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## Motivating a Volunteer Workforce in the Criminal Justice System

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### Abstract

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

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

### Introduction

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

sensitive to the treatment of people in detention.

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

### Literature

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

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

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

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

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

### **Volunteer Functions**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Method**

### *Sample*

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

### *Materials*

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

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

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

### *Procedure*

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

### **Analysis**

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

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

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

### Results

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

**Table 2: Clustered motivators and meanings inferred from the volunteers**

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

**Table 3: Clustered motivators and associated codes**

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

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



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

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

## Discussion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Figure 1: Self or service focus**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *Proactive management of motivation*

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

From the research it can be concluded that:

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

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

1. Job Design: Organisations must be clear about the duties of the volunteer (role description) and explicit about what the volunteering will do for the volunteers in return i.e., ‘what’s in it for you?’, and what sort of person might be good at doing that role (person specification).

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

### *Limitations of this research*

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

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

### **Conclusions**

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

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