

Does coerced volunteering undermine the public service motivation of volunteers? A moderated mediation model

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Abstract

There has been an increase within the past 20 years of mandatory volunteering programs within many school systems and in the past year in the UK's Community Work Placement program. Consequently, there is the potential problem for volunteer coordinators who are managing individuals who have been coerced into volunteering. This coercion may undermine the motivation of volunteers and result in decreased performance. This study addresses the issue by examining the public service motivation (PSM) of 416 volunteers in southwestern UK. We use a moderated mediation model to test if coerced individuals have a poor person-organization fit (P-O fit) and thus a lower level of effort exerted. We found that those individuals who were coerced, but had low levels of PSM reported greater volunteer intensity than their non-coerced volunteers who also had low PSM levels. Whereas, when obligated, it strengthened the relationship between PSM and P-O fit. Consequently, this gives non-profit managers a clearer understanding of how to overcome the challenges coerced volunteers may present.

Introduction

The 2014 UK Community Work Placement program has resulted in individuals having to undertake mandated volunteering or lose their unemployment benefits. Despite studies showing those who volunteer are more likely to become employed (Spera et al. 2015), over 600 volunteer organizations have joined a boycott campaign Keep Volunteering Voluntary (Isaac 2015). The assumption that drives such boycotting decisions is that the organizations want to use a purist definition that workfare is not considered voluntary. However, in the same sense, the volunteer organizations are saying mandating volunteering is forcing unemployed people to engage in ‘unpaid work’. While one could easily argue, unpaid work is volunteering in fact. It is more logical to understand that a main concern is that socially disadvantaged individuals tend to not volunteer (Stadelmann-Steffen 2011) and by coercing them, they will lack motivation and consequently will not exert effort. Quite reasonably, some studies have shown that mandated volunteering results in decreased engagement later in life (Ghose and Kassam 2014) highlighting the potential for undermining effects when the pro-social and intrinsic nature of volunteering is removed. Yet, some studies show youth support obligation-based community service and view it as wrong to not volunteer (Metzger and Ferris 2013). Thus, we question whether being coerced into volunteering will weaken the individuals’ motivation and consequently influencing the relation between the volunteer and the organization and the effort or intensity they would exert.

In this paper, we compare the effort and motivation between voluntary and coerced volunteers. We use Public Service Motivation (PSM) to garner a better understanding of “an individual’s orientation to delivering service to people with the purpose of doing good for others and society” (Perry and Hondeghe 2008, p.6). We then link PSM to volunteering intensity (Rodell 2013), a proxy for the perceived mental, physical and emotional effort of volunteers. Using this alternative outcome variable has the potential to provide a better

understanding of the perceived effort exerted. We then take the potentially mediating effect of person-organization fit (P-O fit) into account because it explains the match between an individual and an organization (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005). Coerced individuals' motivation may not be affected negatively; especially if they have chosen to volunteer with an organization that they feel there will be a good match with. We recognize that coercion can operate at different extremes. It can be mild when the individual feels obligated to help others, but feels good about volunteering to help others. This feel good sense when volunteering out of a sense of obligation could strengthen the relation between PSM and P-O fit. In contrast, it can be extreme when the individual feels they have no choice because it has been mandated. Therefore, if they had a choice for picking which organization to volunteer for, PSM could still lead to a positive P-O fit, but because it was mandated we expect the it to weaken the relation between P-O fit and volunteering intensity. Hence, we are interested in how PSM, P-O fit and volunteering intensity differ for coerced individuals that may do so out of a sense of obligation or because it is mandatory.

This study continues building the conversation from PSM leading to volunteering intensity, but also begins to contribute to the academic conversation concerning coerced volunteers and volunteer programs (Law and Shek 2009; Gallant et al. 2010). P-O fit has not been investigated extensively amongst volunteers, so we seek to build as academic discussion surrounding if P-O fit can override the potentially negative aspect of coercion.

Typically, studies about coerced volunteers focus along the lines of medical trials (Allmark and Mason 2006; Noah 2010). However, rarely are these volunteer studies looking at the coerced volunteers' motivations outside of wanting to survive (Law and Shek 2009). While there are many studies about how mandated or compulsorily community service programs affect youth and university students future intentions to volunteer (Stukas and Snyder 1999; Henderson et al. 2007; Henderson et al. 2014), few look at the actual effort

exerted during mandated volunteering. This particular gap in the literature is important to examine because it is possible that the changing trend of volunteering to micro-volunteering or one-off volunteering means volunteers are connected by their social networks and therefore feel a greater obligation to assist. Understanding how volunteering out of a sense of obligation could assist non-profits that are increasingly relying on social media movements to bring attention to their causes. Additionally, with mandated programs arising in the UK that targets adults of working age, research is needed to help volunteer managers get the most out of the mandated volunteers. Instead of studying whether being coerced will affect future volunteering, we argue scholars should instead focus on the effort or intensity exerted during individual volunteering experience.

The first aim of this paper is to understand how individuals' motivation when coerced leads to them expending volunteering intensity. We propose that individuals with higher levels of public service motivation will naturally exert greater levels of volunteering intensity because of their natural predisposition to help others. Secondly, volunteers typically self-select into organizations they feel they will have a good match for (Rodell et al. 2016 (Rodell et al. 2016), but when it is mandatory or out of a sense of obligation- the volunteers may not have that freedom. Therefore, we explore the mediating role of person-organization fit between PSM and volunteering intensity when volunteers are coerced to see if it makes a difference. Third, we aim to understand how coercion moderates the relation between the three proposed variables. We argue that by comparing coerced (obligated and mandated) and non-coerced volunteers we will be able to fill the gaps in the literature and answer "Does coerced volunteering undermine the public service motivation of volunteers?"

