

# **The Public Service Motivated Volunteer Devoting Time or Effort: A Review and Research Agenda**

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## **Abstract**

The purpose of this conceptual paper is to further the understanding of how evolving volunteer trends impact upon volunteering intensity. The aim is to provide clarity by integrating to the volunteer literature a theoretical framework which can be adapted to different ways people volunteer and thus may inform subsequent empirical work. First, we address academic debates concerning the measurement of volunteer effort.

Second, we propose using Public Service Motivation (PSM) theory as a means to understand the motivation of volunteers across sectors. We suggest that different PSM dimensions may be more dominant in different volunteer settings and incorporate person-organization fit as a means to understand the relationship between PSM and volunteering intensity. Finally, this article proposes directions for future research.

**Keywords:** Public service motivation; volunteering; pro-social behaviour; person-organisation fit

## **Introduction**

Convincing an individual to volunteer for an organization does not determine how much effort they will exert. While much research has explored why volunteers donate their time (Houston 2006; Handy et al. 2010; Wilson 2012), only a few scholars (Rodell 2013) have explored the amount of effort volunteers exerted. Changes in the volunteering landscape from traditional volunteering to different forms of volunteering such as episodic, micro and online (cyber) volunteering suggests impending difficulties for how academics can measure volunteer effort. Episodic volunteering involves one-off activities (i.e. the 2012 Olympics), whereas micro-volunteering reflects a trend of spending a limited time volunteering (i.e. spending five minutes drawing a card for an elderly resident in a care home as part of a university lunchtime volunteering initiative) (Young and McChesney 2013; Dunn et al. 2015). Furthermore, the trend of cyber or online volunteering through promoting causes and knowledge sharing (Kim and Khang 2014) has experienced a large growth, especially amongst college students (Kim and Lee 2014; Raja-Yusof et al. 2016) who may view supporting social causes as volunteering. Together, these emerging volunteering trends are less reliant on extended time, and could, for example, be measured in how long it takes to take a selfie with a camera and upload to social media in order to support a cause. Consequently, some scholars have argued that focusing on the amount of time one volunteers does not reflect accurately the amount of effort exerted (Rodell 2013; Rodell et al. 2016). No longer can time be solely equated to volunteering intensity. This changing focus to short bursts of commitment or activities, challenges academics to incorporate different means of determining the effort a volunteer may exert or, in other words, volunteering intensity.

A second issue facing volunteer research is that where (or the perception of for whom) individuals volunteer is changing because the roles of profit, public and non-profit sector have become increasingly blurred (Minow 2000). With the emergence of government

volunteer schemes and corporate supported volunteering and corporate social responsibility (CSR) programmes (Basil et al. 2009; Booth et al. 2009), it does not mean that individuals associate volunteering for a charity partner or as part of a community network (i.e. Community Network or Business in the Community programmes) when they are representing their company. For example, when corporations put together teams to help at marathons, the employees are wearing shirts with their company's logo and therefore may not relate to nor consider themselves as volunteering with the partner non-profit organisations. Whereas, public sector employees such as Soldiers in the US and UK will often find themselves visiting schools or orphanages and donating items and time as direct representatives of the government. A soldier handing out humanitarian toothbrush kits may not know nor identify with the organisation that has provided the items. Rather, they may equate their actions as related to the military's 'hearts and minds' campaigns or representing their military in disadvantaged areas (Hodge 2011). Finally, there are repeated calls by governments for citizens to engage in improving their local area by engaging in increased volunteering and community enterprise (Evans 2011). This change in where people are volunteering means that scholars need to explore if motivations to volunteer are similar across industrial and sectoral boundaries. Thus, it is imperative to incorporate a theory that allows volunteer motivations to be measured across sectors.

Therefore, the purpose of this conceptual paper is to further develop our understanding of how evolving volunteer trends impact upon volunteering intensity. The aim is to provide clarity by integrating within the volunteer literature a theoretical framework which can be adapted to different ways people volunteer and thus may inform subsequent empirical work. First, we address academic debates concerning the measurement of volunteer effort. This is important because traditionally organisations do not ask volunteers how much effort they are exerting and instead rely on the proxy of time spent volunteering.

