people work so hard until their last day. This has to do with your motivation.'* This issue can be linked to commitment towards colleagues. A feeling of pride, in times that many other things occur that don't create such positive feelings or pride.

This issue shows that people may focus on those aspects of a change that give them a positive feeling, a feeling of pride. Giving a positive meaning to something distracts a little bit from the less positive aspects and developments, which can be seen as a combination of emotions-focused coping and meaning-focused coping (Folkman and Moskowitz; Pearlin and Schooler, in § 3.3.1). Martin (§ 3.4) mentioned that a sense of uniqueness results in positive feelings for the organization as well as the employee. The statements of people in this paragraph also suggest a kind of norm regarding the desired or respected behaviour of employees (Steers et al, 1996 in § 3.1.2).

5.4.8   Focus on own work

People mention that they focus on their own job, their own activities, so that they don't have to concern about other things, things they don't agree with or other less pleasant things. The following respondent acknowledges this herself, not only as a way to deal with 'changes', but a way of coping in general: *(11) ' I think that many people do like me, you just focus on your own work. And in the same time, I find that a weak thing to do, because you let a micro world continue. Everyone just focuses on their own work…You let this micro world exist in which the management has several privileges….. It has to organize itself, so spheres of power and influence are created.'* The next respondent talks about her idea on how her colleagues deal with decisions they don't agree with: *(5) 'I think that many people start to wear eye pads and just continue doing their own thing. ... Those people who can stay in the organization think "I have enough to do myself, I just try to do my daily activities and we will see" You see a lot of meekness.'* One woman describes an example from the past, which shows that she focused on her own work, to postpone the negative feelings she had when Icco started to work together with Kerk in Actie: *(1)'At that moment I had my doubts about the organization. I was working in Sudan at that time, so you have even more prejudices….. But I was there and I thought "the thing I do at the moment I find that very interesting and I want to do that for at least two years and when I will return, I will see." And when I came back in the Netherlands I saw that actually everything was still the same, not a lot had changed and nothing was forced upon me.'* Of course this

reason is possibly not the only reason that this woman didn't quit with her job at that particular moment, however, this example shows that a focus on your own job can make it easier to deal with threatening situations.

This way of coping with change is in a way similar to the former subparagraph, since people focus on something positive or in this case something manageable, which makes things easier to deal with. The way that people seem to cope with change and demotivation is here a focus on something that distracts, which means a kind of ignorance of other aspects. This coping response will be discussed in the following paragraph.

5.4.9 Shift in focus

The two former subparagraphs is seen that people shift their focus, as a way to cope with change, demotivation, disagreement or negative feelings. This subparagraph shows that there are more examples recognized in this research that show such a shift in focus, as shift between the different aspects of organizational life. The following quote is of a respondent who focuses on the challenge of the situation. She just mentioned that many of her colleagues had to leave the organization and that her department had to split up because of the reorganization, which would make it more difficult to share ideas with people. But then she mentions: *(6) 'But I see it as a challenge also to make something of it again eventually.'* This gives the impression that she brings up the challenge, to counterweight the negative aspects which she mentioned before. There are quite some comments of respondents that are similar to this. Another respondent focuses on the mission of the organization when talking about that aspect of organizational change, which he experiences as quite negative: *(12) 'If I am busy all the time with internal discussions about how we will manage the following reorganization, well, it is possible to deduce somewhere that it contributes to the work you do in the field. .... At least, that is where you are hoping for. And sometimes I think: 'to do something important, you should do something ridiculous first. However, sometimes this chain becomes very long...'* This example shows a search for the final effect of demotivating aspects of reorganization, a search to find motivation to go on with these reorganizations. Another issue which indicates that people shift focus in times of organizational change is that some respondents mention that they split the organization in into different pieces, like the following example shows: *(3) 'I have the idea that many colleagues split the organization apart from the work. Work is in this sense the colleagues, the partner organization and the content of the work. I think Icco scores ten points for this. The organization, the way the management acts and the rules etc, that's where the irritation lies.'* This different focus of people can be related to different types of commitment to which people can shift. It shows an example of how different types of commitment can help to split the risk. A special focus as mentioned by the following woman: *(4) 'Eventually the decentralization will benefit the partners. Therefore, I think that the ProCoDe process is good. Of course there are advantages and disadvantages, but it will benefit the partners'.* There are multiple respondents who use the final goal of the organization to shape their general feeling towards the organizational change. This complies again with the point that is mentioned by Kotter (2000) as important for the management of change: 'a focus on the final goals'. Another respondent tells that she experiences certain aspects of the ProCoDe as quite negative and difficult, together with uncertainty about the available budget for her department. However, she mentions that a focus, a believe in a possible scenario for the future of her department, really helps her to deal with uncertainty and less nice elements: *(9) 'I cling a little bit to this positive vision of the future, because it isn't clear which way it will go. I think, when it will go that way, that would be nice. And that reorganization and that 'fusion' with PKN, I'll just have to forget about it for a while. That vision, that is what drives me.'*

This issue shows that people try to separate different aspects of the same organizational change and focus on that aspect that it easier to manage, which is (more) positive or which is most important. People might focus on a challenge, the goals, their basic motivation, their own job or on

positive aspects. This is an opposite coping mechanisms when comparing this with issues like 'putting in perspective' and 'understanding', where people seem to weight the pro's and cons. This coping mechanism shows that people (try to) ignore or in some casus postpone certain negative parts of the situation. The degree in which this coping mechanism is effective seems to differ from person to person, since some people focus very easily on the positive aspects, while other people seem to hesitate a bit more. As mentioned in chapter 4, people can experience multiple types of commitment at the same time. Because of this, people are able to shift to that type that suits best for that particular situation and that particular moment. Multiple coping responses are recognized here, such as emotion –focused coping (Folkman and Moskowitz in §3.3.1). This suggests a similar mechanisms as described by Kunda (2006: p.178-81), although his focus lies on the degree in which employees deal with strong cultures. He describes the phenomenon of role embracement or role distancing as a way to deal with the prescribed role in strong cultures. This theory of Kunda is used here as an inspiration for structuring this particular coping mechanism.

If we convert this mechanism to commitment-embracement or commitment-distancing, it explains what people seem to do. People experience different types of commitment at the same time, while they highlight that commitment or that focus that suits the circumstances, without letting go of other types of commitment. People embrace certain types of commitment and distance from others. This may be temporary or specific for certain aspects. This way of coping makes people's 'organizational reality' very dynamic and continuously changing. This complies with the natural evolution and social dynamics perspective of Demers (2007: p.222) that organizations are dynamic and change and stability are two different sides of the same coin.

That this mechanism may also work the other way around, can be pointed out by the following example. Quite some people indicate, as described in paragraph ...(commitment to Christian background)..., that this commitment wasn't that important for them, but they do respect it. However, multiple people mention to have problems or at least hesitate about the cooperation with PKN/ Kerk in Actie: *(16) 'When we start to cooperate with PKN, I hold my breath.'* And another respondent*: (9) ' I find it exciting in what degree Icco will be pushed in the Christian corner, the protestant corner, what will be the role of the church? Because I feel sympathy for it, but I don't go to church myself. In what degree there will be space for both drives?'* The lack of commitment to the Christian identity of the organizations becomes suddenly more important. This aspect of commitment to the organization becomes suddenly more important.

5.4.10 *Just continuing*

That people aren't always able to separate different aspects of organizational life or that the pro's and cons can't weight to each other always, is pointed out by people who highlight the work load during the ProCoDe process. Multiple negative aspects come together, which puts a lot of pressure on people. Working in a cheerless atmosphere (because of the huge amount of colleagues who left the organization), working on the MFS proposal, (which isn't motivating on itself) and insecurity of the job (because of the reorganization or because of the insecurity of funding for the organization or other issues). This makes it difficult for people to cope with all aspects in the same time. A personnel manager of Icco mentions that employees are often that motivated, resulting in working very hard and long. Sometimes this can result in a burn out, as is mentioned in this chapter only a few times. According to this manager, when these burn outs are the result of a strong motivation, this often results in long absence of people. In chapter 4, multiple examples are given of this strong motivation and commitment or employees. The next quote comes from a woman who had a burn out during the ProCoDe process: *(10)'Well, what I experienced the last half year, which is also the reason that I had my second burn-out last year, that you really have to look for the people and the structures...I find the process very positive, but it went that fast, that the structures which you need weren't adjusted yet and*

that makes it extremely difficult to work. .... Eventually you are doing tasks, that aren't yours.' Although motivation and commitment can help people by dealing with demotivation, this subparagraph wants to put attention to the possible negative side-effects of it. Although people experience many changes and pressures in the same time, their motivation and commitment with their work or the organization makes that people continue, in the mean while accumulating stresses. Neglecting as a coping response can therefore also have a negative consequence.

A similar issue regards the employees that are supernumerary, but who work very hard and are very motivated until the end. This is appreciated by most of the respondents. Although this research doesn't focus on the supernumerary employees, one comment has to be mentioned: *(12) 'the majority of the production staff had to leave, but those people, they didn't want to see that. They were just busy with their work and they just didn't want to know al this. And I think, they realized too late that they had to leave the organization. .... Here, people work so hard until their last day. This has to do with your motivation. But it is also closing your eyes for reality, because you experience so many reorganizations.'* This case also shows that people just continue with their work, neglecting the events that cause negative feelings. It may seem to be an effective coping mechanism, although, as mentioned by this respondent, it may result in unexpected situations in the end. Furthermore, it might also be a kind of resistance, a resistance to the decisions of the organization by neglecting them.