We do this by first exploring the theoretical implications of linking volunteer intensity, PSM, person-organization fit and coerced volunteering. We then present a conceptual model based on a set of hypotheses. Next, research methods and the data

collection are discussed. Then we present the findings using ordinary least squared regression. The paper concludes with implications of the findings and recommendations for future research.

Theoretical Framework

The Coerced Volunteer

Dugosh et al. (2010) stipulates that coercion is a result of pressures to avoid repercussions, financial motives and outside pressures. In a later study (Dugosh et al. 2014), they found that social networks and how volunteers felt they were being treated played a large roll in influencing individuals perception of coercion. Consequently, this section explores the two spectrums of coerced volunteers. The first is the obligated volunteer where one feels beholden to volunteer through either outside pressure or consequences to share their time or resources (Brummel and Parker 2015). The second is mandatory or compulsory volunteering that is either directed or implied and where failure to do so may result in individual consequences. The changes in the volunteering landscape from long-term committed volunteers to glam or micro and online volunteering may have increased volunteering out of a sense of obligation to their social networks. Subsequently, coerced volunteers at either end of the spectrum should to be taken into consideration collectively as coerced and differentiated by their perceived circumstance. How the coercion fits into the model will be discussed at the later end of the literature review.

Volunteering Intensity

Volunteering intensity consists of the physical, mental or emotional effort that one exerts when “choose[ing] to act in recognition of a need, with an attitude of social responsibility without concern for monetary profit, going beyond one’s basic obligation” (Ellis 2005, p.4).

We explore how other studies have dealt with physical, mental and emotional effort to give a better understanding to the overall importance of volunteering intensity.

When it comes to coerced volunteering- mandatory specifically- the amount of time one must volunteer is often dictated by the school or program. This means that measuring volunteering intensity based off of time or frequency is not adequate because all “volunteers” would have the same set of hours needed to graduate. Rather, it is necessary for scholars to use alternative ways of measuring volunteering intensity. Using Rodell’s (2013) measurement allows one to address this. However, here it is important to distinguish how the different aspects are influenced by varying degrees of coercion.

Glanville et al. (2011) examined volunteer intensity as measured by the physical amount of time volunteers spent on-site in an area of flooding in Iowa. They found that participants that had been asked to volunteer correlated with a greater likelihood of volunteering. Volunteers who felt obliged to help were most influenced by their social networks exerting pressure, hence making the influence of social networks on volunteer intensity notable. Though, Glanville et al. (2011) did attributed proximity to one’s home as having an additional influence. In other studies, volunteers who were obligated to do manual labor in a community development programs as part of a tourism leisure in Kenya, reported that the obligation was agreeable if they felt it was a pleasant experience (Lepp 2009). Similarly, other scholar’s equated volunteering intensity to being the physical time spent volunteering (Wymer 1999; Hooghe and Botterman 2012).

The second element of volunteering intensity, the cognitive or mental effort that volunteers exert is not as prolific with studies such as those based on physical effort. Rather these studies tend to examine volunteer mental health teams in times of disaster such as the 2008 Hurricane Katrina in the USA (Levy 2008) or the 1995 Great Hanshin-Awaji

Earthquake in Japan (Kako and Ikeda 2009). Traumatic events often result in the largest call for cognitive or mental effort by health care volunteers who use their learned skills to help others. Scholars exploring the antecedents of volunteering by health care volunteers (Alias and Ismail 2015) discovered, again, social networks play an important role in encouraging others to volunteer.

Finally, the emotional effort volunteers exert is important to be taken into consideration because “[e]motions, after all, are the threads that hold mental life together” (LeDoux 1999, p.11). Wang (2013) explored the emotional connection that volunteers felt when they had direct interaction with beneficiaries. She found volunteers “equated good care with emotional labor” (2013, p.540).

Taken together, directly measuring the mental or emotional effort is difficult. Hence, few studies have investigated volunteering intensity as a whole. To our knowledge, Rodell (2013) was the first to explore the overall level of intensity volunteers perceived they exerted. She did this as part of a means to find a more accurate way of measuring volunteering effort besides relying on how much time one spent volunteering. Her idea to explore these other elements mirrors Kahn’s (1990) study that related engagement in terms of physical, cognitive and emotional energies. Other scholars, such as Shantz et al. (2014) took this focus of engagement and applied it to volunteers, but focused on whether it would lead to greater commitment of time. As time does not explore effort, we contend understanding the perceived level of effort a volunteer expends through intensity will give a clearer indication of volunteer behavior.

Public Service Motivation (PSM)

PSM implies that individuals have a propensity to deliver public service in order to benefit others (Perry and Hondeghe 2008). It does so by investigating rational, norm-based and

affective motivations (Perry 1996). Rational based motives capture individual preferences to influence social policies that affect the greater good of society (Perry and Wise 1990). Norm-based motives reflect societal influence on the individual. Finally, affective or emotionally based motives are those elements that compel one to act in absence of rationality such as acting through self-sacrifice and/or compassionately (Perry and Wise 1990). Collectively, these service-oriented dimensions are particularly well suited to volunteer motivation studies because they capture the individuals' attitudes towards providing public service.

Indeed, PSM studies that explore motivations in volunteers have found that high PSM levels in individuals can lead to an increase in volunteering (Clerkin et al. 2009), donating blood and money (Houston 2006) and even affects which type of volunteer organization individuals select for their volunteering activities (Coursey et al. 2011). While studies have found that PSM is directly related to the amount of time one physically spends volunteering (Coursey et al. 2011), they have not explored the mental or emotional aspects of volunteer intensity.

