

ARTICLES

Stipended Volunteers: Their Goals, Experiences, Satisfaction, and Likelihood of Future Service

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Goal setting theory predicts that the initial needs, interests, and aspirations that volunteers bring to organizations are guiding forces in their work behaviors. Other theorists argue that environmental constraints and conditioned responses to positive or negative reinforcement of earlier behaviors are better predictors of subsequent behaviors than initial goals. In this study, the relationship of initial goals to subsequent service outcomes, satisfaction, and intention to volunteer was empirically investigated. Among a sample of 362 AmeriCorps members, the goals that stipended volunteers brought to their service were found to influence outcomes related to those goals 1 year later. Self-esteem was an important moderator of the relationship between goals and outcomes. The overall match of goal importance to goal achievement predicted both satisfaction and likelihood of future volunteering. The results have implications for research on volunteers and volunteer management.

Do volunteers bring a distinct set of interests and needs to organizations that guide their actions within the organizations, influence their satisfaction, and predict their intentions? In this study, we used a longitudinal design to investigate whether the goals that stipended volunteers initially bring to service roles predict outcomes 1 year later. Stipended volunteers receive some financial

compensation below fair market value and work in formal service activities to help others with whom they have no personal connection (Mesch, Tschirhart, Perry, & Lee, 1998). If these individuals' activities are goal directed, and if there are no barriers to the pursuit of their goals, they should report that they achieved their initial goals. Stipended volunteers' initial goals and their achievement of these goals should be linked to their satisfaction and intentions to perform volunteer or paid service in the future.

The premise of goal setting theory is that goals lead to goal-directed action that influences motivation and performance (Locke, 1968). Goals may be broadly interpreted as intentions, aims, or purposes; they are not necessarily highly specified or quantified (Locke & Latham, 1990). If volunteers are goal directed, their energies should be directed toward achieving their desired outcomes. The initial needs, interests, and levels of aspiration that volunteers bring to organizations should be guiding forces in their work behaviors.

Not all theorists agree that initial goals are important predictors of behaviors and outcomes. Some theorists believe that goals may be set retrospectively after actions are completed to provide explanations of why the actions occurred (e.g., March, 1978; Weick, 1979). The actions and their associated outcomes are random, but they are seen as rational and goal directed as part of a social construction process. Individuals who retrospectively set goals are unaware that their interpretations of the actions as goal directed are incorrect.

Other theorists have argued that environmental constraints and conditioned responses to positive or negative reinforcement of earlier behaviors are better predictors of subsequent behaviors than initial goals (Harre & Secord, 1972; Luthans & Kreitner, 1975; Pfeffer & Salancik, 1978; Scott & Podsakoff, 1985). In this view, behavior is largely determined by environmental forces. The fulfillment of goals may be blocked by environmental stimuli, and goals may be subverted if the behaviors they motivate are punished and alternative behaviors are rewarded. Psychological mechanisms such as goal pursuit are less powerful predictors of behavioral outcomes than external factors or conditioned responses.

The debate over the importance of initial goals to satisfaction, retention, and intentions is relevant to scholarship on volunteerism. Much research has been conducted to identify individuals' goals or motives for volunteering (e.g., Clary, Snyder, & Ridge, 1992; Omoto & Snyder, 1995; Pearce, 1993b). Volunteer administrators are encouraged to find a "fit" between a potential volunteer's interests, needs, and motivations and what an organization can offer (e.g., Clary et al., 1992; McCurley, 1994). Although some longitudinal research has investigated the possible outcomes of goals or motivations (e.g., Clary & Miller, 1986; Clary et al., 1998; Omoto & Snyder, 1995), the volunteer management literature generally promotes the importance of identifying volunteers' initial goals without presenting evidence that these goals are associated with future outcomes. Our study was designed to look for empirical evidence to support volunteer managers' interest in using volunteers' initial goals to judge their likely performance, satisfaction, and intentions.

THE GOALS OF VOLUNTEERS AND THE VALUE OF GOAL IDENTIFICATION

The activities of volunteers may be outwardly similar, but they may be motivated by different needs or goals (Clary et al., 1992; Omoto & Snyder, 1995). Some theorists have considered two basic motivations for volunteering: to satisfy self-regarding or instrumental interests and to satisfy other-regarding or altruistic interests (e.g., Lee, 1996; Pearce, 1993b; Story, 1992). Other theorists' inventories of volunteer goals are more richly detailed, including goals such as enhancing self-esteem, furthering one's career, making friends, learning new skills, relieving guilt, helping others, feeling needed, avoiding boredom, fulfilling religious duties, and pursuing other ends (e.g., Clary et al., 1992; Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen, 1991; Gillespie & King, 1985; Independent Sector, 1997; Omoto & Snyder, 1995). These theorists have generally argued that volunteering can reflect multiple motivations (including altruistic, instrumental, social, self-esteem, and other goals) that can be collapsed into one or more factors or dimensions (e.g., Cnaan & Goldberg-Glen, 1991).