5.4.11 *Express frustration*

Some respondents mention coping mechanisms that directly help them with expressing their frustrations about certain issues in the organization. One mechanism which is mentioned is the Icco-cabaret. This issue is pointed out by certain people who joined this cabaret, such as the following respondent. When she was asked how she maintains her motivation in a changing organization, with changes that she doesn't always experience as useful, she answers: *(10) 'I am very active in the Icco-cabaret, we perform and I really enjoy doing that. That is a personal motivation also to stay with the organization.... But also to express my frustration. It is a way to express your frustration in a nice way. Two years ago, the decentralization was a central issue..... This really touched people. ..... This is a better way to deal with your frustration than through the Works Council.'* This cabaret is mentioned by multiple respondents and it is often labelled as being very confronting, sometimes too much, for others a good way to canalize their frustrations, only by looking at it.   Another respondent mentions the following coping mechanisms to cope with issues in the organization that really demotivated him: *(15) 'Then I start to write columns, to canalize my frustration. You also notice that the management doesn't like that always. Colleagues often approach me and ask whether I still write. And I do, however it isn't published on the intranet all the time. But you notice that colleagues appreciate it. It was looking to the issues of the day, with a wink. .... You can place the rubbish of the day into perspective.'* This shows again a mechanism that can help the ones who write it as well as the ones who read it with dealing with frustration and or demotivating elements. Not only during organizational change, but also during 'normal' times. The issues mentioned is this paragraph illustrates a kind of resistance in an acceptable way. Depending on the intentions of the individual, this coping mechanism may aim at changing the situations by changing the event that caused the negative feelings, as in problem-focused coping (Folkman and Moskowitz in § 3.3), or social-focused coping/ emotion-focused coping.

5.5   Conclusion

Although the respondents mention at first glance to believe in the ProCoDe process, in the same time they can mention multiple aspects or parts that demotivate them, where they don't believe in or they don't agree with. This field of tension indicate already a glimpse of the mechanisms that the

respondents use to cope with change. The aspects that demotivate people are both intrinsic and extrinsic factors and can be linked to the different types of commitment, as mentioned in chapter 4.

It becomes clear that demotivation and motivation are sometimes each others opposites, but in other cases they are not, as also pointed out in the conclusion of chapter 4. Again the degree in which a certain type of commitment is experienced by people clarifies their experiences.

There are two main types of coping that are described in this chapter. The first regards meaning-focused coping (Folkman and Moskowitz; Pearlin and Schooler in § 3.3.1), like 'understanding', 'putting in perspective' and describing change as 'inevitable and necessary' or in other progressive ways. The respondents of this research seem to use their meaning to weight the pro's and cons from a situation and hereby cope with changes. The next coping mechanism is almost the opposite, since here people split the different aspects of organizational life, instead of balancing them. This coping mechanism is a shift in focus, whereby people embrace or distance themselves from certain aspects of organizational life. In many cases, these different aspects can be related to different types of commitment, which makes it a shift between commitments. This is possible since people experience different types of commitment at the same time (chapter 4) and by alternating embracement and distancing, people can manoeuvre themselves through changes. The basic motivation plays hereby an important role.

Both coping mechanisms explain the fields of tension, as was mentioned in the beginning of this conclusion, since these two coping mechanisms result in a continuously changing 'reality'. In this way people create their own reality. This idea is strengthened by the fact that people seem to use different types of coping mechanisms, succeeding each other. This is a coping mechanism in itself that requires a lot of work from employees, but which can be useful in all kinds of situations, not only during reorganizations. However, in the same time, this makes it very difficult for the management to understand what it going on in the minds of people, since each individual uses similar coping mechanisms, but in different order, degrees and ways.

It became clear from this chapter that people use coping mechanisms not only to deal with negative feelings, demotivation or stress, but that they also use it to prevent these feelings. This may be conscious, but it is expected that many things occur automatically or unconscious, depending on the coping mechanisms used. Coping is a way of dealing with fields of tension, which contain both positive and negative feelings.

Another coping mechanism that is described in this chapter is a problem-focused coping mechanism. Relatively, the amount of people who described such mechanisms is quite small. This is remarkable, especially in an organization that has the goal to empower people and to tackle problems in the world. It can partly be related however to the timing of this research, in the last phase of the ProCoDe process, when major decisions are already made and implemented and the likelihood that things can be changes is very small. However, this is only the case when it regards the ProCoDe process. In chapter 4 was talked about the general characteristics of the Icco-employee. Based on the coping mechanisms mentioned in this chapter, several characteristics may be added, which are: 'positive nature', 'a calculative nature', 'carefulness in expressing feelings', 'looking to things from other perspectives'.

Chapter 6 Changes in the environment

This chapter will focus on the experiences of people regarding the changes in the environment of Icco and the relation with motivation and commitment (sub question 5, 6, 7 and 8 in § 1.2). There are different important tendencies within the environment of Icco and three of them will be discussed in this chapter. These are 'growing criticism on the sector', 'the threat of diminishing funding' and 'growing focus on results'. The first issue occurs in the environment of the organization, with different actors involved. The second issue comes already closer to the organization and the individual employee, since this can directly impact the work of the organization and the employees in it. The last issue is actually a change that occurs inside the organization, as well as in other organizations in the sector. All three tendencies are interrelated to each other and are therefore discussed in this chapter. The first three paragraphs will deal with the changes mentioned above. Paragraph 6.4 focuses on the future perspectives that the respondents have for the organization as well as their own personal future. As will become clear, these future perspectives are highly related to the three tendencies that are discussed in this chapter and the future perspectives can explain certain reactions. This last paragraph provides a conclusion of this chapter.

6.1   Criticism on the development sector

As described in chapter 2, there is a growing pressure on the development sector. One aspect of this is the growing criticism on the work of development organizations and on International development in general. This criticism comes from many different stakeholders in the Dutch society and even from outside the Netherlands. In this research, questions were asked on criticism in general and it was up to the respondents which kind of criticism was most important for them. This paragraph will discuss subsequently where people come into contact with criticism, how they link this to their motivation and how they cope with this.

6.1.1   Contact with criticism

Al respondents are aware of the criticism on the development sector, but they come into contact with this criticism in different ways. A small amount of respondents mention to come into contact with criticism in their personal environment. The following example shows that this isn't perceived as something positive: *(2) 'For me it is important to detach myself from work every now and then. But for International development, that is almost impossible....Everybody has ideas about it and likes to start discussions about it. So you talk a lot about it and most of the times in a positive way. .... But lately it results more and more in critical questions. And in that way, you have to defend yourself more and more. For example they say "So, you work for those spoilers" or whatever. Well, you just have to try to defend yourself. And I didn't like it anyhow to talk about my work all evening, but now I have to justify and defend all night.'* Also another person mentions a similar issue: *(1) 'I do experience this criticism in my personal environment, for example in my family in law. So yes, especially on birthdays and so on.'* However, most people indicate that they don't see this criticism in their personal environment, which is explained by the following respondent: *(9) 'I think it matters a lot to which group your friends belong, for the degree in which you have to defend yourself for working in the international development sector....Actually, I still experience very positive reactions. ... In the development world, people approach you positively. And my friends, well those are many people who studied in Wageningen, so they have an international view.'* Another respondent mentions: *(16) 'No, I don't come that much in touch with this criticism personally. Your friends and acquaintances are of course selectively chosen.'* Another person mentions that she realises that her personal environment isn't a reflection of the Dutch society: *(6) ' I always think that everyone in the Netherlands thinks like this, because the youth with whom I work do and they involve their parents so they also think like that.*

Then I think that this is normal, but of course that isn't true.... Most people don't think like that. .... It's funny, I come from an environment wherein everyone is interested in these topics somehow, people know a lot about it, which is quite logical I think.' More than once, the term 'ivory tower' is mentioned by people, which emphasizes the isolation from criticism. Most respondents mention however to come into contact with it through media, as well in the newspapers as in specialist literature. The question is whether it matters where people come into contact with criticism. Since quite some people talked about an 'ivory tower', this suggest a kind of isolations, thereby, criticism in specialist literature is another kind of criticism than that of the general public. Therefore, it is likely that it does impact people's motivation differently.