Although coercion has not been investigated in PSM studies there is evidence from several studies that might facilitate senses of obligation. Belle's (2013) PSM study exploring behavior of public and non-profit employees found high levels of PSM in nurses lead to increased job performance, especially when the emotional connection of meeting the beneficiary is included. This connection could be leading to a sense of obligation. While Belle (2013) focused on the emotional connection, it is the nature of this connection that could actually lead to a sense of obligation. Whereas, Jensen and Andersen (2015) found that doctors with a higher sense of PSM felt an obligation to society opposed to the individual when it came to prescribing anti-biotics. Alternatively, it could be interpreted that doctors felt coerced by patients to prescribe anti-biotics, but their levels of PSM dictated that the good of society needed to be protected from anti-biotics becoming ineffective.

Person-Organization Fit

Individual attitudes may lead one to think there will be a good match between themselves and the organization (Kristof 1996). Because volunteers are not hired and fired, there needs to be a supplementary fit where the volunteer shares similar goals and values as the organization they are volunteering with, in order for the activity to be beneficial to both parties (Quratulain and Khan 2015). Studies about person-organization (P-O) fit have found individuals with a good P-O fit are more committed to their organization as demonstrated by their low turnover intentions (Moynihan and Pandey 2008; Liu et al. 2010) and organizational citizenship behavior (Mostafa and Gould-Williams 2014; Ruiz-Palomino and Martínez-Cañas 2014). P-O fit has shown to mediate the relation between PSM and organizational commitment (Bright 2007; Wright and Pandey 2008; Kim 2012). As PSM is higher in individuals who have a predisposition to public service, scholars argue that it acts as a matching mechanism and therefore leads to better P-O fit when organizational values and mission are in line with those of the individual (Kim 2012). Therefore, individuals with high PSM levels that perceive there is a match with the organization's values will experience good P-O fit.

There is little application of P-O fit to volunteer studies. Rather, there is one conceptual paper (Schlosser and Zinni 2011) and a few empirical studies about Person-Environment fit (Van Vianen et al. 2008; Kim et al. 2009; Lott et al. 2013) and sporadic studies directly testing P-O fit (Parkes et al. 2001; Scherer et al. 2016). Scherer et al.'s (2016) study found that poor P-O fit when mediated by burnout was significantly related to intention to quit. However, if the volunteer was not suffering from burnout, then there was little evidence that a poor P-O fit would cause volunteers to quit. The findings from this study suggests that burnout is a larger threat than poor P-O fit when it comes to an individual

quitting. Scherer et al. (2016) contends practitioners need to have a better way of identifying the match between volunteers and organizations. This link may be vital when academics are arguing against forcing individuals to volunteer (in the case of the UK Community Work Placement program).

Moderating Effects of Coercion

Coerced volunteering out of obligation or a sense of compulsion could be considered guilt volunteering as a result of implicit ideological psychological contract (Vantilborgh et al. 2014). On the overall continuum of coerced volunteering, there are two extremes: obligated and mandated. This section will define and critically analyze why the two extremes can have a different impact on different paths within the model. While we are not arguing that each case is steadfast in terms of negative or positive experience, rather it is a generalist view. The experience of the P-O fit plays an important part in whether coercion will have an impact on different paths.

When examining the impact of coercion (obligation and mandatory) simultaneously, its overall impact is expected to negatively influence the relation between ones PSM and effort that they will exert. For someone who doesn't want to be involved in volunteering in the first place, initial PSM levels should not matter. By the very nature of being coerced, they are expected to exert less effort. Following the crowding out logic, those with high levels of PSM could experience a dampening of their desire to exert effort due to coercion crowding out the intrinsic aspect of PSM similar to those who had elements that are contradictory to the nature of PSM (Georgellis and Tabvuma 2010). However, some studies have shown that traditional aspects such as pay performance has not crowded out the intrinsic nature of PSM (Stazyk 2013). Some studies have shown that individuals say there were barriers to volunteering such as lack of opportunity or knowing about opportunities to contribute

(Hodgkinson 1995). It is possible that coerced volunteering will provide an opportunity for those who have a natural inclination to help others, but had not had a chance to do so in a formal setting. However, more likely, if one had high PSM levels then they would be volunteering as a result of their internal desire to engage in public service. Rather, feeling as if the choice to volunteer freely versus coerced will weaken the individuals desire to exert a greater effort. Therefore, the following is hypothesized.

Hypothesis 1: Coercion weakens the relation between PSM and volunteer intensity.

When breaking down coercion to the extremes (obligated and mandatory), some scholars believe obligated volunteering reflects a commitment and duty (Gallant et al. 2016). Individuals wanting to be identified as ‘good’ may often feel obligated to behave in prosocial manners (Ariely et al. 2009). For example, parents may often feel obligated to volunteer in programs that their children are involved in (Taniguchi 2006). In particular, school and youth sports volunteering may feel like an obligation because they wish to be seen as a good, supportive parent or they fear that if they do not volunteer then junior might not get any playtime in the football game (Day and Devlin 1996; Schlesinger and Nagel 2013). Parents are not alone in this category though. Public sector employees whose organizations run volunteer schemes, private sector employees whose companies are engage in corporate social responsibility programs and even non-profit employees too may feel an unspoken psychological contract that they perceive it implies participation as an obligation.