Only a few theorists have addressed the possibility that attempts to identify the self-reported goals of volunteers may not be useful. Smith (1981) and Pearce (1993b) argued that self-reports of altruistic motivations cannot be fully trusted because of social desirability biases. The credibility of altruistic goals for volunteering has also been questioned (Gidron, 1977; Olson, 1965). The accurate identification of goals may be difficult because the goals may reflect subconscious needs (Freud, 1927). Needs may be more subconscious for volunteers than paid employees primarily working for paychecks. Volunteers' motives are more likely based on psychological and social desires than physiological needs, which makes their goals harder to pinpoint.

Identifying initial goals may not have much practical use if goals are highly dynamic. Initial goals may lose motivational force if they are achieved and new goals are established. Goals may be rejected if environmental constraints make them difficult or impossible to achieve (Wanous, 1976). Over time, volunteers may experience declining motivation to help others (Pearce, 1993b). There is some evidence that although a volunteer's decision to start volunteering may be driven by strong altruistic goals, his or her decision to continue volunteering is more likely to be based on an evaluation of costs and rewards than altruistic motives (Philips, 1982). Over time, external forces can undermine intrinsic motivation and consequently altruistic behaviors (Clary & Miller, 1986).

Individuals may continue to volunteer out of habit, routine, or an escalation of commitment rather than sustained interest in pursuing goals. Some volunteer roles require little investment of time and effort, and volunteers in these roles may give little thought to why they continue to volunteer (Pearce, 1993a). Continued volunteering may also be explained through an escalation of commitment dynamic (Staw & Ross, 1987); once one starts volunteering, it may be difficult to stop because stopping suggests that one made a mistake in

deciding to volunteer. Under this escalation dynamic, it requires more conscious effort to stop volunteering than to continue.

On the other hand, some volunteer activities may require a great deal of investment and energy, extending over considerable periods of time and imposing significant personal costs (Omoto & Snyder, 1995). In such cases, it may be easier to stop volunteering than to continue (Gidron, 1985). Individuals may reject or modify their initial goals once they better understand the investment and energy needed to fulfill them. "Sustained helping" at earlier stages of the volunteer process may affect volunteers' choices at later stages (Omoto & Snyder, 1995).

THE CONSEQUENCES OF GOALS

If goals are too hard to identify, do not guide behavior, or have little stability, attempts to link them to later outcomes may have little success. Yet, some research in the literature on volunteers has linked goals to outcomes. Rubin and Thorelli (1984) and Gidron (1985) found links between volunteers' goals and the longevity of their service, their retention, and their general work satisfaction. In their studies, these researchers assumed that volunteer participation and satisfaction are dependent on volunteers' abilities to satisfy their goals. There also is some evidence that volunteers expressing different needs and interests tend to gravitate to different types of organizations (Clary, Snyder, & Stukas, 1996; Sundeen, 1990, 1992). The conclusion is that volunteers choose organizations that offer opportunities for the satisfaction of their goals, suggesting that initial goals have some influence on behaviors. How long this influence lasts is unknown.

In one important set of studies, it was found that individuals who believed that they had satisfied their initial motivations for volunteering were more likely to intend to continue to volunteer than those who did not believe that they had received benefits that matched their initial motivations (Clary et al., 1998). The motives tested were stable over a 4-week period. Also, volunteers who had received benefits that matched the functional dimensions of volunteering that were important to them reported greater satisfaction than volunteers who had received fewer benefits that matched the important functional dimensions or benefits that matched functions that were of low importance. This pattern was significant for the value (altruism) and enhancement (ego or esteem) functions of volunteering.

MODEL FOR STUDY

On the basis of a review of the literature on the functional dimensions of volunteering (e.g., Clary et al., 1992; Clary et al., 1998; Omoto & Snyder, 1995), we developed a theoretical model incorporating some of the possible goals and outcomes for volunteers. The theories underpinning our model assume that individuals may have multiple reasons for engaging in behaviors. Acts of

voluntarism may appear similar but actually serve different psychological functions.

Our model incorporates five types of volunteer functions: altruistic, instrumental, social, self-esteem, and avoidance. The altruistic function reflects the ability of volunteer service to allow one to help others. This corresponds to Clary and colleagues' (1992) values function. The instrumental function captures one's use of volunteer activity to help oneself by advancing one's job prospects and skills (i.e., Clary and colleagues' [1992] career function). The social function, matching Clary and colleagues' (1992) function of the same name, focuses on one's use of volunteer service to enhance friendships and positive regard by others. The self-esteem function reflects the ability of volunteer service to help one feel better about oneself. This goal matches the esteem function of Clary and colleagues (1992) and the enhancement function of Clary and colleagues (1998). The avoidance function reflects the ability of volunteer service to allow one to escape alienation, boredom, and personal problems. This goal is based on the protective function of Clary and colleagues (1992).