6.1.2 *Impact on motivation*

It seems likely that there is more impact on the motivation for people who come into contact with this criticism in their personal environment. However, this isn't the case. Just a few respondents mention that the criticism touches them personally or that it affects their motivation in a negative way. These are both people who encounter the criticism through the media as well as people who encounter it in their personal environment. The following example shows how the criticism affects the motivation of a respondent: *(15) 'Well, sometimes it does affect your motivation a little....On birthday parties you will never hear me talking about my work, it isn't a sector where you want to launch out about on every party or gathering. Because everyone is quite critical about it. People point to you, like "what is the point of it, is it really necessary?".'* Not the motivation in work, but the motivation to talk about one's work is affected. The following quote illustrates that the criticism on the sector diminishes the feeling of motivation in general: *(14) 'In my opinion our organization is in a sector which constantly has to defend itself, and that is unpleasant. I would rather work in a growing sector than in a sector which is continuously questioned. ... The frequency in which International development is discussed and the threat of halving the budget, well that is an attack in my opinion. An attack on a political instrument which we have in the Netherlands, but also on this kind of organizations and on what I do....'* Many respondents declare that they do worry about the criticism: *(9) 'Well, it doesn't make my motivation disappear, but I do worry about it: where this is going to and how you can reverse this trend. And you have to be careful that you aren't too much in your own ivory tower, it the network of people who all link International development to positive things. ... To keep an eye on those other people and try to find an answer. Well, I find that a dilemma.'* In general the responses show that the criticism does affect people personally, sometimes it results in less motivation, but often it doesn't go that far that it demotivates people in their work. This shows a similar link between motivation and demotivation as was described in paragraph 4.6. It can however result in a negative feeling for people, without being labelled as demotivation.

However there are quite some people who indicate that it works the other way around for them, no discouragement, but extra motivation instead: *(5) 'Well, I think there is work to be done, something arises inside of me. A sign of ambition and sometimes also of anger, that you just think "Oh, shut up". But also that you think "we're on the wrong track", very clearly, Icco also. We have to take it very seriously.'* Another woman mentions: *(6) 'Oh, that's motivating. Because I don't stop. I don't go along with those opinions. I don't believe that you can't change things.'* Some respondents do even mention that it motivates them for certain actions: *(1) 'Perhaps it motivates me even more. Last year I gave some presentations in some congregations, I wanted to show what does work. ... That is also one of my tasks, ... But actually, I would like to do this more, but I just don't have enough time for it. I would like to write articles about a project that has worked and try to get that in a magazine or a newspaper.'* This last issue is mentioned by other people as well. Actually, these different impacts on one's motivation do already show different ways that people deal with this criticism.

6.1.3 Initial reactions

Quite some respondents initially associate the criticism on the sector directly with negative issues. Terms that are mentioned by these people are: cynical, short-sighted, wretched, much too narrow, populism, easy to spread, out of the context, undifferentiated, fierce, from a miserable low level and an excessive focus on that too much money would stick to the fingers. The following quote illustrates the first reaction of one of the respondents: *(3) 'Well, the public discussions are in my opinion of a miserable low level, it annoys me a lot. Something like "It doesn't work, because Africa isn't on our level of development after 60 years". Well, then I think, you are so stupid when you say things like that. People don't know anything about it. I understand that they think like that, but I also think: don't be so sure of yourself, go and make sure you will be better informed.'* Criticism is thereby also directly linked, sometimes even limited, to political parties or individuals, as the PVV (or solely Geert Wilders), VVD or even Rita Verdonk or Pim Fortuin. This assumes that people think that the source of criticism is a well defined group of people, which sounds less threatened. People often indicate that they don't come into contact with criticism, since they don't know people who vote on one of these parties. Although there are also people who associate the criticism with the WRR report or with the book of Linda Polman[1], these kind of criticism is mentioned less frequently. This initial reaction suggests that the criticism isn't something you have to take seriously or something you want to deal with. This is pointed out here, since almost all of these respondents pointed out the opposite later on. There are however also respondents, although less, who directly pointed to the positive sides of the discussion when talking about the criticism, like the following examples shows: *(14) 'This discussion compels you to think personally about why you are doing this work. I think it is a positive thing that more and more sectors interfere with international development, it makes us more modesty, that we have less pretention and that we become sharper and that we have to demonstrate what our own contributions are. Looking for that contribution of the organization and that of myself in the organization is a life-time mission in my opinion.'* It sticks out that this same respondent mentioned before that the criticism was demotivating for him, which indicates the field of tension that was also mentioned in chapter 5. This paragraph shows that the meaning that people give to criticism is very important and varies among the respondents. The following subparagraphs will describe the different coping responses of people regarding this issue.

6.1.4 Dealing with discussion

Although not everyone comes in contact with the criticism in their personal environment, quite some people have to deal sometimes with criticism in the form of a discussion, personally or in their work. There are different ways in which people deal with this. The first example shows problem-focused coping (§ 3.3), since people try to change the opinion of those who express the criticism. Often this is a combination of coping with ones one feelings as well as performing a job related task. People do this by engaging in the discussion, like the following respondent mentions: *(12) 'Once I had a discussion with Linda Polman. Some people just think they can score with this kind of topics; they can sell a book because of it. Well, then I think, you can be the solicitor of the poor, but in my opinion, you are only earning money yourself. You are not helping them either. And she couldn't answer my questions. I told her that the only thing she was doing, was dragging down the whole sector, so that the poor will receive less aid in the future. And I asked her what she thought about that. Well, she couldn't answer that. So that's how the discussion is conducted.'* The following quote shows that people don't always react in the same way: *(2) 'Well, it depends on my mood. Sometimes I have a fierce reaction and I start a discussion. But sometimes I try to start about another topic or make the discussion more broad, as done as well in the campaign of Icco: Think big'.* Other respondents mention that they try to explain

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[1] Linda Polman: Author of 'De crisiscaravaan'

their work to people as a reaction on the criticism: *(Dick) 'We just explain it over and over again to people. If we have to explain it 10 of 20 times, that is what we do. ... Journalists are initially critical, but as soon as they notice that they talk with someone who knows where he is talking about, with experience, they adjust their opinion. At least, for that moment.'* The way people use this coping mechanism also depends on who they face and there were also respondents who mention that explaining things wasn't enough to stop the criticism. Quite some people mention that they are annoyed however especially by the way that the discussion is held, like the following woman point out: *(1) 'If the discussions starts with "What is the use of those programs", well that is a very annoying start of a dialogue.'* Some people mention to love a good discussion, but preferable only with people who are interested in the sector. However, these people are probably not the people who should be convinced about the use of the work.

Ignoring or avoiding the discussion is another coping mechanism that is discussed, an example of emotion-focused coping (Folkman and Moskowitz in §3.3.1). The following quote shows an example: *(10) 'Well, I think it is oversimplified. But well, what should I do about it? I can write an article about it and mention that I don't agree with it, but well... I can also make sure that I don't meet those people who have this criticism.'* A few other people mention this type of reaction: *(11) 'Well, I think: don't let them come into the government, they are too short sighted. But they don't interest me and they also don't bother me either.'* That many respondents don't experience criticism in their personal environment makes it easier for people to ignore it. However, as became clear from this subparagraph, many people react in multiple ways, depending on their mood, the people and the situation.

6.1.5 Understanding

As the former subparagraph described concrete actions, the following coping mechanism describes interpretations and meanings of people, as described by Pearlin and Schooler as meaning-focused coping. The coping mechanism of this subparagraph complies with one of the coping mechanism in chapter 5; understanding. This also suggests a balancing act, also described in chapter 5 when people weight the pro's and cons of a change. This was often expressed after the initial reaction of people, as mentioned (§ 6.1.3). When talking about criticism, quite some respondents start to highlight the causes of it. The following respondent points to the development sector itself: *(12) 'I think that this has been one of the biggest problems in whole the development sector; that we aren't able to explain what we are doing. I mean, almost nobody can. That is something you see all the time, also in this office you see that. The stories that are told to people who support us are totally different than what we are actually doing. That is of course very strange.'* Another example: *(7) 'That shows partly a challenge for the development sector to show better what the effects are of the work. For a long time, the sector didn't anticipate on that very well.'* And also the following respondent points to the sector: *(1) '...partly this is caused by our selves. In my opinion the sector has been too closed, had too little the possibility to tell what they do, why they do the things the way they do it and what has changed.'* In this way, people try to understand why there is criticism on the sector and some people mention to understand that people don't understand what happens in the organizations, since it is very complex. This can be a way of dealing with the criticism, so that the criticism becomes more 'normal' or 'logical'. This makes it less threatening, but it also says something about responsibility. People point to the sector in general as being responsible, but to whom do they point to solve the problem?

6.1.6 Pointing to the organization

Almost all respondents acknowledge that something has to be done about the criticism on the sector and many had clear ideas about it. Quite some respondents tend to point to the organization in general, the lobby and communication departments or the general director as being responsible. After she has

talked about the discussion that Geert Wilders created in the Netherlands and how this is a cause of annoyance for herself and her colleagues, the following respondent says: *(3) 'Well, you have to ask that to our lobbyists. I have seen some emails about what to do with the huge amount of youth that has voted on the PVV. ... It makes clear that we probably didn't reach enough people. Otherwise we didn't have these results of the elections. ... We have to do something about it, I think that the communication team has to scratch one's head about what they have to do with this.'* Another respondent mentions a similar thing: *(14) 'Of course we have to do something with this. We have to take into account where the public debate is going to and you have to find an answer on this. You have to make choices as an organization, you mustn't carp at everything. The communication department isn't there for nothing.'* Another part of the organization to which is pointed it the director of the organization. *(3) 'Well, our general director does a lot. He is the one who is dealing with the outside debate, who writes the opinion articles.... So Icco is manifesting itself... but I think that the lobby and campaign department can think about this a little bit more.'*

Although people suggest how the organization should answer to the criticism, such as 'better communication', 'communicating the best practices', as well as 'explaining those issues that didn't work', 'being honest' and 'involving the people who support the organization', people do cast the responsibility to others than themselves. In addition, people release themselves from the negative feelings and/ or dilemma's that come up from the criticism on the sector and indirect their work. This complies with the fact that many respondents mention that the criticism doesn't affect them personally. This is an example of 'commitment distancing' when it regards the commitment to the organization, as mentioned in paragraph 5.4.9. However, there are also people who use this coping mechanism as well as that they feel motivated themselves to do something about it (§ 6.1.2).