However, volunteering out of a sense of obligation does not necessarily imply it is negative. Knutsen and Chan (2015) found reoccurring themes amongst non-profit employees volunteering at work due to it matching their internal values. Still, for others that know there may be no legal ramifications if they do not volunteer, they may be highly encouraged by their organizations leadership, their manager or peer group to take part in a volunteering

activity. While the initial cause may be a sense of obligation, a positive experience means they can easily move towards increased volunteering and become serial volunteers. Likewise, a negative experience can propel the volunteer to feel psychologically coerced into volunteering. This could be exacerbated if they perceive a negative repercussion on their job in the event they do not take part. For those individuals who have high PSM levels, the sense of obligation will not impact them as severely because volunteering allows them to fulfill their inherent desire to help others. Despite volunteering out of a sense of obligation, if their true self is reflected by a desire to serve others, then those with high levels of motivation could result in a reflection of their 'preferred self' (Shantz et al. 2014) and not negatively influence effort they exert. Thus, these arguments suggest the following:

Hypothesis 2a: Obligated coercion moderates the relation between an individual's PSM levels and P-O fit. The effect will be stronger for those having high PSM rather than low PSM.

Hypothesis 2b: P-O fit will mediate the relation between PSM and Volunteering intensity.

When examining the second type of coerced (or mandated) volunteering, scholars have felt it would inhibit the sustained nature of volunteering (Stukas and Snyder 1999) while others argue that if an action is seen as a punishment that it would undermine or crowd out motivations (Frey and Jegen 2001) . Educational institutions that require a certain number of volunteering hours or community service in order for the student to achieve a degree or course level fall into this category of mandatory volunteering (Henderson et al. 2014). Clerkin et al. (2009) found that 88% of their volunteer sample were requires to volunteer as

part of their high school program. Additionally, organizations such as Girl or Boy Scouts- that require members to volunteer in order to earn a badge or to achieve a coveted Eagle Scout award- have made volunteering by the individual mandatory if they wish to take part in that aspect of that program.

Being 'volun-told' (i.e. being told that they need to volunteer) falls within the category of mandatory volunteering. For example, when employees are told that while a program is technically voluntary, they are expected to be onsite during the volunteering event instead of at their desk. This tends to be prevalent in the US military where service members are volun-told to partake in a voluntary action that they have no interest in (McNierney 2015). Therefore, mandatory volunteering is a threat that is stronger than implied obligations as the individual believes there will be negative consequences for not volunteering. If forced to volunteer, the individual is unlikely to exert much effort. Not surprisingly, Azari et al. (2010) found that service members who were not volun-told tend to perform better. This form of mandatory volunteering can also be found in corporate volunteering in organizations that have a climate that does not permit for much individual divergence. However, it can also be prevalent in organizations where employees are constantly being asked to give up their time to support a cause they have no interest in volunteering for (Muthuri et al. 2009). Therefore, if an individual has a high levels of PSM which would lead to a good P-O fit, mandatory volunteering is expected to crowd out that the positive link between P-O fit and volunteering intensity and thus weaken the overall effect. Those with no natural tendency to volunteer will feel the exasperating effect of mandated volunteering more so. Taken together, we hypothesize the following.

Hypothesis 3: Mandatory coercion moderates the relation between P-O fit and volunteer intensity. The effect will be stronger for those having low PSM rather than high PSM.

Figure 1 depicts our conceptual model.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Method

Sample and procedure

To test our hypotheses we combined two samples who responded to the same survey. The first consisted of individuals who had a history of volunteering in Southwest England through a community volunteer centre. The later were taken from a student population at a university in the same region. In order to ensure the two samples did not overlap, respondents were asked to create a unique user code. We cross checked the two samples to ensure there were no duplication of respondents. Consequently, there were 416 usable responses (54.3% from Eastern Dorset, 21.2% from Western Dorset and student sample from Central Dorset 24.5%). The final population sample consisted of 65.9% females, without children 59.4% and 51.2% married. Age ranged from 15-90 with the two largest generations represented being Generation Y (35.8%) and Baby Boomers (34.1%). Respondents were predominantly employed (57.7%) with half of the employed volunteers coming from the private sector (118 individuals) (table 1).

Insert Table 1 about here

Measures of Main Variables

The dependent variable (DV) volunteer intensity was measured using Rodell's (2013) five item scale and was measured using a 7-point scale (1 = strongly agree and 7 = strongly disagree). The independent variables (IV) PSM and P-O-fit were measured on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 ("strongly disagree") to 5 ("strongly agree"). PSM was measured using Perry's (1996) 40-item scale. P-O fit, was measured by using Bright's (2008) four-item scale. Finally, coerced volunteering was determined by asking respondents "I felt obligated to volunteer" and "It was mandatory that I volunteer" for nine different types of volunteering categories (Rotolo and Wilson 2006a). A dummy variable for obligated and mandatory volunteering was then created for each (0 = no, 1 = yes). For the variable of coerced (overall) volunteering, we created a dummy variable that checked for a history of obligated and/or mandatory volunteering (0 = no, 1 = yes).

Control variables

Socio-demographic variables that were shown in volunteer literature to affect coerced volunteering were chosen as control variables. Gender was controlled (male =0, female =1), because studies have found that women tend to volunteer the most (Taniguchi 2006). Studies have found that volunteering out of a sense of obligation is significantly related to age (Brummel and Parker 2015). Age was asked for and then categorized by generation (breakdown of ages into generations is shown in figure 5.1, 0= no, 1= yes). Likewise, married people also have a tendency to volunteer more than their single counterparts (Rotolo and Wilson 2006b), especially due to spousal influence (0= not married, 1=married). Parents tend to volunteer more often due to children (0= no, 1= yes) albite when the children are at different ages (Taniguchi 2006). Finally, employed was controlled for (0= not employed, 1=

employed) in the event individuals were pressured through their work environment (Grant 2012).

Data Screening

After the cases where data was missing or had unengaged responses was screened, I assessed skewness and kurtosis. One item from self-sacrifice was negatively skewed and had a kurtosis of 3.288. This question would later be eliminated during the CFA.