In this study, we wished to identify some of the core motivations that repeatedly surface in the volunteer literature and track the consequences for volunteers of emphasizing and achieving these goals. We were not attempting to provide a comprehensive catalog of the possible goals or motives of volunteers. Therefore, we did not use Clary and colleagues' (1992) functional interest inventory or any other inventory in its entirety. Instead, we focused on five seemingly distinct goals. Having the volunteers in our study report on a fuller set of goals was not possible given the study's multiple purposes. Consequently, these volunteers may have had goals other than the ones we tracked.

We hypothesized that volunteers' initial goals reported at the time of entry into service positions would be positively linked to matching outcomes 1 year later. More specifically, we developed the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: The stronger the instrumental goal, the greater the instrumental outcomes a year later.

Hypothesis 1b: The stronger the avoidance goal, the greater the avoidance outcomes a year later.

Hypothesis 1c: The stronger the self-esteem goal, the greater the self-esteem outcomes a year later.

Hypothesis 1d: The stronger the social goal, the greater the social outcomes a year later.

Hypothesis 1e: The stronger the altruistic goal, the greater the altruistic outcomes a year later.

Also, volunteers' success in meeting their goals at the end of a year should be linked to their satisfaction and stated likelihood of future volunteering:

Hypothesis 2: Volunteers with greater success in achieving goals that are important to them will report more satisfaction than volunteers with lesser success in achieving goals that are important to them.

Hypothesis 3: Volunteers with greater success in achieving goals that are important to them will report greater likelihood of future volunteering than volunteers with lesser success in achieving goals that are important to them.

METHOD

To investigate the relationship between goals and outcomes, we looked at participants in the AmeriCorps national service program. This program was initiated in 1993 with the enactment of the National and Community Service Trust Act. AmeriCorps members have the same kinds of service tasks as many unpaid volunteers. Members receive small living allowances, learn skills that can be applied to future jobs, and earn credits that can be applied to educational debts or future educational expenses. Although AmeriCorps members receive remuneration, they still fit Cnaan, Handy, and Wadsworth's (1996) definition of a volunteer, albeit a "stipended volunteer" (Mesch et al., 1998), because they freely engage in helping activities within formal organizational structures and work to benefit individuals with whom they have no personal connection.

AmeriCorps members have the opportunity to satisfy all of the goals in our model. Altruistic, instrumental, social, self-esteem, and engagement or avoidance outcomes are all possible through AmeriCorps service (Waldman, 1995). But, not all outcomes are equally desirable to all AmeriCorps members. Goal emphasis was assumed to depend on individual beliefs about what can be achieved, recollections of past performance, beliefs about consequences, and judgments of what is appropriate to the situation (based on Locke & Latham, 1990).

SAMPLE

Our analysis relied on data from AmeriCorps members in three states. Members were surveyed within 1 month of joining the program and again approximately 1 year later. The first survey measured the members' self-reported goals. In the second survey, members were asked to report the outcomes of their service, their current goals, their satisfaction with AmeriCorps, and their future intentions. Approximately 70% of all individuals who entered AmeriCorps in the three states responded to our first survey. Of the members remaining after 1 year, approximately 70% responded to our second survey. We could not calculate precise response rates because AmeriCorps program administrators were responsible for the distribution of

some of the surveys and did not keep precise records. Three hundred sixty-two members responded to both surveys. This was the primary sample used in the study. The primary sample included only those members who fulfilled their contracted terms of service and filled out both surveys.

We also used data from AmeriCorps members who left the program within their 1st years, before completing their contracts. These data were used to determine whether the initial goals of stayers and leavers differed, which would have limited the study's conclusions. Program directors told us which members left the program early. The number of cases in the sample of early leavers was 80.

In Table 1, the sample of AmeriCorps members who stayed in the program for at least 1 year and the sample of those who left are compared with the overall population of AmeriCorps members. On standard demographic characteristics, our study's participants were fairly representative of AmeriCorps members as reported in 1995 Corporation for National Service orientation materials. Our study's participants, both those who left early and those who stayed and completed the second survey, were slightly more educated and older. A slightly larger percentage of our participants were African American. Compared with members who stayed in the program, a greater percentage of our subsample of members who left AmeriCorps before completing their service contracts was male, and a lower percentage was White. A greater percentage of the stayers had bachelor's or college degrees.