6.1.7 Feeling of pride

This paragraph describes again a familiar coping mechanism (§ 5.4.7), a meaning-focused coping mechanism, while the attention is on the positive emotions (chapter 3). What is remarkable here is that it contradicts somehow the former coping mechanism. Since people cast the responsibility to the organization, this suggests that they aren't that satisfied with the organization on this point. However, these same people, as well as other respondents, mention also a sense of pride or satisfaction towards the organization. The following respondents points especially to the director: *(14) 'In this way, I think that someone like our director, who is leaving in October this year, who is visible and who acts as a spokesman and tells where the organization believes in... That is very important to me. ... A director who doesn't walk away and doesn't go to Africa with Boekestein or something for two weeks. So I really hope that the next director takes a similar role.'* There are multiple respondents who mention to be pride on the way that the organization deals with the criticism, like the following respondent: *(4) 'Well I am happy that we are dealing with this. I mean, you also see that the world is following. ... And I also think, and that account especially for Icco, we are much opener towards all kinds of initiatives within the last years and that is a very good development. We think much more in terms of "working together with other actors"... Such as the Icco campaign 'Think big', these are things that make me feel very proud, the flyer is on my window at home. ... Proud to belong to an organization that does work on those things, about those things where it is all about.'* This feeling or pride suggests, besides a positive feeling of belonging and commitment to Icco, almost a feeling that criticism on the development sector doesn't apply for Icco, because Icco is dealing with it in a good way.

6. 2 Threat of less funding

The chance that Icco will receive less funding and that the budget available for the sector will diminish even more in the future is indeed experiences as a very important issue by the respondents. Many mention this point already while talking about the criticism on the sector. Since the application for

MFS II was handed in during the period that his research was held, it was an up-to-date issue in the organization. The current cabinet formation and the current financial cutbacks that are announced are also often discussed. In the media, spokespeople of multiple development organizations talk about the importance of support from the government for the organizations, but what do the respondents think about this? The first subparagraph deals with the threat and whether it can be linked to people's motivation. The second subparagraph focuses on the way that the respondents deal with this threat.

6.2.1 Less funding and motivation

Although the word 'threat' is used in this chapter, only a few respondents experience the possibility of lower budgets as a real threat for Icco. The following two quotes give examples of this: *(7) 'Absolutely, those budget cuts are a huge threat. The main question isn't how much less it is going to be, but where Icco is going to cut. That has direct impact for the organization and on what we can do here in the regional offices.'* The next example illustrates a more general threat: *(14) 'Absolutely, ... It isn't a nice future perspective. I think about it every other day, about what will happen. What does it mean for me, for our work and for my colleagues? I don't focus on that too much, but it isn't a nice thought. There are dogs on the loose and they can bite me, so I have to be prepared.'* Other respondents emphasize the threat for the organization in general and link it to the dependency of Icco on the Ministry. However, more respondents remarkably experience the prospect of diminishing budget as something positive. One respondent talks about the negative impact for the partner organizations, but when she looks to the organisation itself, she almost hopes that the budget will be less, since this will initiate a discussion that they never had within Icco: *(5) '... a discussion that we have postponed or which we didn't have to start, because it wasn't necessary.'* Another respondent talks about a diminishing budget as: *(12) 'the only way to survive',* since the organization has changed into a money machine that focuses too much on receiving funding and has in the same time problems with disbursing it. However, this respondents ends by saying: *'But it is a shame that the organization is forced to do so and that you didn't prepare yourself.'* Another respondent mentions that it will not be bad if certain partner organizations will receive less funding from Icco: *(11) 'But if I am honest, eighty percent of our partners are institutes created by us or which we keep into existence ourselves. We are part of the International development industry ourselves. And in some countries, it wouldn't be bad at all when certain partner organizations will receive less money. In this way more creativity, more activism will arise. And if they cannot do so, well, than it isn't bad at all that they will no longer exist.'* Other respondents point to the fact that the organization doesn't pay enough attention to the department that focuses on other donors than the Dutch government and they hope that a smaller budget will bring the attention to these departments.

This issue shows that quite some people experience the threat of less funding instead as an initiator for change, or even the only way that will trigger change in the organization. That suggests that people experience change as something which isn't initiated by the organization, but which should instead be enforced by the environment of the organization. Keep in mind that the organization is still in the middle of the ProCoDe process, a process with huge changes, a process which is announced by the management as an answer on future developments. These comments suggest that the employees are at least doubtful about whether the ProCoDe process will be sufficient for the organization to deal with the challenges of the environment. At the same time, this can also indicate a coping mechanism, focussing on the positive sides. However, in this case people seemed quite sure of their point and it is doubtful whether this is really a coping mechanism for them or whether they just don't associate this with negative feelings at al.

6.2.2   Dealing with the threat

The former paragraph shows that not many people experience the threat as a negative issue. However, there was also a group of respondents who experienced the threat as something in between negative and positive. In this subparagraph is discussed which coping responses were used by people in dealing with this 'threat'. All these coping mechanisms match the responses mentioned in chapter 5, which are: 'putting things into perspective', 'understanding' and 'playing a waiting game. Some examples will be mentioned here.

The respondents often try to put the diminishing budget into perspective. The first example shows a respondent who just tries to neutralize or normalize the threat: *(6) 'It was the luxury that we used to have for many years, and now we just have to find other ways.'* Another respondent mentioned: *(3) 'We have already taken that into account and I understood that certain things are promised already, they can't forget about everything Koenders has promised. At least, that's what I think, ... So I think that those MFS frames will remain for a short while. ... in the long term the budget will be even smaller ... But when Icco will reallocates its finances and my job will disappear, well, I will find something else.'* These different arguments try to make the threat look less severe by directly pointing at the luxury in the past years, by mentioning that the organization is prepared and that it isn't threatening for the personal situation. Another respondent mentions he understands why the budget is under pressure, since he understands that the budget sounds very high for people who don't know the sector. Also here some people mention the responsibility of the sector itself for the threat of diminishing budget, because the sector is experiences as being unable to show what the sector is doing, just like the sector is held responsible (among others) for the criticism on the sector. The last coping response recognised is that people play a waiting game. They mention just to wait and see what will happen in November and after that wait for the decisions the organization will make. This kind of reaction both shows a sober attitude of not running ahead of things, of postponing certain feelings or threats. It also shows a focus on a positive future. This doesn't mean that people don't have ideas about what they think or hope that the organization will do. The most important things that the respondents mention on how the organization should deal with this diminishing funding are 'finding other sources of funding' and 'magnify those activities that aren't depending on money, but instead focus on processes and linkages.' More about the future of the organization is described in chapter 6.4.

6.3   Bureaucracy, numbers, paperwork and visible results

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, this change actually concerns a change within Icco. Since it is a tendency that occurs within the whole sector and which is also linked by the respondents to changes in the sector, it is described here. This issues is mentioned by the following respondent: *(4) 'On the one hand, it is nice that there is so much interest in the development sector, although it is the only sector that is discussed by people this much. But on the other hand, it results in more and more requirements in MFS II, that all results need to be visible. That's just not possible. These are processes that show result in the long term, where things turn out differently than planned. That is hard to explain to people.'* This illustrates that it is often difficult to separate the internal and external changes. In the following subparagraphs the impact on one's motivation will be discussed as well as the ways that people deal with this change.

6.3.1   Impact on motivation

This issue directly affects the daily work of people and for almost all respondents in a negative way. The influence on motivation is described by many as demotivating or sometimes 'less motivation'. One respondent explains: *(4) 'That MFS application with all those extra requirements, I just don't see the use of it. It takes a lot of time and you aren't spending time on your work.'* Another respondent also mentions: *(6) 'What I do find less motivating is that 'scoring' is the only thing that matters. That*

is a shame. That is a change in the work which is difficult. ... While, in this work it is about youth who can carry out a message. But for the results it is important that the name is mentioned five or ten times. .... We are more and more judged on those results. It isn't strange because we are using money from the government, of course you have to be accountable, but it feels.....' The following respondent says: *(3) '...it also bothers me that we, because of this discussion, have to produce all kinds of numbers, facts and reports to the Ministry, just to keep the public happy.'* Other things that are mentioned are the 'inflexibility of systems', 'the existence of software programmes which required a lot of time for filling in al kinds of forms', 'the complexity of the own organization' and 'the existence of too many rules'. There are however also a few people who mention that the rules and administration motivate them, all employees from the 'younger generation'.

This issue shows frustration of work of the goals (§ 4.3.2 and 5.3.1), related to the basic motivation and the commitment to the work and goals. Although people understand that a certain level of bureaucracy is necessary, people mention that it is exaggerated at the moment. Furthermore, people don't experience this as contributing to the goals of the organization or their personal goals and they also don't enjoy the tasks. It distracts them from the activities that do provide intrinsic motivation, activities related to the content of their work.