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Due to low reliability and cross loadings, some items were dropped to include the dimension commitment to public interest and social justice. The CFA had an acceptable level of goodness of fit (Chi-square 283.294/ DF 172 = 1.647, CFI= .973, RMSEA= .039, PCLOSE=.985) (figure 2). For the remaining dimensions the composite reliability are compassion=.533, self-sacrifice = .772, civic duty= .770, attraction to policy making = .674, volunteering intensity = .951 and P-O fit = .835 (table 2).

Insert Figure 2 about here

Insert Table 2 about here

We conducted a configural invariance test based on gender. Gender was chosen for the two groups because of its categorical structure. We obtained an adequate goodness of fit (Chi-square (461.182)/ DF (288) = 1.601, CFI= .957, RMSEA= .038, PCLOSE .999) when

analyzing a freely estimated model across the two groups. We observed configural invariance, which showed the two groups are not different. When metric invariance was explored, the loading themselves were roughly equivalent across groups, showing the two groups understood the questions the same way.

Common Method Bias (CMB) was checked using Harman's single factor test. It showed extraction was for one factor only and 24.452% variance was explained which meets acceptable standard of under 50% (Byrne 2010). Lastly, a multicollinearity test for PSM dimensions showed the mean variance inflation factor (VIF) is less than three and the single highest VIF is 1.283 and therefore acceptable (Hair 2010).

Findings

Hypothesis 1 expects coercion to moderate the relation between PSM and volunteer intensity. As indicated in Model 3, Table 3, there was not a significant interaction between PSM and volunteer intensity (PSM X Coerced $\beta = -.107, p = .703$). However, there were significant conditional effects of PSM on intensity by coerced volunteers in the presence of no coercion level ($\beta = .583, s.e. = .142, p < .001$), and in the presence of coercion ($\beta = .476, s.e. = .239, p < .05$) as depicted in Figure 3. Values for dichotomous moderators are the two values of the moderator. The model accounted for 19.1% of the variance in volunteer intensity. While there is no evidence that coercion weakens or strengthens the relation between PSM and volunteer intensity, the conditional effect suggests those who are coerced into volunteering who naturally have low levels of PSM will report higher levels intensity than their non-coerced counterparts. Additionally, there is evidence that coercion is significantly related to volunteering intensity ($\beta = .260, p < .05$) implying that there are elements impacting the individuals' perceived level of effort exerted. However, coercion does not moderate the relationship between PSM and volunteering intensity so Hypothesis 1 is rejected.

Insert Table 3 about here

Insert Figure 3 about here

Hypothesis 2a expects obligation to moderate the relation between PSM and P-O fit, thus in Hypothesis 2b affecting volunteer intensity. Results are displayed in Table 4. The model accounted for 37.6% of the variance in volunteer intensity. The interaction effect between PSM and P-O fit was significant (PSM X Obligation $\beta = .287, p < .10$). There was also significant conditional indirect (CI) effect of PSM on Intensity by obligated volunteers in the presence of no obligation ($\beta = .256, s.e. = .070, 95\% LLCI .1352$ to $ULCI .4161$) and with obligation ($\beta = .498, s.e. = .134, 95\% LLCI .2480$ to $ULCI .7648$). This suggests that there is support for Hypothesis 2a which expects the levels will be stronger for those having high PSM rather than low PSM.

When exploring moderated mediation as suggested by Hypothesis 2b, it is important to note the moderator, obligation is a dichotomous variable. Consequently, “ δ is set to the difference between the two values of the moderator coding the two groups, so as to produce an index that is equal to the difference between the two conditional indirect effects” (Hayes

2013b addendum, p.3). Using Hayes' (2015) index of moderated mediation¹ ($\beta = .242$ s.e.= .141, 95% LLCI -.0502 to ULCI .7648), there is no evidence supporting Hypothesis 2b.

Insert Table 4 about here

Hypothesis 3 expects mandatory volunteering to weaken the relation between P-O fit and volunteer intensity. Table 5 displays the results. The model accounted for 37.6% of the variance in volunteer intensity. The interaction effect was not significant between P-O fit and volunteer intensity (P-O fit X Mandatory $\beta = .070$, $p = .793$). However, there were significant conditional indirect effects of PSM on intensity by mandatory volunteers in the presence of not mandatory ($\beta = .302$, s.e. = .068, 95% LLCI .1804 to ULCI .4544) and mandatory ($\beta = .327$, s.e. = .103, 95% LLCI .1613 to ULCI .5753). However, the effect size is larger for mandated volunteers. Finally, the index of moderated mediation ($\beta = .091$, 95% LLCI -.1519 to ULCI .2091) was also not significant when bootstrapped. Thus, hypothesis 3 is rejected.

Insert Table 5 about here

¹ Hayes (2015) developed an index of moderated mediation which “test a quantification of the association between an indirect effect and a moderator- followed by an inference as to whether this index is different from zero.” (Hayes 2015, p. 2). The mediated effect varies at different levels of the moderator. Hayes (2015) index of moderation reflect two conditional indirect effects that show they are statistically different and hence support evidence of moderated mediation.

Discussion

This study contributes to volunteer research through examining how coercion (obligated and mandated) has a limited impact on volunteering intensity. This insight empirically challenges the belief of volunteer organizations that are boycotting the UK Community Work Placement program for fear they will be stuck with unmotivated volunteers. In a dataset that contained individuals who volunteered due to coercion or not, PSM still lead to increased reporting of volunteering intensity and P-O fit. However, in this case being unemployed was also an important factor. This closely relates to the argument that retirees are viewed as having more free time (Dury et al. 2015) and therefore may actually experience more coercion to volunteers.