By not having to rely on the amount of time contributed, volunteer managers will be able to incorporate trends of micro and online volunteering while having a clearer understanding of the how an individual maximises effort according to their own abilities. Second, we propose using Perry and Wise's (1990) Public Service Motivation (PSM) theory as a means to understand the motivation of volunteers across sectors. We suggest that different PSM dimensions may be more dominant in different volunteer settings. PSM is a construct that merges intrinsic and pro-social aspects of volunteering while recognising that both altruistic (concern for others) and instrumental (self-interest) motivations can propel volunteers to step forward in the first place (Mesch et al. 1998). Finally, we then take into account what happens if there is a good or poor match between the individual and the organisation as represented by person-organisation fit (P-O fit). Thus, we argue individual PSM levels can be used to predict volunteer intensity better when moderated by P-O fit based on different types of volunteer organisations (Rotolo and Wilson 2006). While only a limited number of studies have examined P-O fit between volunteers and the organisations with whom they volunteer (e.g. Kim et al. 2007; van Vuuren et al. 2008; Scherer et al. 2016), they have set the groundwork that P-O fit is applicable in volunteer studies. Finally, we discuss directions for future research that incorporates the changing volunteer landscape.

### **Volunteering Intensity: Time versus Effort**

While there are many theories explaining volunteer motivation, far less attention has been spent determining the intensity level of volunteer effort. Historically, much research relied on time as a proxy for volunteer effort (Wymer 1999; Hooghe and Botterman 2012). For example, datasets such as the Panel Study of Income Dynamics Philanthropy Module, Current Population Survey and that from the Independent Sector rely on the amount of volunteering done (Nesbit 2011). Using the time one spends volunteering, such as the number of hours or days one volunteered, in order to determine effort (Wollebaek and Selle 2002;

Handy et al. 2010) requires the subject to be able to recall exactly how long they volunteered and is often an estimation or “guesstimate” of time. This results in measurements being rough estimates and requiring researchers to ask prompts (Hall 2001).

Rooney et al. (2004) found the larger the amount of prompts needed, the more volunteering activities respondents recalled participating in. However, when Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) compared actual donations and recollection of donations to charitable causes, they found that recollected donations were significantly higher than the actual. Bekkers and Wiepking (2011) recommend using logs to record time, yet even this can be very subjective. For example, if a family is engaging in leisure volunteering teaching English abroad for a week, then they might report volunteering  $24 \times 7 = 168$  hours per week and thus inaccurately reflect the actual time devoted to volunteering teaching hours.

Other large scale volunteer surveys, such as Donor Pulse, focus on the frequency of volunteering (Cnaan et al. 2011). Those who report volunteering at a higher frequency, such as weekly, were found to have an increased chance of continuing to volunteer later in life (Sullivan and Ludden 2011). Measuring frequency as a means of intensity has an advantage over asking specific hours, because it is a more general approach. However, frequency does not measure the effort exerted. Someone posting a video on social media doing a challenge to raise awareness of a cause may require more effort exerted than someone who volunteers monthly at their local church’s potluck suppers.

Time spent and frequency may not be appropriate measures because they can be prolonged without concrete effort being exerted (Rodell 2013). Accordingly, the effort individuals put into their activities may be better captured by recognising volunteering’s multidimensional nature, for example in the form of the volunteering intensity measure proposed by Rodell (2013). This is an important insight which has implications for how

empirical knowledge about volunteering is constructed, as volunteering intensity might have different associations across the spectrum of the volunteer landscape.

Consequently, Rodell (2013) proposed and tested an alternative scale to measure volunteering intensity. Her research examined the relationship between employees' volunteering and their performance at work. It resulted in a validated intensity scale that takes the volunteer's effort away from being focused on just time donated and towards a more measurable scale based on the participant's perceived effort. Rodell's (2013) scale measured the physical, mental, and emotional level of effort exerted by the volunteer. This means of measuring volunteering intensity could be more beneficial with episodic, micro or cyber volunteering.