6.3.2   *Dealing with demotivation*

There are several ways in which people deal with this type of demotivation. Many of the coping mechanism described in chapter 5 and also in paragraph 6.1 and 6.2.2, are used here as well. An example is 'understanding', which is related to understanding the causes of criticism. One coping response that isn't mentioned before, has to do with 'just dealing with it'. The following respondent describes how she thinks that colleagues do this: *(4) 'I think that people experience the administrative tasks as something demotivating. For example the use of Dynamics (software programme). Myself, I find it quite pleasant to use that programme, because it makes things more clear. I think we can become stricter in that also, that people deal with this in a better way. For example, that you just answer your partners within three months after you received the partner's reports and that you don't wait until the end of December because that's where the deadline for internal audit lies. In my opinion, we have to organize that in a different way, but because people are annoyed by these administrative tasks, they just postpone it.'*

Postponing demotivating tasks is an example of emotion-focused coping, which is recognised multiple times in this research. In paragraph 4.5.2 was mentioned that freedom at work is experienced by people as a motivating aspect in the working context of Icco, something that is often related to the culture of Icco. If the organization has built freedom into the procedures of the organization, this formal structure makes coping with the bureaucratic and demotivating activities possible. Although nobody acknowledged that they used this freedom themselves, in the way that the respondent above described is, there were a few respondents that mentioned this coping response as something they recognised by their colleagues. This can mean that it is something that doesn't happen very often, but it also can be the case that people don't experience this coping response as a 'socially desirable' response, which puts the attention again on the existence of a norm regarding desired behaviour.

6.4   Future perspectives

The perspectives of people regarding the future plays an important role for in motivation of people. In chapter 4 is already mentioned that the end result and the goals are important for people's motivation and in chapter 5 was said that the focus on the future and hope were issues that are important in dealing with change. This paragraph will therefore focus on how the respondents experience the future of the sector, the future of the organization and their personal future. The pressure on the sector, which

is made explicit in this chapter, is an important aspect of this, together with the changes and developments within the organization.

What becomes clear is that almost all responses acknowledge that the sector will undergo huge changes, which people mainly relate to the diminishing budget and support from the Dutch government. All respondents expect the sector to become much smaller, followed by huge and important changes. It also becomes clear that the future is very insecure, for the organization and for the respondents. There is a huge variety in the future perspectives among the respondents and quite some people mention positive and negative issues at the same time. In chapter 3, Aspinwall and Taylor (1997 in § 3.3.1) described proactive coping, which regards the mechanisms that people use before a stressful situation or event occurs. This paragraph will explore the experiences of people regarding the future, as well as the way they talk about this as the different coping responses they use. Proactive coping might therefore be important. The first four paragraphs will focus on the organization in general, while the last paragraph focuses on the personal future perspectives of the respondents.

6.4.1 Negative perspectives with a glimpse of hope

When talking about the future, many respondents reveal their experience of negative tendencies in society in general, although sometimes related to the development sector. Almost all respondents experience a hope that these tendencies will not destroy everything, and that the tendency would turn in the future. This hope was however, something that was expected for the long term. The following respondent starts by mentioning that bureaucracy is demotivating him, which he links to a decrease of solidarity and trust in whole society. This is an issue that is mentioned by multiple respondents. *(16) 'That is a lack of society. ... And together with trust, this also has to do with solidarity. Those things are disappearing, or at least they are undermined. But in one way or another, those aspects will once come back to the surface. Those are powers in societies that nobody can stop. Those tendencies don't last forever, however the turn over can last a long time. ... And that hope, if that wouldn't be there... well what will happen to those people in Kirgizstan? What would they have to do? This kind of changes will occur. Unless you believe in the end of the world, but that isn't something I believe in.'* Another respondent mentions a negative tendency because of the political involvement in the critical discussion: *(3) 'I worry more about the content of the work than about the funding. ... If there wouldn't be a platform anymore to talk about things in an honest way... because there is a culture that focuses only on "me, me and only me" That tendency has developed along with the economical crisis. But I think that when we come out of this crisis that this will change again. More support again. In that case, nobody will grumble or complain about that 0.8%. ... So then everything will become more relaxed.'*

The way that people cope with the negative tendencies for the future is by focussing on the hope they have that things will eventually change. At the same time this shows that people label certain development as 'temporary'. These coping responses are also seen in the way that people deal with internal and external changes, as described before. It is an example of a 'shift in focus', a focus on the positive future (chapter 5.4.9). This issue regards tendencies from which the respondents think they might aggravate, however, since they occur already in the present, this coping isn't proactive, but instead complies with the way of coping that Pearlin and Schooler describe as aim at controlling the stress after it has emerged, such as a 'blind faith' or mentioning 'everything will work out for the best' (§ 3.3.1).

6.4.2 Separating the organisation from the sector

When talking about the future perspective of the organization, many people seem to separate the organization from the sector. For the following respondent, this results in a negative future perspective due to his commitment towards the organization: *(14) 'I expect that the big parties don't exist much*

longer, Icco, Cordaid, Oxfam Novib, they have to hand in their resources so that others can use it. So I expect more diversity. And many other useful programs will be financed, not the ones of Icco anymore. On balance, this is hopefully the same amount for the development sector in general. That is a shame for Icco, but for the developing countries it doesn't really matter. ... A sad future for me, because I committed myself to Icco. I think that it will only get worse, I am convinced of that.' The following quote gives an example of focussing especially on the positive future for the sector or the goals of the sector: *(3) 'I wonder whether I will make it until the end of the sector. I mean, why should we still do things from here in 30 years time? I mean, you see the development of India, China, and South America. And these are very good developments, that is where it has to go to at a certain moment. In 30 years time we aren't in these offices anymore like now, perhaps only a fundraising office? I don't know. But you see that the way we do things right now is turning. And we still have a very long turn to go. '*Another respondent gives a similar example: *(1) 'I can imagine that the sector doesn't exist anymore at some point in time. ... Because of the globalizing world that people travel much more, they know a lot, they have many contacts with each other. I mean, the people here in the regional office also have a lot of contacts in the Netherlands and things like that. So we aren't unique anymore in supporting organizations. ... The sector will definitely become much smaller. ... So there is little change that I will find a job in this sector again. However, perhaps I shouldn't underestimate my experience.'*

An issue which was also mentioned in chapter 5 (§ 5.4.9), was that people separate things and focus on the most positive. This is seen especially in the last two quotes. Separating the organization and the sector is here an example of proactive coping, since people talk about things that 'might' happen, although on the long term. These people recognise the potential stressors, which is important for proactive coping, and find a way to deal with the negative implications that can occur in the future. People find a way to cope with insecurity and the dilemma that may arise from the contradiction between one's personal interests and that of the organization or the sector. They do this by separating the implications for the organization from the implications for the sector. Since many respondents are committed to the goals of the sector in general, the future doesn't look that threatening, or even positive. This is also something that the first respondent mentions, however, for this person it doesn't seem to be a very effective coping response, due to commitment to the organization. This shows that different types of commitment are useful and can be combined. This shows that coping responses that people use for dealing with current issues or issues that already occurred, can also be used for stressful situations in the future. This contradicts the statement of Aspinwall and Taylor, who state that these events need different coping responses (§ 3.3.1).

6.4.3 Depending factors
When talking about the future of the organization, people point to many different determinants. In this way, they play a waiting game. The future depends, according to them, mainly on the budget that will be allocated to Icco, the formation of the new coalition and the appointment of a new director. The following respondent mentions the funding as determinant: *(9) 'Well, I do see challenges, but finally it will depend on the money. If the MFS application turns out to be very disappointing and new cutbacks are necessary, than this will influence the entire organization, also my department.'* Another respondent mentions the management as an important factor for the future of Icco: *(5) 'Well, it depends on the choices that will be made. And it also depends on the management. We have many managers who are like administrators…. Jack is quite visionary and perhaps there are some others as well, but…. we don't have a lot of discussions, or it get's stuck. But if you have to change radically at a certain moment, because that is the only thing you can do, than you need another type of management than the one we had until now….'* And the following person specifically mentions the director as an important factor for the future: *(9) 'In that sense, it is very exciting, because Jack is*

leaving. Who will be the next director? And does that new person have the same vision? I think that a lot depends on that for the future, how this person things about the future.'

An aspect of proactive coping, as described in chapter 3 (Aspinwall and Taylor, 1997), is that people should recognise the potential stressors. The respondents that describe the determinants are indeed recognising that certain stressors might occur, but instead of preparing themselves, they point to the organization in general. The way that people talk about the diminishing budget or other possible future changes, suggest that they can't do anything about these issues. They don't talk about what they will do when the most negative scenario occur. Focussing on the determinants is actually postponing or perhaps even ignoring the personal response and thereby it can be said that people don't prepare themselves a lot for future stressors.