When looking at how coercion (regardless of obligation or mandatory nature would weakened the relation between PSM and volunteering intensity, results were the opposite as hypothesized. In actuality, those with lower levels of PSM, performed better when coerced than others at a comparable level. For individuals who are not naturally inclined to engage in public service, being coerced can actually improve their perceived level of effort. Some volunteer studies suggest that being asked to volunteer may influence a person to do so (Glanville 2011). Consequently, coercion does not have to always be a negative element. For those people in community work placement programs, if they already are not predisposition to attitudes towards community service, mandated programs may lead to increased effort than if they had volunteered of their own volition. However, there was evidence that high levels of PSM reported lower levels of volunteering intensity when coerced. This shows that there is a breaking point where coercion will crowd out the motivation to perform at higher levels. This leads us back to the argument about if those who naturally have attitudes such as high PSM levels can volunteer and still perform better than others. It appears that as long as there is a good relation between high PSM and P-O fit that volunteer intensity is not impacted by being

obligated or mandatory. In the event of low PSM levels, and absence of P-O fit, coerced individuals have a better perception of effort exerted than their non-coerced, low PSM brethren.

When it comes to volunteering out of a sense of obligation, we found evidence that volunteers who felt a sense of obligation to volunteer had the relation between PSM and P-O fit strengthened. But, despite a significant interaction effect and conditional indirect effects, the index of moderated mediation was not significant. In fact, P-O fit continued to mediate the relation between PSM and volunteering intensity regardless of the presence of obligation. There was a significant relation of being married within the model which could fall in line with Rotolo and Wilson's (2006) and Chen's (2014) studies that both found spouses exert a large amount influence when volunteering. It could be that being married crowds out the concept of volunteering being an obligation...or as a choice! As we argued earlier, people volunteer through a sense of obligation for their family members, so this finding was expected. We also found that when obligated to volunteer, that being unemployed was significant within the model. This supports the idea that social networks will ask those others with whom there may not be a work-schedule conflict to volunteer their time. Nevertheless, many studies about student volunteering attest- it could be that the volunteering was conducted as it felt obligatory to beef up ones résumé or CV (Tannous and Smith 2012). However, Handy et al. (2010) found that students that volunteered to in order to build their résumé did not exert a greater level of intensity. The question still remain as to why obligation did not moderate the relation between PSM and P-O fit. It is possible that a different underlying dimension of the strength of social networks (Glanville 2011; Alias and Ismail 2015) (which was not explored in this study) plays a stronger role in other-oriented individuals who have high PSM levels.

For those volunteers who felt it was mandatory for them to volunteer, we found no evidence that they report lower levels of volunteering intensity compared to other individuals with comparable levels of PSM. Indeed, the conditional indirect effect was significant whether it was mandated or not. Again, the issue of being married and unemployed were significant. It is quite possible that the concept of volun-told should also be applied in the case of marriage. In terms of being unemployed, these results are in direct contrast to Law and Shek's (2009) study that found that children whose parents coerced them into volunteering had a negative association with volunteering in the future. If anything, the failure of mandated volunteering to weaken the relation between P-O fit and volunteering intensity should signal to volunteer managers that having mandated volunteers may not necessarily be a problem. Despite it being mandatory, it could be that the individual has never had the opportunity to volunteer and is therefore likely to exert effort due to the novelty of the experience.

Overall, our findings compete with the idea that a coerced volunteer will exert a lower level of volunteer intensity. Consequently, this study paves the way for future studies concerning individual motivation, coercion and performance.

Limitations and Future Research

This study is not without limitation though. Measuring whether individuals' volunteered out of a sense of obligation or if it was mandatory was based on the dichotomous values (yes and no). This provides limitations because it does not let academics understand the depth of which the individual felt they were obligated or the severity of the consequences if they choose not to engage in mandatory volunteering. A recently verified scale to measure feelings of obligations was confirmed in 2016 (Gallant et al. 2016). The scale (which was

confirmed after our data collection for this study was conducted) measures obligation through commitment (18-items) and duty (14-items). It is recommended that this scale be used in future studies exploring volunteering out of a sense of obligation as it is a more rigorous way of measuring obligation opposed to dichotomous values.

Second, while the control variable for employed was captured- the specific sector was not integrated into the model. The initial decision was made to not include this because of the unequal distribution amongst private, public and non-profit. However, there is evidence that employees from these three sectors have a tendency to have different group memberships in types of volunteering categories (Houston 2008).

Finally, the data population sample looked at the general population of individuals that already had a history of volunteering in the Southwest region of UK. In order to get a more precise understanding of mandatory volunteering, it is recommended to survey a sample of volunteers who have been mandated to volunteer- such as participants of the UK community work placement plan. This would allow researchers to isolate those who are mandated and explore through in-depth interviews with participants and volunteer organizations how individuals perceive their motivations have been influenced through coercion. Additionally, this would allow researchers to compare the perceived volunteer intensity from two different angles.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the purpose of this study was to determine if being coerced into volunteering would undermine the public service motivation of the volunteer. In doing so, we contribute to filling the gaps about coercion and volunteering. While coercion in some cases does affect the relation between motivation and volunteer intensity, its negative effect is overridden in the presence of a positive P-O fit. For practitioners, these findings imply there is a need to

ensure pre-screening of individuals mandated to volunteer in order to try to match their individual values with an organization having similar values. For academics, these findings open the debate about the positive aspects of mandatory volunteering. Overall, these findings allow researchers to see another level where the complexity of coercion influences individual motivation and effort.