Studies using volunteering intensity have found that a pro-social identity directly impacts volunteering intensity (Rodell 2013). As such, we extend our discussion to public service motivation which focuses on public service and has a strong component of a pro-social or others-orientation.

### **Public Service Motivation**

Public service motivation (PSM) is "an individual's orientation to delivering service to people with the purpose of doing good for others and society" (Hondeghem and Perry 2009, p.6). PSM motives are divided into three aspects: rational, norm-based, and affective (Perry and Wise 1990). Rational motives are goal-oriented (DeHart-Davis et al. 2006) and pertain to motives that capitalise on an individual's self-interest (Naff and Crum 1999). Norm-based motives are socially based and typically include loyalty and duty (Brewer and Selden 2000). Affective motives pertain to commitment as a result of individual genuine concern and identification with the organisation or cause. Originally, Perry (1996) argued six dimensions

underpin the three broader motives, i.e.: Attraction to policy making, Self-sacrifice, Commitment to public interest, Compassion, Civic duty and Social justice.

Attraction to policy making is a rational motive that was previously seen as participation in policy formation (Perry 1996), but could be filled through any volunteer work done deliberately to influence policy change such as advocacy work in the volunteer sphere. Social justice, commitment to public interest, and civic duty are norm-based motives (Naff and Crum 1999) which can also be filled through volunteering by giving a voice to those who cannot help themselves, assisting in activities that enhance national identity and by fulfilling what the individual deems as their duty to their country or community. Compassion, which entails love and concern for others, and self-sacrifice are affective motives driven by emotions (DeHart-Davis et al. 2006).

#### *PSM and sector differences*

The crux of our argument for using PSM to examine volunteers' motivations is that PSM has proven it has the ability to measure individual motivation across sectors, is an individual-level concept, and not sector specific (Brewer and Sheldon 1998). In fact, PSM has triggered a plethora of research comparing public and private sector employees' motivations (e.g. Perry 1997; Houston 2000; Houston 2006; Moynihan and Pandey 2007; Kim and Vandenberg 2010; Coursey et al. 2011). Houston (2006) compared PSM between private, public and non-profit sector employees in terms of donating blood and charitable donations, and found that while employees of non-profits contributed the most, there was little difference between the other two sectors. Indeed, at an individual level, there was no difference between public and private sector employees' volunteering habits. Yet, Andersen and Serritzlew's (2010) study of PSM in the private sector in Denmark found private physiotherapists scored high on

the PSM commitment to public interest dimension, and thus exhibited higher levels of pro-social behaviour.

### *PSM and Volunteering*

Recently, more efforts have been geared towards investigating PSM amongst non-profit sector employees and volunteers pointing toward differences in motivation between the latter and public sector employees (e.g. Borzaga and Tortia 2006; Lee and Wilkins 2011; Chen 2012). Several studies have concluded that volunteering is a behavioural consequence of PSM (Lee 2012, Lee and Jeong 2015) and that PSM leads to a greater amount of time spent volunteering (Houston 2006, Clerkin et al. 2009). Other scholars have explored how PSM relates to different volunteering domains (Coursey et al. 2011) such as religious organisations, educational activities or social services and opportunities to volunteer (Ertas 2014). Nevertheless, amongst PSM-volunteer studies, two issues arise: each PSM dimension may impact volunteering differently and they may be more prevalent in different types of volunteering activities (Herath et al. 2017).

Clerkin et al. (2009) found that students with higher PSM would engage in both volunteering and charitable donation. However, there was evidence that different dimensions of PSM (compassion and civic duty) had a greater impact; whereas, attraction to policy making was negatively related to an individual's willingness to volunteer. In contrast, Lee and Jeong (2015) examined volunteering amongst Korean public servants, and found that attraction to policy making was the only PSM variable that on its own related to one's propensity to volunteer, unlike in Clerkin et al. (2009) and Houston's (2006) studies. This evidence suggests that the dimensions themselves may be an important factor when exploring different attitudes.