6.4.4   Recognising threats and challenges

As mentioned before, recognition of potential stressors is a very important step towards proactive coping. There are many respondents who have talked about the potential stressors for the organization. Their analysis and opinions show that they have well thought about what the stressors might be and what the possible threats are. However, many respondents don't go that far as making plans for the future on how they or the organization should response to that. For some respondents, the future is quite pessimistic in this sense, at least the future of the organization: *(1) 'Politics have a lot of influence of course… they also influence the public opinion. Because when many parties mention similar issues, people just take that for granted. And this means that there is little for us to do about it, little space for background information about how things really work. I find that very difficult. … I think we aren't strong enough, as a sector, to have the right answer on that, because we don't think in terms of fast changes and quick scoring. For us changing something is a long-term goal. Well, that bothers me a lot. I find that… Well, I am just not proud of the Netherlands at the moment, I am ashamed of it.'* Another example describes what a respondent fears for the future: *(2) 'I hope that organizations can deal with the criticism in a positive way, not too much in a defending way, but to explain the positive side of the development sector, to work together and to emphasize a honest message. And also acknowledge that things go wrong, but that you try to prevent that. Well, but what I cannot stand is when organizations are going to invest only in those countries that are already quite organized. If that will happen, I just think… well.'* Another respondent talks about a worse case scenario for the 'voiceless' in society, without mentioning what the organization should do about it or how she wants to prevent this: *(11) 'I expect that the world of International development is going to change. Privatization and capitalism have won from all other forms … So I expect that those processes are being developed more in this sector. And personally, I am not happy with it, it isn't where I hope for, but I do expect it. … The result will be that the economical system gets deeper roots and that the excluded will be more excluded than they already are. And the voiceless will be even less heard. That's what I expect.'* There are many examples on all different kinds of topics. Although this regards often threats for the organization, these threats are labelled as such by the respondent. Recognising these threats is one step towards proactive coping. The next step could be making plans to avoid these threats or avoid the negative feelings associated with it. Whether this will occur in the future, when possible stressors become more concrete, isn't known yet. This might be a chance for the organization, since this paragraph wants to highlight that people have all kinds of ideas on what the organization might expect. All these issues show a strong feeling of commitment with the sector or the organization.

6.4.5   Personal future

How do these changes in the environment of the organization, influence people's perspectives regarding their own future? Although quite some people experience threats for the organization as a

whole, most of the time are more positive regarding their own future. Most of the respondents just got a new position within the Global Office of Icco, so there isn't really a threat at the moment for losing one's job. People are working on new (positive) challenges at the moment or expect to do so in the near future. If people already experience a fear for loosing their job, it is experienced in the long term, and thereby less threatening. Some people mention the subsidy that the organization will get as an important factor for whether they can stay with the organization or not. The following respondent says she tries to ignore this threat for the moment; postponement of threatening feelings: *(11) 'A little bit, but I don't want to allow this fear, because I don't want fear to be my motive.'* Also another respondent mentions her feelings of insecurity of whether she can stay with the organization: *(6) 'When Icco will receive much less funding, we have to find other sources of funding. For me, the question is whether I will fit in there; I am not really a fundraiser.'*

Most of the people mention that they just hope that they can stay with the organization as long as possible. Although this 'hope' might be a coping response, it seems that this issue isn't really bothering most of the respondents at the moment, but something for the long term. However, almost all respondents have thought about what kind of jobs they could or want to do when they will loss their job, ranging from specific other professions to vague ideas regarding other interests. Only one respondent indicate that he is already applying for another job, however, this has got multiple other reasons. Most of them point out that they want to stay within the non profit sector, not especially in the development sector. However, most people don't seem to experience this as a real threatening situation and they expect they will find another job if necessarily. The fact that there aren't many jobs in the Netherlands at the moment because of the economical crisis isn't mentioned by anyone as an issue. This can be explained partly by the fact that people don't fear that they will loose their job in the short run. Another argument that people use to explain the absence of this fear, is that they experience a growing importance of their particular specialty. They experience this both in the organization itself, as well as outside Icco, such as jobs related to fundraising, campaigning and microfinance. Some respondents mention even to receive proposals for other jobs outside of Icco, so they believe that even if they would lose their job, they will find another job easily. This paragraph shows another issue that is important for proactive coping, which is acquiring resources. In this sense, resources should be understand as accumulating ideas about their future, exploring in a way, although often very global, their possibilities outside the organization.

Here the difference in commitment to one's job, the organization and the sector are recognised among the respondents. The results of chapter 4 suggested that people feel very committed to the development sector. However, is seems that quite a big group of respondents can imagine they will work in another sector as well. They don't feel 'stuck' to the sector. Most people are however 'stuck' to the non profit sector and since they mentioned they would probably never work in the commercial sector. Work in the health sector was often mentioned, as well as work related to immigrants. Quite some people mention that they can also contribute to their personal goals, as described in their basic motivation, in their own society, in the Netherlands. It has to be said that from all respondents only two people have ever worked outside the development or humanitarian sector, so whether people ever shift to another sector can be questioned.

6.5   Conclusion

This chapter shows that all respondents are aware of and think about the changes in the environment of the organization. The way people talk about these changes and tendencies show similarities with the way that people talk about internal changes (chapter 5). Also in this chapter, the ambiguity in people's opinions and responses are seen as the ways that people seem to manoeuvre through change. Also the coping mechanisms of people comply partly with those used in chapter 5, since they use 'understanding', 'putting things in perspective', 'shift in focus or commitment' and 'focussing on the

positive aspects'. This points out that people use similar coping mechanism for dealing with all kinds of feelings.

A coping mechanism that didn't have a lot attention before was seen in the way that people make use of the freedom at work to deal with the growing bureaucracy and focus instead on results. This gives an example that the organization can provide a coping mechanism for the respondents by permitting or making possible freedom at work, if this is arranged as such in the official procedures. However, it might be questioned whether this was the intentional effect of it. A remarkable coping mechanism that people use for dealing with the future is by separating the organization from the sector, an example of distancing from the organization. This complies with the 'shift in focus' as mentioned in paragraph 5.4.9, however since many people indicated to feel committed to one or multiple aspects of the organization (§ 4.4), this is at least remarkable.

There are two reactions of people regarding changes and tendencies in the environment which are surprising. This regards the growing criticism on the sector and the threat of a diminishing budget. Many people mentioned that they experience the criticism on the sector as something motivating in their general work or for specific actions. However, in the same time, many people point to the organization to deal with the criticism. The other issue regards the diminishing budget, that many respondents experience as something positive, as the only thing that can bring about change in the organization.

Although problem-focused coping was mentioned in this chapter, surprisingly it is still not used very often by the respondents, a tendency that was also seen in chapter 5. Proactive coping was a new coping mentioned here and people used this to cope with potential stressors in the future. It was seen that the respondents of this research are identifying the potential stressors and accumulating certain resources, although the last thing was only mentioned when it regards the personal future of people. People were quite positive regarding their own future and less positive when it regards the organization. The aspects of proactive coping are only issues to start with, since these are important conditions for proactive coping (Aspinwall and Taylor, 1997).

Chapter 7 Conclusion

The results from the former four chapters come together in this final conclusion. In this chapter, the following research questions will be answered. *'How do the employees of Icco experience their motivation in a changing organization and a changing environment?'* What this research made clear is that these experiences are very fluid, complex and dynamic. The following seven conclusions will expound this. The last paragraph contains some suggestions for further research. When 'employees of Icco' is mentioned in this chapter, it refers to all those employees with a similar basic motivation as described in paragraph 4.1. Although seventeen employees were interviewed for this research, the following results are expected to be relevant for all of these respondents.

1) Goal internalization as the connection thread

Regarding the motivation of employees of Icco it is possible to distinguish two different kinds of motivation: the basic motivation and the daily motivation factors. The basic motivation refers to the 'higher goals' of people, which are broadly defined goals, such as 'contributing to the fight against poverty, injustice and peace'. This makes this motivation very stable over time. The feeling of 'contributing' to these goals, is thereby more important than the visibility of the contributions. However seeing results is also important, which goes beyond individual results. This daily motivation factors are those factors that motivate people in their daily work, which are often a mixture of intrinsic and extrinsic factors (Von Grumbkow, 1989; Steers et al, 1996; Kluvers and Tippet, 2009). Another useful distinction to analyze the motivation of employees of Icco was whether or not they are linked to people's personal goals, as described in the basic motivation. This shows that the basic motivation is indeed very important for many daily motivational factors, although there should be enough attention for the other factors as well. This research shows that the personal goals of people match the goals of the organization (Goal-internalization, described by Leonard et al, 1999) and are important not only for their motivation, but also an important aspect in their feelings of commitment and for the way they cope with negative feelings, since it is such a stable factor over time. However, goal-internalization can't explain everything and therefore other aspects of motivation need attention. Those factors that can't be related to the basic motivation of people, both intrinsic as extrinsic and all the combinations between these factors that people make should be considered when analyzing the motivation of the employees of Icco.