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Tables:*Table 1 Frequency Table (UK volunteers and students)*

Background of Respondents		
N. 416	Frequency	Percentage
Gender		
Male	142	34.1
Female	274	65.9
Generation		
Gen Z (21 and under)	44	10.6
Gen Y (22-39)	149	35.8
Gen X (40-50)	54	13
Baby Boomers (51-70)	142	34.1
Silent (71 and over)	27	6.5
Civil Status		
Single (never married)	168	40.4
Married (living with partner)	213	51.2
Divorced	23	5.5
Widowed	12	2.9
Children		
No	247	59.4
Yes	169	40.6
Employed		
Yes	240	57.7
No	176	42.3

Table 2- Composite reliability and Correlations

	CR	AVE	MSV	Max R(H)	Mean	S.D.	Correlations												
							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		
1. Intensity	0.951	0.796	0.424	0.959	5.59	1.163	(.892)												
2. P-O Fit	0.835	0.630	0.424	0.967	3.96	.659	.566**	(.794)											
3. Compassion	0.533	0.285	0.226	0.575	3.60	.597	.156**	.162**	(.534)										
4. Self-Sacrifice	0.772	0.467	0.229	0.971	3.22	.645	.225**	.233**	.330**	(.683)									
5. Civic Duty	0.770	0.531	0.229	0.974	3.32	.787	.082	.173**	.190**	.391**	(.729)								
6. APM ^a	0.674	0.414	0.028	0.976	3.42	.668	.151**	.069	.037	-.077	-.066	(.643)							
7. Gender					.66	.475	.115*	.102*	.142**	-.068	-.109*	-.002							
8. GenY					.36	.480	-.240**	-.208**	-.169**	-.032	.040	-.160**	-.128**						
9. Married					.51	.500	.321**	.264**	.135**	-.007	-.022	.332**	-.003	-.414**					
10. Children					.41	.492	.262**	.266**	.172**	.084	.078	.214**	-.045	-.465**	.553**				
11. Employed					.58	.495	-.200**	-.104*	-.093	.007	.015	-.107*	-.103*	.315**	-.223**	-.173**			

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* . Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Note * CR= Composite reliability, AVE= Average Variance Extracted, MSV= Maximum Shared Variance, MaxR (H) = Maximum Reliability, S.D. = Standard Deviation, a= APM= Attraction to Policy Making; Because the control variables are dichotomous, AMOS does not calculate composite reliability.

Table 3 Regression model for PSM and Coerced as a moderator (robust standard errors in parentheses)

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3
	DV: Intensity	DV: Intensity	DV: Intensity
Variable	coeff	coeff	coeff
Constant	5.260*** (.156)	3.336*** (.464)	5.253*** (.160)
Gender	0.250* (.114)	0.265* (.112)	0.287* (.118)
GenY	-0.137 (.133)	-0.132 (.131)	-0.159 (.145)
Married	0.509*** (.131)	0.484*** (.129)	0.551*** (.133)
Children	0.240† (.137)	0.155 (.136)	0.173 (.133)
Employed	-0.247* (.114)	-0.238* (.112)	-0.252* (.108)
Coerced			.260* (.125)
PSM		0.579*** (.132)	0.548*** (.122)
PSM X Coerced			-.107 (.281)
R-squared	0.143	0.182	0.191
F	(5)13.706 p <.001	(6)15.148 p <.001	(8)13.597 p <.001
Observations=	416	416	416

*Note: *** p <.001, ** p <.01, * p <.05, † p <.10*

Table 4 Regression model for PSM and Model Coefficients for P-O Fit as a mediator and obligation as a moderator

Variable	DV: PO-fit		DV: Intensity	
	coeff	s.e.	coeff	s.e.
Constant	3.725***	0.087	2.135***	0.375
Gender	.155*	0.065	0.139	0.11
GenY	-0.07	0.08	-0.073	0.125
Married	0.182*	0.088	.330**	0.106
Children	0.168*	0.085	0.018	0.106
Employed	-0.017	0.068	-.225*	0.094
PSM	.384***	0.071	.274**	0.105
Obligation	0.018	0.069		
PSM X Obligation	0.287†	0.168		
P-O Fit			.844***	0.094
R-squared	0.157		0.376	
F	(8)=13.236, p<.001		(7)=28.7294, p<.001	
Observations=	416			

*Note *** p <.001, ** p <.01, * p<.05, †p<.10; control variables and individual dimensions on their own are shown in the preceding table (3)*

Table 5 Regression model for PSM and Model Coefficients for P-O Fit as a mediator and mandatory as a moderator

Variable	DV: PO-fit		DV: Intensity	
	coeff	s.e.	coeff	s.e.
(Constant)	-1.445***	0.244	4.573***	0.384
Gender	.149*	0.065	0.139	0.111
Gen Y	-0.07	0.079	-0.08	0.131
Married	0.183 †	0.084	.337**	0.108
Children	0.162 †	0.086	0.025	0.109
Employed	-0.015	0.067	-.226*	0.094
PSM	.362***	0.071	.268*	0.105
P-O fit			.846***	0.096
Mandatory			0.054	0.153
P-O Fit X Mandatory			0.07	0.265
R-squared	0.152		0.376	
F	(6)=16.628, p<.001		(9)=22.1035, p<.001	
Observations=	416			

*Note *** p <.001, ** p <.01, * p<.05, † p<.10; control variables and individual dimensions on their own are shown in the preceding table (3)*