The tendency for individuals with high PSM to volunteer more hours was supported with Coursey et al.'s (2011) study that used a dataset of "elite" volunteers- recipients of the Daily Point of Light Award, an annual volunteer recognition ceremony where the US President formally recognises America's top volunteers. While this links PSM to increased time spent volunteering, the study found that PSM affected volunteering in different fields. Those with high PSM were prone to volunteering in religious organisations compared to schools or human services. Coursey et al. (2011) posited that the PSM theory rests on the attraction-selection-attrition paradigm, which if applied to volunteer opportunities could be found in for-profit or public sector volunteer schemes. Following DeCooman et al. (2009, p. 103) the attraction-selection-attrition paradigm, originally described by Schneider (1984), argues that "over time forces within an organization operate to attract, select and retain an increasingly homogeneous group of employees" and thus hinges on the idea of person-organisation fit (P-O fit). This approach further supports the idea that not only do the dimensions themselves make a difference, but that they are prevalent in different types of volunteering organisations.

While all of these studies provided evidence of the positive relation between PSM and volunteering and there was evidence that elite type volunteers donate more hours, exploring PSM amongst the full spectrum of volunteers, including episodic, micro or online volunteers, deems further exploration. It could be rationalised that despite theoretical guidance that PSM precedes the action (volunteering intensity), that the action itself may actually cause post-rationalisation of motivation. However, in the case of micro volunteering such post-rationalisation is less likely to occur because it is so short that people don't need to find additional rationalisation. Therefore, the arguments above suggest that PSM will have a positive impact on volunteering intensity.

## **Person-Organisation Fit**

While PSM has proved that it can explain attraction to different sectors and volunteering (Houston 2006; Coursey et al. 2011), whether P-O fit influences that relation has yet to be investigated. Coursey et al. (2011) asserts that if fit matters to individuals in a workplace environment, then it is not dissimilar to expect an individual to consider how they perceive they will fit in the case of a volunteering opportunity. P-O fit captures the overall match of values between an individual and an organisation (Kristof 1996). Supplementary fit exists when the individual and organisation share similar goals and values, whereas, complementary fit occurs when needs-supplies between the two are met (Kristof-Brown et al. 2005).

The concept of P-O fit has been used to show how people are attracted to certain organizations based on the value congruence that individuals perceive exist within different organizations (Yu 2014). The individuals' identification with the mission of the organization implies that the individual perceives that their own values match with the organization's purpose or mission. Despite any understanding on what motivates an individual to volunteer and exert effort, if there is not a congruency between the individual and organisation there remains the risk of high turnover and burnout. By incorporating P-O Fit into our framework, we add another layer of understanding how the relation between volunteer motivations and effort may be influenced.

Existing literature suggests that those who have higher levels of PSM have been shown to be more compatible with their organisations (Bright 2013). Some PSM studies have found that P-O fit has an indirect effect on an employee's attitudes and behaviours (Bright 2008; Kim 2012). However, Wright and Pandey (2008) found that the value congruence did not mediate the relationship between PSM and job satisfaction. If a volunteer was not satisfied with their volunteering activity, one would expect them to exert little effort. Bright

(2008) concluded that the mediating effect of P-O fit only explained a small variance and that it was possible that one's satisfaction with their job (or by extension, their volunteering activity) might actually influence their perception of P-O fit. Therefore, it is possible that high levels of PSM do not directly lead to increased P-O fit.

On the contrary, a good P-O fit could strengthen the relation between PSM and volunteering intensity. Liu et al. (2015) found evidence that high levels of P-O fit strengthened the relationship between those with high PSM and job satisfaction. Park and Kim (2015) found further support for P-O fit moderating the relationship between PSM affective and norm based motives and accountability. Thus, these moderating studies of P-O fit and PSM imply that when an individual has high PSM levels and a good perceived P-O fit that there will be an increase in positive behavioural consequences.