MEASURES

Goals. In the initial survey, AmeriCorps members were given 11 items reflecting possible goals and were asked, "At this time in your life, how important are each of the following to you?" The items were rated on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not important*) to 5 (*very important*). The items were developed using previously published lists of volunteer interests (Clary & Snyder, 1991; Clary et al., 1992). We did not ask which goals members wished to satisfy through their participation in the AmeriCorps program; rather, we asked about the importance they placed on general life goals. This approach assumes that general goals may be pursued through a variety of life activities, including volunteer service.

The items were used to form five constructs: the instrumental goal, the altruistic goal, the avoidance goal, the self-esteem goal, and the social goal. The importance of the instrumental goal was measured using two items: making contacts that will be helpful in getting ahead and developing future job skills. The importance of the altruistic goal was measured using two items: helping those in need and helping others. Three items measured the importance of the avoidance goal: feeling less lonely, escaping personal problems, and reducing boredom. The importance of the self-esteem goal was measured

Table 1. Comparison of Study Samples With Population of AmeriCorps Members

<i>Demographic Variable</i>	<i>Stayers (% valid cases; N = 362)</i>	<i>Early Leavers (% valid cases; N = 80)</i>	<i>AmeriCorps Population % (N not available)</i>
Age			
20 or younger	48 (13.3)	15 (19)	26
21 to 29	220 (60.7)	41 (51.9)	53
30 or older	94 (26)	23 (29.1)	21
Sex			
Male	94 (26.4)	28 (35)	Not available
Female	262 (73.6)	51 (65)	Not available
Ethnicity			
White	171 (48.4)	30 (37.5)	47
African American	142 (40.2)	38 (47.5)	31
Other	40 (11.4)	12 (15)	22
Education			
Less than high school	14 (3.9)	3 (3.75)	11
High school diploma	66 (18.5)	27 (33.75)	27
Associate, some college	147 (41.3)	40 (50)	34

using two items: feeling needed and feeling good about oneself. The importance of the social goal was measured using two items: making new friends and gaining the respect of others who place a high value on community service.

Service outcomes. After approximately 1 year in AmeriCorps, members were asked, "To what extent has AmeriCorps helped to satisfy your needs in each of the following areas?" The items they were given in the second survey paralleled the items given to them in the first survey to capture their initial goals. The wordings of the items measuring service outcomes differed slightly from the wordings of the items measuring goals. Members rated their satisfaction in each outcome area on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*a great deal*).

Satisfaction with AmeriCorps. In the survey distributed after 1 year, members were asked to rate their satisfaction with their AmeriCorps experiences on a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*very dissatisfied*) to 5 (*very satisfied*). The mean was 3.40, and the standard deviation was 0.79.

Likelihood of future volunteering. In the second survey, respondents were asked, "In the coming year, how likely is it that you will volunteer time in a nonprofit or government organization?" The scale ranged from 1 to 5, with higher scores indicating a greater likelihood of future volunteering. The mean was 4.08, and the standard deviation was 1.08.

RESULTS RELATED TO SAMPLE BIAS

By focusing on only members who stayed in AmeriCorps for 1 year, did we limit the generalizability of our conclusions? To determine whether our sample of stayers was significantly different from our sample of leavers, we compared their initial goals. Table 2 lists the 11 items used to construct the initial goal factors and the *t* statistics on the similarity between the stayers' and leavers' initial goals. The *t* tests showed a significance difference (at the $p < .05$ level or better) between the stayers' and leavers' ratings of the importance of the instrumental goal items and one of the self-esteem goal items. Leavers rated the importance of these items higher than stayers.

Our hypothesis tests were based on members who stayed in stipended volunteer roles for at least 1 year. The results may not be generalizable to stipended members who default on their service contracts because of differences between stayers' and leavers' initial goals. It is important not to equate staying in AmeriCorps with satisfaction with the program. AmeriCorps members leave the program early for many reasons besides possible dissatisfaction with their goal pursuit and achievements. For more analysis of the differences between stayers and leavers, see Mesch and colleagues (1998). In the remainder of this article, we focus on only individuals who served in AmeriCorps for at least 1 year.

RESULTS RELATED TO THE HYPOTHESES

ANALYSIS OF THE LINK BETWEEN INITIAL GOALS AND GOAL ACHIEVEMENT

We used LISREL 8.3 to estimate the parameters of a structural equation model that included both the measurement structures for each goal and outcome latent variable and relationships between each goal and its corresponding outcome. The analysis was based on the covariance matrix of the 22 observed variables. There were 323 cases underlying each covariance estimate after using listwise deletion to eliminate cases with missing values. The methodology used was maximum likelihood estimation applied in a context in which the asymptotic covariance matrix is available to LISREL. This is a recent addition to the estimation procedures available in LISREL, and it is useful in cases such as ours, in which the observed variables failed to conform to the multivariate normality assumption of the standard LISREL maximum likelihood estimates (Joreskog, Sorbom, du Toit, & du Toit, 1999, pp. 179-181). Using this methodology, the standard errors were estimated under an assumption of nonnormality, and alternative chi-square values were reported, including the Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square, which also takes into account the nonnormality of the data.