2) Motivation vs. demotivation

Motivation and demotivation are often seen as two sides of the same coin; as each other's opposites. This research showed that the relationship between these factors is more complex, due to the basic motivation of employees. The way that people use 'demotivation' is linked to 'not being motivated to contribute to the higher goals; contributing to a better world'. Since this is a stable motivator for people, people often label something demotivating, although it does result in negative feelings. Instead people prefer the term 'less motivating' in certain situations. This research shows that factors that can't be linked to the basic motivation, don't result very quickly in demotivation, due to the interpretation of people (Giddens, 2001; Man, 2009; Martin, 2002 in §3.4.2). This comes close to what Herzberg (1959, in §3.1) calls the 'neutral stage' in between hygiene factors and motivation, although in a different way. It can be stated that there is a neutral stage in between motivation and demotivation, however only to some extend, since there are limits. This explains that the employees of Icco do experience demotivation even if their basic motivation isn't affected. It also shows that demotivation and motivation are often far apart. At the same time however, those two factors are close to each other, since demotivation can directly result in motivation as well. Injustice, poverty or inequality are the reasons that people chose their job; these issues triggered their motivation. Things that frustrate

people's work, such as political power and interests, are experienced as demotivating factors. At the same time, these issues highlight the importance of someone's work and trigger people to continue. In short, motivation and demotivation are interrelated and depended, but not in a clear-cut way. This complex relation isn't only interesting for theory, but also in practice. It is experienced by people themselves and is reflected in the way that people cope in times of change as well as stability; by continuously manoeuvring through their positive and negative feelings and experiences.

3) Changes and their impact on motivation

This research described how the motivation and/or the antecedents of motivation are both influenced by internal as well as external changes. Both changes bring along positive as well as negative feelings and experiences. Table 7.1 provides an overview of those factors experienced as demotivating or 'less motivating' by the respondents of this research. The table shows that the degree of different types of commitment that people experience is important for their degree of demotivation. This explains why certain issues can be demotivating for some, while being only 'less motivating' for others. Regarding the internal change, the three upper issues had the most negative impact on motivation, while the fourth issue mostly showed less impact. The two gray fields highlight two aspects that resulted in surprising effects on motivation. The reason that they are mentioned in this table is that a certain amount of respondents mentioned these issues as demotivating or threatening. However, both issues resulted in positive effects on many respondents as well. A substantial number of people expressed that for them the criticism on the sector was a trigger for motivation, while another substantial number of people didn't experience the possible diminishing budget as something threatening, but as something (very) positive instead.

Table 7.1: Overview demotivating factors

Demotivating factors regarding internal change:	Depending on the degree of:	Demotivating factors regarding external change:	Comments:
Frustration of work	Commitment to work and mission.	Bureaucracy and focus on results	Depending on: commitment to work and (personal) mission.
Not included in decision making	Commitment to the organization.	Criticism on sector	Only for some respondents; mainly motivating.
Department of colleagues	Commitment to colleagues or atmosphere	Diminishing budget	Only for some respondents; mainly positive.
Decisions regarding content	Commitment to personal mission		

In general it can be stated that internal changes are more often experienced as demotivating than external changes, and external changes that resulted in negative feelings were more often also a trigger for motivation. This can be partly explained by the timing of this research and the fact that many internal changes already took place and are very concrete things that effect people's daily work, while the external changes evolve more gradually over time, have possible implications for the future and don't affect people's daily work (yet).

4)   Coping by continuously manoeuvring

Both internal and external changes can result in feelings of threat, demotivation, insecurity, fear, frustration, anger and incomprehension. The opinions and views of people regarding these changes are often ambiguous, carefully considered and shifting between positive and negative during the interviews. It wasn't unusual that people expressed a first reaction on something that was totally different than the opinion they expressed later on. Based on this, it can be stated in general that the employee of Icco is an employee who looks at things from different angles and thereby takes into account many different perspectives in their reasoning. People seem to weigh the pros and cons of a change or situation, or instead separate all different aspects from each other. The way people deal with changes in and outside the organization, the way they form their opinion seems like a continuous manoeuvring through negative and positive feelings. In addition, people use multiple coping responses at the same time or alternating with each other. The line between motivation and coping with demotivation is often unclear, not only for those who analyze it, but also for the employee them self. This accentuates that the border between change and stability is often vague (Man, 2009: Practice centered approach: Demers, 2007). Pearlin and Schooler (1978) describe coping as something that might occur to deal with negative feelings before or after they occur and it can therefore be conceivable that coping is a combination of conscious and unconscious processes. This research found that the employees of Icco have a kind of bag full of coping responses that they use for multiple different situations. This seems a rich way of dealing with change, but also a way that might be difficult to recognize for management or even colleagues.

Meaning-focused coping (Pearlin and Schooler, 1978; Folkman and Moskowitz, 2005; §3.3) is a very important coping response used by the employees of Icco. This type of coping is recognized in many different forms and used in many different occasions. Examples hereof are 'putting things in perspective' and 'understanding', which are quite 'polite and tactical' ways of expressing once feelings. People seem to excuse themselves for their harsh statements, towards the organization (sometimes a sign of commitment towards the organization) or towards themselves. Understanding is an example that shows that people are actively seeking for the meaning they can give to an event they don't experience as positive themselves. Furthermore, people give multiple meanings to one concept; like labelling something as 'exciting[2]', 'challenging', which can be explained as both negative and positive. The difference between demotivation and 'less motivation' is another example whereby the interpretation and meaning is very important for dealing with change. In this way, people leave room for ambiguity, which is helpful for dealing with this yourself, since it allows for multiple perspectives at the same time. It also results in a more acceptable response. With this in mind, the progressive opinions of certain respondents regarding change, like "change is necessary to adapt to the environment and employees should just choose whether to stay or to leave", can be explained in a different way; a way of giving meaning to change to make it more manageable.

Another coping response that was often used by the employees of Icco is that people separate different aspects of organizational life and shift their focus to those issues that are most positive or most manageable. This is a kind of neglect of the less motivating or manageable aspects, by focusing on the future, on the positive sides of a change or on one's own work. For some respondents this is a shift in focus, while for others it is a shift in commitment. People experience different types of commitment at the same time, as well as different kinds of commitment. This shows that the models of Meyer and Herscovitch (2001) as well as Cohen (2007) in paragraph 3.2 are indeed applicable on different types of commitment. This also shows that the difference in nuance between the different types of commitment is more important than is suggested in the literature (§ 3.3). People shift their attention to the type of commitment that is still positive or unambiguous, thereby they might embrace

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[2] In Dutch, the word exciting can mean both something like 'thrilling' as well as 'suspense'

certain types of commitment and/ or distance from other types of commitment, a phenomenon inspired by the theory of Kunda (2007 in § 5.4.9). People use this coping response to deal with changes, another example of manoeuvring. They also use it to deal with insecure or negative future perspectives by separating the less positive perspective for the organization from the more positive perspective for the sector. Differences in nuance clarify that people can embrace certain types of commitment to the organization, while at the same time distance from other types of commitment to the organization, depending on specific aspects of organization life at stake.

Employees thereby use the word 'we' and 'they' when they talk about their own organization. Using this coping response makes commitment and the focus of people something fluid and dynamic. This coping mechanism comes closest to emotion-focused coping of Folkman and Moskowitz, but in a slightly different way. This brings the attention to discretional behaviour (Meyer and Herscovitch), one of the possible implications of commitment that explains behaviour which isn't clearly specified within the terms of that particular type of commitment, but which is included by the discretion of the individual. Commitment is therefore a very important concept to clarify people's behaviour.

Surprisingly, problem-focused coping (Folkman and Moskowitz, 2004; Pearlin and Schooler, 1978) is a coping response that is not often used by the employees. It was recognized in the way that people express their frustration regarding internal changes, although expressing one's frustration is in some instances more important than changing the situation. It was also recognized in the way that people deal with criticism, by discussing the issue and trying to change people's mind. The way that people talk about the events that are expected in the future shows that they recognize the potential stressors for the future and in some cases even accumulate resources to deal with this, two important aspects of proactive coping (Aspinwall and Taylor, 1997). However, it wasn't seen that people make concrete plans on how they will cope with these potential stressors, which can be explained by the long term stressors that people discussed.

5) Feelings of unity and norms

During this research multiple characteristics of the 'Icco-employee' came along, some of them mentioned literally as 'shared' by the employees themselves, such as a strong motivation and commitment. Others were induced from the stories of people, which are 'positive minded', 'careful consideration', 'looking at things from different perspectives'. These are very positive issues and as is seen in conclusion 4, useful characteristics for coping with changes and negative feelings. The way people talk about these 'shared' characteristics suggest a norm. Norms influence people's thought, feelings and behaviour in multiple ways, such as Steers (1996) describes in the self-concept of motivation and Martin (2002) and Man (2009) mention in their ideas on organizational culture. Pearlin and Schooler explicitly mention the importance of beliefs and values in the organization that help people in managing unavoidable suffering and hardships (§ 3.3.1). Motivation and commitment are also influenced by norms (Meyer and Herscovitch, 2001) and ideas on desired behaviour and the desired self (Steers et al, 1996 in § 3.1.2). The interaction between people is therefore very important, since that influences the experiences and interpretations of people (Giddens, 2001) and can strengthen their motivation (§ 3.1). A question that rises is whether these norms leave room for deviation of the norm and in what degree these norms wield pressure on the thoughts and behaviour of people. This issue wasn't recognized very clear in this research. This research does suggest that the respondents make use of social coping (Folkman and Moskowitz, § 3.3.1). This can be deduced from the fact that people experience the atmosphere and their colleagues as an important motivation factor or that the interaction between colleagues seemed to be important for the way that people express their frustrations. However, the interaction between people didn't have much attention during the interviews when talking about the way people deal with changes and negative feelings. N12heless, this research does suggest that social coping does occur, perhaps partly unconscious.