The majority of the literature applies P-O fit to the work context and relatively few volunteer studies have taken advantage of the unique explanation of P-O fit (Kim et al. 2007; van Vuuren et al. 2008; Scherer et al. 2016). Kim et al. (2007) reasoned that volunteers would be challenged to separate the job they did (i.e. Person-Job fit) from the organisation, but Kim et al. (2009) later argued that the overall fit between a person and an environment (i.e. Person-Environment fit) encompasses all aspects of fit and thus should be used. Kim et al.'s (2009) study did provide empirical evidence that Person-Environment fit (measured as a combination of organisation and task) could lead to volunteers having an intention to continue when mediated by empowerment. While the study implied a sense of empowerment was important, it showed that P-O fit could be applied to volunteers.

In the case of volunteers, delineating between various fits (environmental, job, organisational) is complex for volunteering involves a fluid combination of high turnover rates and tasks and, where applicable, supervisors. Volunteers could be working on fund-

raising one day and setting up chairs for an event on another. Because there is rarely a set job description, P-O fit is reasoned to be more relevant to volunteers than environmental or job, as its focus is on individual and organisational values. It is with this rationale in mind that we propose exploring P-O fit amongst volunteers.

To date, and to our knowledge, the only volunteer study that has directly tested P-O fit (separate from Person-Environment fit) is that by Scherer et al. (2016). They 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 suggest that burnout is a larger threat than poor P-O fit when it comes to an individual quitting. Scherer et al. (2016) contend that practitioners need to have a better way of identifying the match between volunteers and organisations.

P-O fit has the potential ability to strengthen the relation between PSM and behavioural outcomes and has been shown to be applicable to volunteers. Thus, these arguments suggest that P-O fit strengthens the positive relation between PSM and volunteering intensity.

### ***P-O fit and PSM Dimensions When Volunteering with Different Types of Organisations***

Although much research has shown that PSM may lead to individuals having a preference for employment, Christensen and Wright (2011) suggest sector choice can serve as a proxy for P-O fit. It could be argued that in the case of volunteering, individuals will select organisations whose values they perceive will match theirs. Therefore, one should examine how different types of volunteering organisations may be a proxy for fit. Scholars conducting volunteer studies have complained that often studies only look at volunteer service industry opposed to different fields (Rotolo and Wilson 2006). Disaggregating volunteering may help to

overcome this limitation. Rotolo and Wilson (2006) divide volunteering into the following categories: Religious, Youth development, Social and community service, Culture, arts, and education, Health, Sports and hobbies, Civic and public safety, Advocacy and Work.

Further adding to our understanding of how PSM influences volunteering intensity, we explore the six dimensions of PSM itself. Coursey et al.'s (2011) study linked PSM to different volunteering domains and increasingly other scholars studying PSM have begun to examine the individual PSM dimensions and their ability to influence different outcomes (Jacobsen et al. 2014). Perry's (1996) six original dimensions measure very specific attitudes held by individuals. The volunteer literature suggests that individuals with certain attitudes are more prone to volunteer in different settings. Therefore, using literature to predict how to pair PSM dimensions with specific volunteer fields allows for formulating a model that can be used to predict how volunteers' attitudes influence how one self-selects into volunteer programmes. By adding this variable as a moderator in our model, P-O fit strengthens the relation between the PSM dimensions and the outcome variable: volunteering intensity. If there were an ensuing good person-volunteer programme fit, the volunteering intensity would be positively affected. Using volunteer literature, we examine which PSM dimensions are expected to be moderated by specific types of volunteering organisations.

### *Self-Sacrifice*

Self-sacrifice is a prevalent term in volunteering studies. Cnaan et al. (1996) felt that self-sacrifice was exhibited when adults donate their time and energy to mentor vulnerable young people in a programme such as 'Big Brothers Big Sisters'. Whereas, Houston (2006) says the charitable act of donating blood exemplifies self-sacrifice. Therefore, self-sacrifice is best illustrated when a person perceives they are giving up something extremely important to them to benefit another. This does suggest that self-sacrifice might be closely associated with

that which is considered traditional, repeat occurrences of volunteering. Indeed, some scholars would argue that self-sacrifice could be loosely applied to any type of volunteering situation (Wright et al. 2016). Self-sacrifice in PSM is measured along the lines of personal loss and placing the needs of society in front of their own.