Table 2. Comparison of Means for Goals of Respondents Completing 1 Year of Service and Respondents Defaulting on Their Service Contracts

<i>Variable (using 1-to-5 scale)</i>	<i>Stayers M (SD)</i>	<i>Leavers M (SD)</i>	<i>t Statistic</i>
Altruistic goal at entry			
Helping needy	4.76 (0.49)	4.71 (1.09)	0.645
Helping others	4.68 (0.63)	4.70 (0.58)	-0.319
Instrumental goal at entry			
Developing job skills	4.51 (0.84)	4.74 (0.67)	-2.625***
Making contacts	4.22 (1.05)	4.49 (0.94)	-2.123**
Social goal at entry			
Making friends	3.73 (1.01)	3.71 (1.18)	0.198
Gaining respect	4.00 (1.09)	4.14 (1.09)	-1.076
Avoidance goal at entry			
Escaping personal problems	2.36 (1.39)	2.65 (1.61)	-1.584
Feeling less lonely	2.45 (1.39)	2.70 (1.46)	-1.370
Reducing boredom	2.72 (1.48)	3.01 (1.61)	-1.456
Self-esteem goal at entry			
Feeling good about myself	4.32 (0.90)	4.59 (0.88)	-2.471**
Feeling needed	3.83 (1.14)	4.04 (1.20)	-1.395

** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$.

Figure 1 shows a diagram of the original theoretical model, in which each service outcome is explained by only the corresponding goal. Note that the correlations of the latent goal variables are not included in the diagram to simplify the graphic presentation of the model. The path coefficients shown are the “completely standardized” coefficients produced by LISREL, and each one is based on a highly significant maximum likelihood parameter estimate. Bollen (1989, pp. 199-200) asserted that these standardized values index the validity of the observed variables. Also shown in Figure 1 is a set of R^2 values associated with the measurement equations in the model, which, according to Bollen (p. 221), measure the reliability of the observed variables.

As expected, the more importance that AmeriCorps members placed on altruistic goals, the more likely they were to report altruistic outcomes. Similarly, more importance placed on instrumental goals was related to stronger instrumental outcomes. The linkages of the social, self-esteem, and avoidance goals to their matching outcomes followed the same positive pattern. Our model indicates that initial goals influence outcomes.

The measures of overall fit for this model were not consistently good, although, from some perspectives, this model was quite satisfactory. The minimum fit function chi-square was 688.20 for a model with 194 degrees of freedom. The Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square was 357.59. The root mean squared error of approximation was 0.051, and the p value for the test of a close fit was .40. However, the goodness of fit index was only 0.81, and the adjusted goodness of fit index was 0.76. These latter measures suggest that it might be fruitful to consider alternative models that fit the data better.