6)   Empowerment of the employee.

On multiple moments in this research, an unexpected attitude of the employees of Icco was recognized, which regards a passive, reserved attitude. There were multiple indications of this attitude. First of all it was recognized in the way that certain people talk about change in general, the causes of these changes and the way these changes should be tackled or dealt with. People often played a waiting game, mentioned to go along with the change or pointed at the organization to deal with certain changes or to other determinants that they couldn't influence themselves. Another example was mentioned in conclusion 4, was that only a few respondents made use of problem-focused coping. A reserved attitude can also be recognized in the fact that many respondents experienced the diminishing budget as the only chance for the organization to change. Thereby they point to the environment as essential for the changes in the organization and for the future of the organization. The phenomenon that was mentioned in conclusion 4, whereby people sometimes weakened their own strong opinions and criticism, should be kept in mind here as well at the fact that people often say that they distance from certain unpleasant things in the organization.

At first sight this isn't very impending, since other attitudes were seen as well. However, let's take into account that these employees have a basic motivation that is based on initiating major changes in the world and work for an organization that aims to empower people all over the world. This makes a reserved attitude, to put it mildly, quite unexpected and surprising. Reasons for this attitude are the timing of this research, since many changes in the organization were already implemented and decided (§ 5.1). Another reason can be found in the fact that quite some respondents mentioned a lack of influence on, and participation in, decision making as a demotivating aspect (§5.3.4). This research wants to highlight this attitude as something that needs attention in the organization. The way that people deal with changes is important for the organization as a whole. In addition, employees can be very important for the way that the organization itself can cope with the environment and the pressures. An employee with a reserved attitude isn't very helpful in this way and it can be interpreted as a missed opportunity, especially since there are many opportunities. The employees have many opinions and ideas on the problems the organization faces and they face themselves. Furthermore, it was also stated that people have often many discussions (§5.4.2). If these ideas can be channelled towards concrete plans and solutions, they could be very valuable, for the employees themselves and for the organization. This explains why this 'reserved' attitude deserves attention, although it might seem to be only a minor attitude in the organization.

7)   Putting different pictures together

This research is an example of how a mix of the integration, differentiation and fragmentation perspective (Martin, 2002) is useful for the analysis of culture and organizational life. In the former conclusions it was pointed out that the integration perspective is useful for analyzing those aspects that people experience as shared or those shared characteristics deducted from their stories. In most casus it was the interpretation of people that determined the shared characteristics of employees in the organization. The fact tat this perspective provides only one picture of the organization became clear by focusing on the exact meaning of motivation and commitment. Although these were issues that were experienced by the employees as 'shared', this research showed that there are multiple issues that are important for people's motivation, not all related to the basic motivation. Commitment is a more extreme example, since commitment means many different things for people at the same time. These issues explain why people experience inconsistencies and ambiguity regarding change. Not everyone thinks the same and not everyone copes with negative issues in the same way. In the conclusions above, the complexity of people's experiences became clear. Only by looking at an organization through a differentiation or fragmentation perspective will bring these inconsistencies and ambiguities to the surface. These perspectives show another picture of the organization. The existence of different

subcultures didn't get much attention in this research. Although there were some indications that multiple groups or subcultures exist within Icco, this issue wasn't pointed out as being important for the experiences of people regarding change. Thereby, too few employees were interviewed to get a clear view on the differences between departments. The experiences of people regarding changes can't be put in clear identified groups. Each change, each opinion and each coping mechanism or feeling of commitment showed groups of people in a way, but since the commitment of people is that fluid, the organization is dynamic and people 'regroup' for each different topic, change or development. All perspectives shown one side of the organization, zoom in on something else and provide a different picture of the organization and the employee. Only by putting these different pictures together, people can be understood, their thoughts and their behaviours, the way things remain stable over time and the links between the experiences of people and the organization as a whole. Most important for this research was the fact that the different perspectives can reveal the different interpretations of people, as well their shared as the changing interpretations. It can also reveal that there is something like a norm, as well as it shows that there are people who deviate from such a norm.

Research for the future

This research was a very broad research, containing many different themes and topics. The advantage of this kind of research is that is provides a very specific view of the experiences of people regarding many different changes and developments. However, certain topics require more specific attention by zooming in on that particular issue. The following points are therefore suggestions for research that elaborate further on the results of this research:

- This research gave insight in the ways that people give meaning to change and cope with less motivation and demotivation. It is however a snap shot of the situation, of the experiences of people at this particular moment. This research focused on how motivation changes over time and this research provided a general picture on how the basic motivation, the daily motivation factors and commitment change or stay stable over time. It is however much more difficult to understand the way coping mechanisms change over time. How do people cope with upcoming changes in the organization? When there is more chance for influencing these changes. And how do people cope with changes in the environment when these come closer to the organization and the daily work of people? To understand these coping mechanisms, research on multiple moments is required.

- In the conclusion above, the existence of a norm was brought up multiple times. This issue came up in this research as being important, although it only revealed this issue partly. This topic should receive more attention in the way it influences people's thoughts and behaviour in a positive and in a more negative way. This requires a research that focuses specifically on culture within Icco, something that wasn't the main theme of this research. There are often all kinds of ideas about the culture of an organization, and this research showed that things are far more complex than they seem to be at first sight.

- This research focused on the experiences of people and revealed many interesting phenomenon. However, to get a complete picture other issues should be taken into account. Examples are the way that people are influence by the organization, by management, through procedures, rules and structures. Special attention can thereby be given to the way that employees of Icco participate in decision making. This issue was mentioned in this research and it became clear that the employees experience quite some problems with this. Only by taken other perspectives into account, an organization can (fully) be understood.

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Annex 1   Overview respondents

The table below shows an overview of the general characteristics of the respondents of this research.

No.	Gender	Age	Years work for Icco *
1	Female	30-35	5-10
2	Male	30-35	< 5
3	Female	30-31	5-10
4	Female	30-35	5-10
5	Female	30-35	5-10
6	Female	35-40	<5
7	Male	35-40	5-10
8	Female	35-40	<5
9	Male	40-45	<5
10	Female	45-50	15-20
11	Female	45-50	5-10
12	Male	45-50	15-20
13	Male	45-50	30-35
14	Male	45-50	20-25
15	Male	50-55	25-30
16	Male	60-65	20-25

* Years that people worked under contract of Icco, or SHO, which
is merged with Icco, or work on another contract but for Icco.

Annex 2   Topic list

Persoonlijke loopbaan:
- Leeftijd
- Functie('s)
- Arbeidsjaren binnen Icco/ OS

Keuze en verwachtingen:
- Wanneer gekozen om in de ontwikkelingssector te gaan werken? Waarom?
- Wat waren je verwachtingen van dit werk?
- Zijn die verwachtingen waargemaakt?
- Waarom gekozen voor werken bij Icco? Verwachtingen?
- Persoonlijk doel/missie met je werk?
- Hoe geef je deze gestalte in je werk?
- Is dit doel veranderd door de tijd heen?
- Hoe belangrijk is jouw werk in je leven?
- Is dit door de tijd veranderd?

Binding:
- Waar voel je je het meest toe verbonden?
- Wat is de organisatie voor jou?
- Komen jouw persoonlijke doelen overeen met de doelen van de organisatie?

Motivatie:
- Wat versta jij onder arbeidsmotivatie?
- Wat zijn motiverende factoren in je werk?
   - o Motivatie om bij icco te werken
   - o Motivatie om harder/ meer te gaan werken
- Wat zijn demotiverende factoren in je werk?
   - o Hoe ga je hiermee om? Wat doe je om hierover heen te stappen?
- Wat is Icco voor jou?
- Ben je trots op je werk? En op de organisatie?
- Is dit belangrijk voor je motivatie?
- En op de organisatie?

Veranderingen in de sector
- Welke veranderingen zijn voor jou belangrijk?
- Hoe ervaar je deze veranderingen?
- Hoe beïnvloedt dit jou?
- Hoe beïnvloedt dit jouw motivatie?
- Hoe ga je hiermee om? Hoe reageer je hierop?
- Twijfel je zelf wel eens over het nut van OS? Hoe komt dit? Hoe ga je hiermee om?

Veranderingen binnen Icco
- Welke veranderingen zijn voor jou belangrijk?
- Hoe ervaar je deze veranderingen?
- Hoe beïnvloedt dit jou?
- Hoe beïnvloedt dit jou motivatie?
- Hoe ga je hiermee om? Hoe reageer je hierop?

Cultuur:
- Kan je de cultuur beschrijven binnen Icco?
  o Qua motivatie?
  o Qua omgaan met verandering?
- Hoe belangrijk is het 'hogere doel' in de motivatie van mensen voor Icco als organisatie?

Motivatie:
- Wat is het belangrijkste dat aan jouw motivatie/ houding is veranderd?
- Hoe uit zich dit in je werk?

Toekomst:
- Denk je dat er in de toekomst ruimte blijft voor jouw persoonlijke doel? Binnen de organisatie of binnen de ontwikkelingssector?
- Als je niet bij Icco zou werken, wat zou je in dat geval gaan doen?
- Hoe zie je de toekomst van de ontwikkelingssector?
- Hoe ervaar je die toekomst? Bedreigend of positief?