The theme of personal loss is prominent in many religions. Some religions, such as Christianity, are formed around the concept of self-sacrifice (Freeman and Houston 2010). Guo et al. (2013) explored how religion can predict volunteering for a social change cause and discovered Catholics and Protestants were more likely to volunteer than individuals practicing other religions. This finding aligns with Perry's (1997) exploration of religious socialisation in a western context and how it has an effect on predicting PSM. Freeman and Houston (2010) followed a theoretical link between PSM and religious conviction and found public servants are more active in their religious communities.

As well as its dominance in religious organisations, Liu (2009) was able to link strong levels of self-sacrifice to social workers' job satisfaction. As these types of jobs typically centred on protecting and assisting young people, it can also be viewed as thankless, given the history of negative and hostile attitudes amongst beneficiaries. Again, given the importance that many organisations place on screening volunteers who work with young people, it is expected to be a long-term commitment instead of an episodic event. Conversely, Coursey et al. (2011) found that the PSM dimension "compassion" was more prevalent amongst volunteers in school or human services if the individual was highly religious, whilst the self-sacrifice dimension was related to volunteering in schools/educational, human services and others (such as arts). As this value is more prominent in organisations of a religious nature, we argue that self-sacrifice will be more prevalent. Together, these arguments suggest that volunteering in a religious organisation or

youth development organisation strengthens the positive relationship between self-sacrifice and volunteering intensity.

### *Compassion*

Compassion is defined as having a general love for people (Word and Carpenter 2013) and focuses on helping those in need (Lee and Brudney 2015). Compassion has been closely linked to volunteers in end of life care (Claxton-Oldfield et al. 2013) because working at a hospice requires volunteers to be compassionate, sensitive, and caring to those in their final days and their surviving families. Claxton-Oldfield et al. (2013) attributes this to the high degree of social and emotional support being provided by volunteers.

A PSM study in Denmark found nurses had higher levels of compassion and increased job satisfaction (Andersen and Kjeldsen 2013). Liu et al. (2014) also found evidence that high levels of compassion increased job satisfaction though amongst Chinese social workers. Moreover, Roh et al. (2016) found evidence that social workers in health care organisations who have higher levels of PSM tend to have higher job satisfaction and less burnout. This evidence of a higher sense of compassion influencing satisfaction could have implications for decreasing turnover. DeHart-Davis et al. (2006) also found gender to be a significant predictor of compassion with higher levels reported amongst women. Given the findings described above, i.e. that females tend to display higher levels of compassion and compassion is frequently required in caring jobs, with a larger percentage of female volunteers in health organisations, one would expect an individual with high compassion levels to volunteer for a health organisation. However, similar to self-sacrifice, the compassion dimension is expected to be more prominent amongst traditional volunteers. Therefore, these ideas suggest that volunteering in a health organisation strengthens the positive relationship between compassion and volunteering intensity.

### *Commitment to Public Interest*

Commitment to public interest is seen as a norm-based motive (Kim 2012) which, although a collective common interest, is generally understood as an interest in public welfare (Vandenabeele et al. 2006). This emphasis on being society driven means it can be interpreted differently across cultures and countries. While typically seen as a national focus, it is also associated with local orientations (Vandenabeele et al. 2006) which relate to volunteer organisations that work at community level.

Commitment to public interest is evident in a time where funding for arts programs in schools are being cut and schools are increasingly relying on philanthropic help from outside organisations (Constantino 2003). It takes a commitment from volunteers interested in preservation of societal history to ensure the general population is still exposed to the culture and arts that built their society. This commitment to public interest is reflected in the importance the UK education system places on schools visiting museums in order to build and preserve national heritage. Therefore, volunteering in a culture, arts and education organisations could strengthen the positive relationship between commitment to public interest and volunteering intensity.