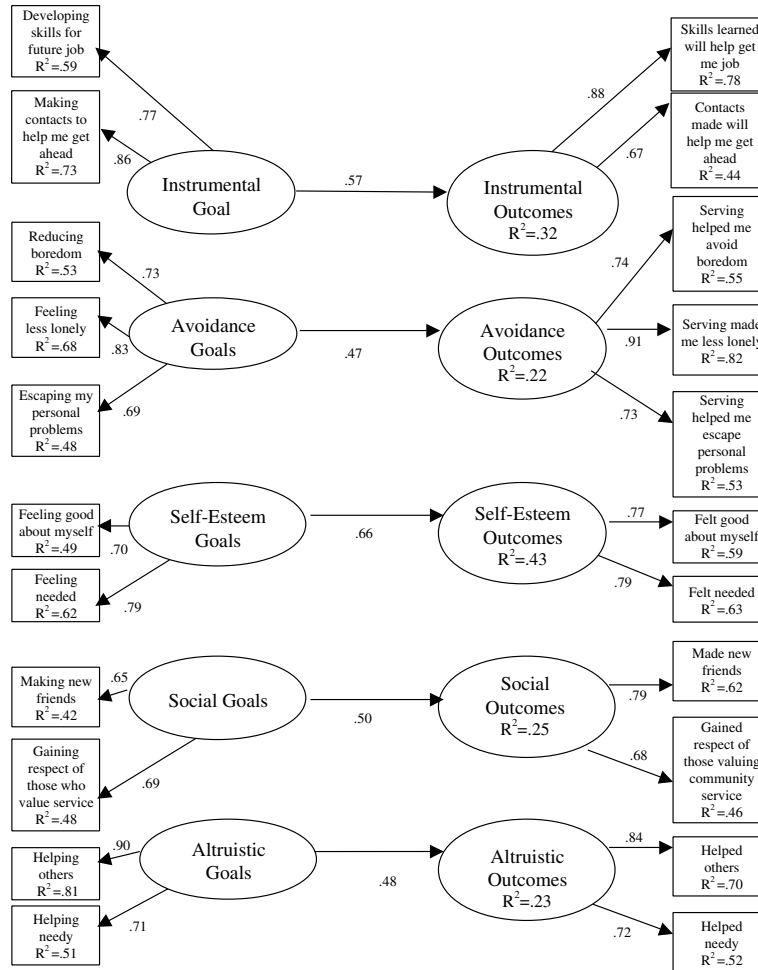


Figure 1. Confirmatory Model Linking Goals to Outcomes

A large portion of the lack of fit in the original model was associated with the measured variables on the outcome side of the model. This was clearly indicated in the matrix of standardized residuals. In light of this, the statistical properties of the model could be improved in several different ways (e.g., freeing error covariances associated with the measurement equations). We chose to structure additional paths between the latent outcome variables. The advantage of this approach was that it introduced a specific hypothesis consistent with the data underlying this study that can be tested further using other data sets. The specific paths introduced to the model ran from the self-esteem outcome variable to each of the other outcomes and were selected for

inclusion on the basis of sequential sets of modification indices, beginning with those for the original model.

The overall fit of this model, shown in Figure 2, was generally improved in comparison with the original model. The minimum fit function chi-square was 381.51 for a model with 190 degrees of freedom. The Satorra-Bentler scaled chi-square was 372.2, the root mean squared error of approximation was 0.055, and the p value for the test of a close fit was .18, values roughly comparable with those of the original model. The goodness of fit index was 0.90, and the adjusted goodness of fit index was 0.87. Also, this model's distribution of standardized residuals was much closer to that of a standard normal distribution than the initial model's distribution.

In the expanded model, all hypothesized paths were still significant, indicating that goals influenced outcomes. In addition, we observed a link between self-esteem outcomes and other outcomes. The model indicated that the degree to which AmeriCorps members reported achievement of self-esteem outcomes was positively related to the degree to which they reported achievement of instrumental, avoidance, social, and altruistic outcomes. Feeling good about themselves and feeling needed appeared to influence members' other outcomes.

ANALYSIS OF THE STABILITY OF GOALS OVER 1 YEAR

To determine whether the importance AmeriCorps members placed on their goals shifted over time, we compared members' initial goal ratings with their goal ratings after 1 year using paired samples tests. Table 3 reports the results of the tests. Consistent with the literature, members experienced significant declines in their ratings of the importance of the items measuring the altruistic goal ($p < .001$). However, they also experienced significant declines in their ratings of the importance of the instrumental goal items ($p \leq .05$) and social goal items ($p \leq .01$). Not only were experienced AmeriCorps members less interested in altruism, they also appeared to have weaker instrumental and social interests.

ANALYSIS OF INFLUENCES ON SATISFACTION AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF FUTURE VOLUNTEERING

LISREL 8.3 produces "latent variable scores" (Joreskog et al., 1999, p. 168) for each latent variable in a model with estimated measurement components. These scores can be used for various purposes, both inside and outside of the LISREL context. In this section, we explore the relationship of the latent goal and outcome variables to likelihood and satisfaction using ordinary least squares regression.

The regressions of Model 1 and Model 3 shown in Table 4 indicate that the importance of the altruistic goal predicted satisfaction ($p \leq .01$) and the likelihood of future volunteering, but only when altruistic outcomes were not in the