Figures

Figure 1 Conceptual model of Coerced volunteers

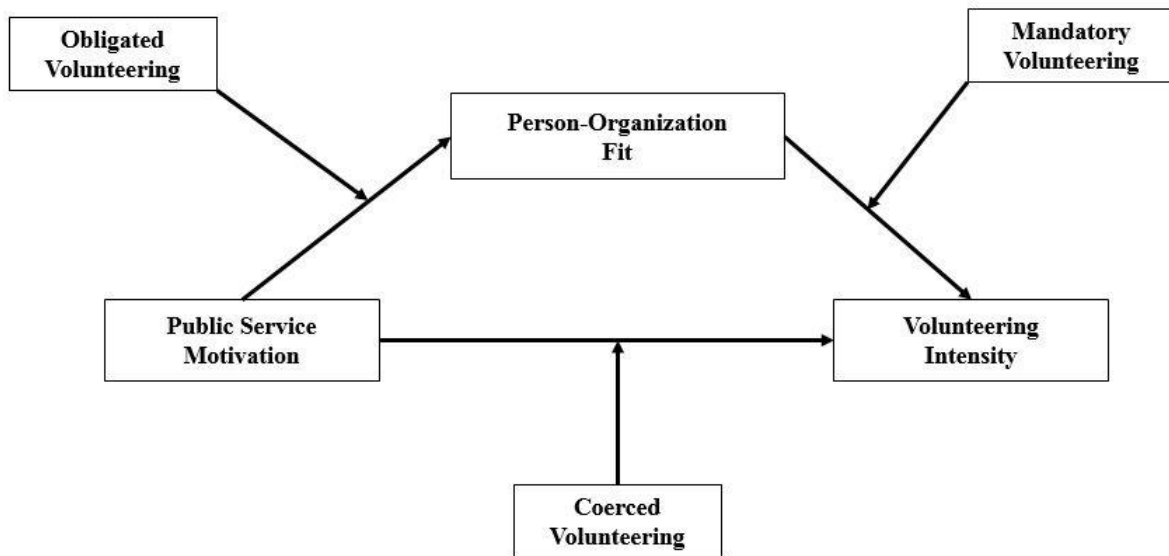
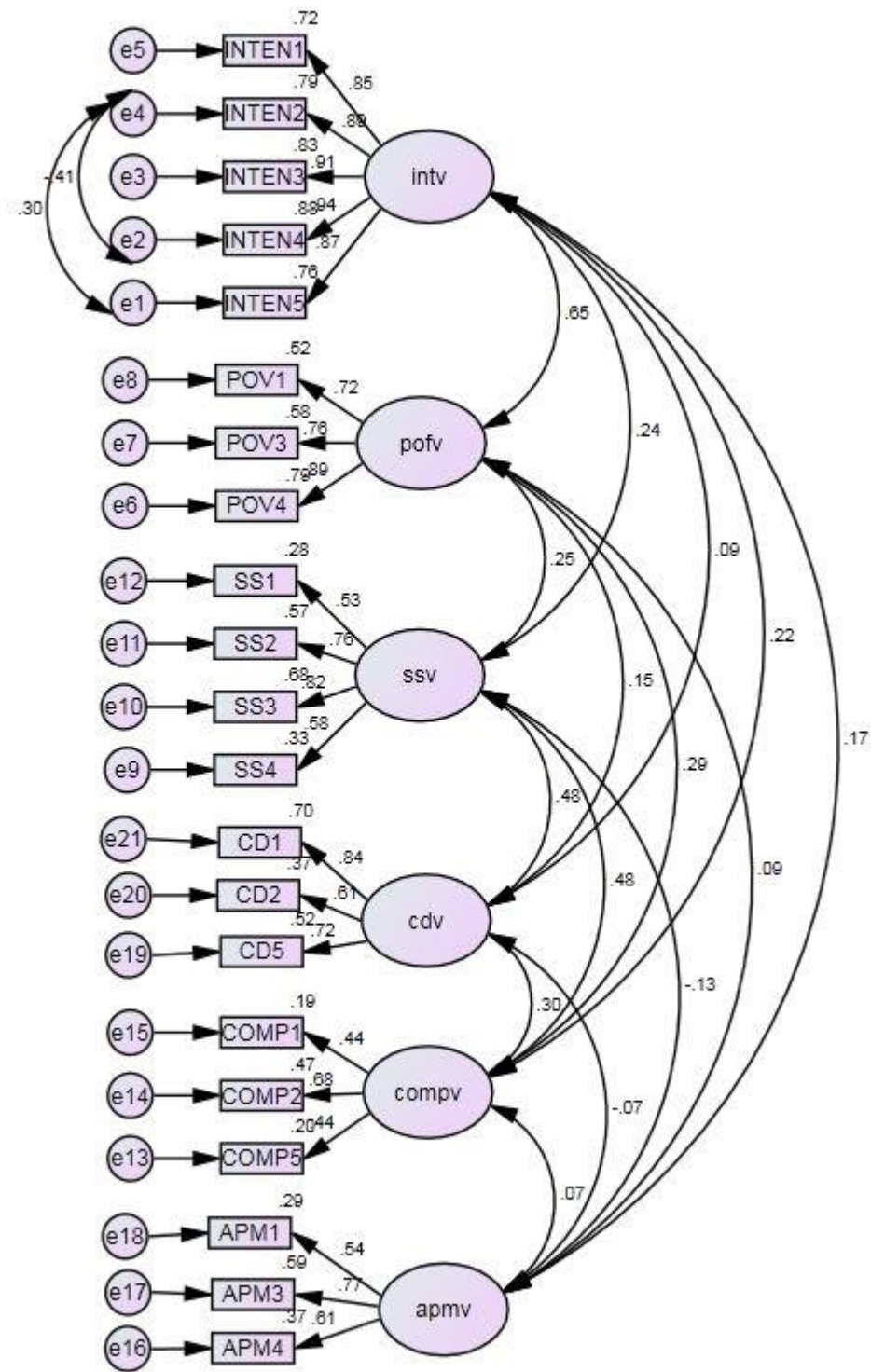


Figure 2 Confirmatory Factor Analysis (Standardized estimates)



*INTV= Volunteering Intensity, POFV= Person-Organization Fit, CDV= Civic Duty, APMV= Attraction to Policy Making, SSV= Self-Sacrifice, COMPV= Compassion

Figure 3 Simple Slopes (PSM)