### *Attraction to Policy Making*

Attraction to Policy Making is a rational motive (Perry 1996) and tends to be one of the most controversial PSM dimensions. It has been dropped from the analysis in some PSM studies (Coursey et al. 2008; Braender and Andersen 2013; Moynihan 2013). Some argue that too few people can actually affect public policy (Van der Meer 2010) and others argue that other PSM dimensions were more powerful and significant (Kim 2009). However, Anderfuhren-Biget's (2012) study found initial evidence that individuals with high levels of attraction to policy making tend to engage in more political activities to include volunteering. This was



further supported in Lee and Jeong's (2015) study which also discovered evidence that attraction to policy making levels were highest amongst Korean public sector volunteers. Given that many countries have political elections every few years, it is suggested that the majority of the volunteers in political organisations are episodic volunteers.

If one looks at how attraction to policy making is closely aligned with lobbying or work-related professional organisations, then the connection is clearer. Historically in the UK, non-profits had an impact in influencing policy change such as around child poverty and support for the disabled or elderly (Bode 2010). Progressively more non-profits are lobbying governments for change in policies and resources (Cairns et al. 2010). For example, US Veterans of Foreign War is a professional and work non-profit organisation that not only attracts members wanting to effect change, but also actively lobbies for very specific causes (Netzer 2008) such as retirement, education funds, health care, etc. Unions are work organisations that also have volunteers that lobby for change (Kerrissey and Schofer 2013). Lobbying also exists at an international level with non-profit organisations such as the International Chamber of Commerce and the World Business Council for Sustainable Development, which are seeking to influence the United Nations or regional governing bodies. Together, these arguments suggest that volunteering in an organisation that conducts work or advocacy activities strengthens the positive relationship between attraction to policy making and volunteering intensity.

### *Civic Duty*

Civic duty is a norm-based motive that, like commitment to public interest, is influenced by the kind of society or community one belongs to (Perry 1996). National differences may play a large role. Haddad (2006) examined patterns of why different types of voluntary organisations were more successful in USA and Japan based on attitudes towards civic duty.

She found that, when it came to public safety and protection, Japanese citizens volunteered in larger amounts than their US counterparts. Haddad attributes this to a sense of civic duty being interwoven with embedded public sector organisations focusing on public safety. Vandenaabeele et al.'s (2006) examination of the difference in PSM between the US, UK, and Germany discovered that civic duty was an important aspect of public service for US public employees. Yet, this could be closely linked to episodic volunteering. Indeed, Glanville's (2011) study of flooding, social networks and volunteer effort, found that in times of crisis volunteers exerted more intensity through their physical responses to the task.

Certainly, civic duty also falls in line with recent educational developments. Citizenship Education has seen an unprecedented growth in the UK (Strickland 2010) with increased importance placed on encouraging youth participation within their community. In the early 90s, American politicians pushed Congress to renew an emphasis on volunteering to the general population and schools were encouraged to provide citizenship training as a means of encouraging future volunteers (Janoski et al. 1998). Volunteering as a means of learning about citizenship is not limited to schoolchildren. Indeed, immigrants in the UK can fast track their citizenship by volunteering (Strickland 2010). Civic duty is not a passive state of citizenship, but requires the individual to do things within their community (Janoski et al. 1998). However, as in Haddad's (2006) study, civic duty could be represented by volunteering in public safety organisations such as volunteer firefighters, civil protection, etc. Consequently, volunteering in civic or public safety organisations should strengthen the positive relationship between civic duty and volunteering intensity.

### *Social Justice*

Perry defined social justice as "activities intended to enhance the well-being of minorities who lack political and economic resources" (1996, p.3). However, other scholars see the key

role of social justice is to help those in society that are seen as underserved (Word and Carpenter 2013). Campaigns for change at community levels are increasingly prevalent (Cairns et al. 2010). Social justice oriented non-profits can aim at raising awareness within the general population on public policy through advocacy programmes. Individuals are more likely to engage in social justice issues such as protesting and demonstrating physically and online (Broido 2004). Hence, this PSM dimension is expected to be dominate amongst cyber-volunteers.

However, many private sector organisations have introduced social responsibility programmes. They increasingly rally employees behind programs that advocate for the environment. Most non-profits are in the business of social justice in one form or another (Tomlinson and Schwabenland 2010). However, social justice can manifest as corporate activism which, according to King and Weber (2014), is becoming more prolific in leading grassroots movements than non-profits. Companies such as Ben and Jerry's have established strong grassroots initiatives that focus on social change (Dennis et al. 1998). Vandenaabeele et al.'s (2006) international comparison of PSM can be linked to social justice, through their analysis of equality. Therefore, these arguments suggest volunteering in an advocacy group strengthens the positive relation between social justice and volunteering intensity.