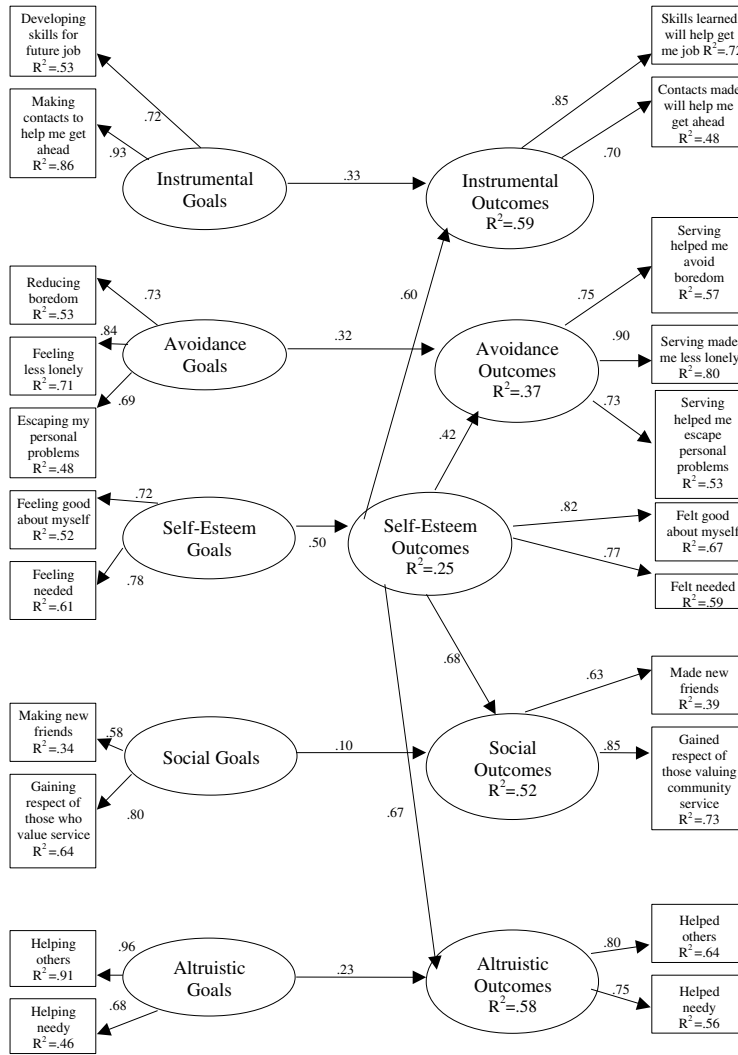


Figure 2. Expanded Model Linking Self-Esteem Outcomes to Other Outcomes

equation. Other initial goals tested without controlling for outcomes were insignificant predictors of satisfaction and likelihood. However, when outcomes were included in the regression equation, some of the other initial goals were significant predictors of satisfaction. Instrumental goal importance had a negative relationship to satisfaction ($p < .05$), as did social goal importance ($p < .10$) when controlling for outcomes.

The outcome achievement variables were fairly successful at predicting satisfaction. The more AmeriCorps members reported achieving altruistic ($p <$

Table 3. Comparison of Means for Initial Goals and Goals After 1 Year of Service

<i>Variable (using 1-to-5 scale)</i>	<i>Initial Goal M (SD)</i>	<i>Goal After 1 Year M (SD)</i>	<i>t Statistic</i>
Altruistic goal at entry			
Helping needy	4.76 (0.49)	4.59 (0.63)	4.74****
Helping others	4.68 (0.63)	4.50 (0.75)	4.46****
Instrumental goal at entry			
Developing job skills	4.51 (0.84)	4.38 (0.94)	2.56**
Making contacts	4.22 (1.05)	4.08 (1.08)	2.61***
Social goal at entry			
Making friends	3.73 (1.01)	3.58 (1.07)	2.69***
Gaining respect	4.00 (0.99)	3.78 (1.03)	3.51****
Avoidance goal at entry			
Escaping personal problems	2.36 (1.39)	2.29 (1.36)	.73
Feeling less lonely	2.45 (1.39)	2.41 (1.38)	.22
Reducing boredom	2.72 (1.48)	2.66 (1.47)	.76
Self-esteem goal at entry			
Feeling good about myself	4.32 (0.90)	4.24 (0.96)	1.37
Feeling needed	3.83 (1.14)	3.75 (1.09)	1.35

** $p < .05$. *** $p < .01$. **** $p < .001$.

.10), instrumental ($p < .01$), social ($p < .01$), and avoidance ($p < .01$) outcomes, the greater satisfaction they reported. The self-esteem outcome achievement variable was significant at the $p < .10$ level but had a negative relationship to satisfaction. Of the outcome variables, only the social outcome achievement variable was a significant predictor of the likelihood of future volunteering, with a positive relationship ($p < .05$).

Although the previously reported results shed light on the relationship of goals and outcomes to satisfaction and likelihood, they did not allow us to effectively examine whether the match of goal importance and goal achievement influenced satisfaction and likelihood. To do this, we used the latent goal and outcome variable scores created with LISREL to calculate whether a goal was of high or low importance and whether outcomes related to the goal had high or low achievement. The scores were standardized with the mean equal to 0, so scores with negative signs were coded low, and scores with positive signs were coded high. We matched goals to outcomes, ending up with four dummy variables for each goal-outcome match: high importance goal with high achievement, high importance goal with low achievement, low importance goal with high achievement, and low importance goal with low achievement.