The conceptual model summarising the overall framework is depicted in Figure 1. A further breakdown from the aggregate PSM to the specific PSM dimension propositions outlined above is depicted in Figure 2. Different volunteer fields each moderate the effect of a specific dimension of PSM on volunteering intensity. It is noted that the models do not account for the different aspects of how individuals volunteer (episodic, micro or cyber) as it could statistically be more relevant as a control variable.

[Figure 1 here]

[Figure 2 here]

## **Conclusion**

How academics measure volunteering intensity is a rapidly growing topic given the evolving changes in how and where volunteering takes place. The purpose of this paper was to address alternative means of measuring volunteering intensity while taking into consideration how motivations and attitudes and person-organisation fit may impact on effort. In order to be released from the constraints of time as a proxy for effort, we propose utilising a measurement that looks at physical, mental and emotional effort. This three pronged scale is adaptable to the different ways individuals volunteer (traditional, micro, episodic or online). Second, PSM studies have been exploring what drives one to volunteer and the theory acts as a tool to measure motivations to volunteer regardless of where one volunteers. The discussion presented in this paper combines PSM's dimensions to the various fields of volunteering activities in order to offer important implications for research. Finally, the possibility of P-O fit exerting a moderating effect is taken into account.

The implications of our work are as follows. First, the next step is to test the model empirically. It is suggested that a survey testing the propositions that can be derived from the arguments above is sent to individuals who have a history volunteering either through their place of employment or independently. This would generate an opportunity to provide empirical evidence on the PSM- volunteering- P-O fit relationship that could fuel an interdisciplinary discourse between volunteer and organisational behaviour academics.

Second, the model could be used to compare how volunteers engaged in different types of volunteering (episodic, micro, cyber or traditional) perceive the effort they exert. For example, a volunteer who engages in episodic volunteering (i.e. for the Olympics or annual marathon) may perceive they exert more effort than a volunteer who consistently uploads

content online for different charity causes. By understanding the difference in perceived effort, practitioners could tailor their recruitment messages to highlight how much or little effort is needed in order to make a difference. Indeed, the messages all organisations (not only volunteering organisations) send to recruits and how these can be enriched with public service and volunteering related statements is open for investigation.

Third, there are several organisational level implications. From the point of view of the volunteer organisation, the benefits of having volunteers who carry out their tasks at high intensity levels helps the organisation to pursue its social purpose to a stronger extent. Consequently, this may lead to an enhanced reputation, better funding opportunities and improved goal attainment. In contrast, employer supported volunteering has important spill over effects. For example, Breitsohl and Ehrig (2017) convincingly show that volunteering helps to boost commitment to the employer – a finding that has high relevance to our argument. As argued above, generating fit between the PSM dimensions and volunteering opportunities is likely to generate more dedicated volunteers. Such dedication in turn may transfer to organisational level attitudes such as commitment. We would even go a step further and argue that there are more domains in which such positive spill overs can be realized such as job satisfaction, proactive behaviour or ethical behaviour. Rodell (2013) provides first evidence to support these ideas showing that volunteering relates positively to job absorption which in turn enhances performance aspects of the work. Aligning PSM dimensions with volunteering opportunities and exploiting higher levels of perceived person-organisation fit may lead to improved levels of engagement. Similarly, high levels of engagement have been found to increase well-being (MacLeod and Clarke 2009). This is beneficial for individuals and employers as happier people tend to be more productive (Zelenski et al. 2008). Hence the spill over effects between PSM, volunteering and the work-life domain need to be researched in more depth.

Overall, volunteering is an opportunity to make a positive difference in someone else's life, or to the community or environment as a whole. Understanding how an individual's motivation to volunteer can influence what field they will volunteer in and at what type of level, will contribute to the academic discussion of volunteer motivation and further our understanding of volunteering.

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