To look at the overall match of the five goals and outcomes, we calculated a new variable. We gave each goal-outcome match a score of 1 to 3 and then added the scores for the five matches. Consequently, the overall match variable could range from 5 to 15. A high importance–high achievement match earned a score of 3, and a high importance–low achievement match earned a

Table 4. Regressions for Satisfaction and Likelihood of Future Volunteering (N = 323)

Variable	Regression for Satisfaction		Regression for Likelihood	
	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4
Altruistic goal at entry	.167***	-.067	.190***	.138
Instrumental goal at entry	-.002	-.193**	-.102	-.095
Self-esteem goal at entry	-.018	.405	-.058	-.182
Social goal at entry	-.035	-.210*	.108	.045
Avoidance goal at entry	-.038	-.138	-.050	.011
Altruistic outcome		.266*		-.050
Instrumental outcome		.314***		.017
Self-esteem outcome		-.598*		.098
Social outcome		.320***		.356**
Avoidance outcome		.210***		-.012
Constant	-1.66****	-1.66****	4.07****	4.07****
F statistic (<i>p</i> level)	2.10*	6.60****	2.85***	5.93****
R ²	3.2%	17.5%	4.3%	16%

* $p \leq .10$. ** $p \leq .05$. *** $p \leq .01$. **** $p \leq .001$.

score of 1. A low importance–high achievement match and a low importance–low achievement match were each given a score of 2.

Regression Models 5 and 6 (see Table 5) examined whether members' satisfaction and intentions to volunteer in the future were affected by the match of goal importance and outcome achievement. We used dummy variables, retaining the high goal–high outcome category as the referent. With Model 5, we observed that members with high altruistic goal importance and high altruistic achievement reported greater satisfaction than members with low altruistic goal importance and low achievement ($p < .10$). Our hypothesis that members with high goal importance would be more satisfied if they had high achievement than low achievement was not supported for the altruistic function. The hypothesis was supported when looking at the instrumental and social functions. Compared with members with high instrumental goal importance and high achievement, members with high instrumental goal importance and low instrumental goal achievement rated satisfaction lower, consistent with our hypothesis ($p < .01$). The same result was found for the social function ($p < .10$).

The likelihood of future volunteering also had some relationship to the match of goal importance with outcome achievement, but only for the social function. Compared with members with high social goal importance and high social achievement, members with high social goal importance and low achievement had a lower likelihood of volunteering in the future ($p < .05$). Also, members with low social goal importance and low achievement reported a lower likelihood of future volunteering than members with high social goal achievement and high achievement ($p < .05$).

Table 5. Regressions for Satisfaction and Likelihood Using Match Variables (N = 323)

Variable	<i>Regression for Satisfaction</i>	<i>Regression for Likelihood</i>
	Model 5	Model 6
Altruistic low goal and low outcome	-.284*	-.312
Altruistic low goal and high outcome	.163	-.193
Altruistic high goal and low outcome	-.086	-.112
Instrumental low goal and low outcome	-.115	.119
Instrumental low goal and high outcome	-.131	.184
Instrumental high goal and low outcome	-.341***	-.052
Social low goal and low outcome	-.135	-.426**
Social low goal and high outcome	.094	.047
Social high goal and low outcome	-.288*	-.458**
Avoidance low goal and low outcome	.078	-.048
Avoidance low goal and high outcome	.195	.197
Avoidance high goal and low outcome	-.004	-.162
Self-esteem low goal and low outcome	-.103	.046
Self-esteem low goal and high outcome	.036	.209
Self-esteem high goal and low outcome	-.170	-.029
Constant	1.433****	4.278****
F statistic (<i>p</i> level)	3.49****	2.48***
R ²	14.6%	10.8%

* $p \leq .10$. ** $p \leq .05$. *** $p \leq .01$. **** $p \leq .001$.

Models 5 and 6 did not allow us to look at the match of goal importance and achievement for all five functions together. To do this, we ran regression analyses using the overall match variable (which added how well the goal matched the outcome for each of the five functions.) Table 6 reports the models for these regressions. The overall match of goal importance to achievement was an excellent predictor of both satisfaction and likelihood ($p < .001$), supporting our last two hypotheses.

DISCUSSION

We found that initial goals influence subsequent behaviors and attitudes. As predicted, self-ratings of the importance of goals were positively and significantly related to self-reported outcomes approximately 1 year later. This extends the work of Clary and colleagues (1998), who examined the relationship of goals and outcomes over a shorter time period. The results suggest that AmeriCorps members are purposeful in their work behaviors and attempt to achieve their initially emphasized life goals. These results are consistent with goal setting theory, in which goals and intentions are viewed as immediate precursors and regulators of human action (Locke & Latham, 1990).

However, goals should not be assumed to be stable. We found that altruistic, instrumental, and social goal importance declined over a 1-year period.

Table 6. Overall Match of Goal Importance and Achievement for the Five Functions on Satisfaction and Likelihood of Future Volunteering (N = 323)

Variable	Regression for Satisfaction	Regression for Likelihood
	Model 6	Model 7
Overall match	.101****	.092****
Constant	2.792****	3.032****
F statistic (p level)	26.79****	13.22***
R ²	7.7%	4%

*** $p \leq .01$. **** $p \leq .001$.

Although the reasons for these results are not clear, one explanation is that goals may be discrete or continuous. Individuals may accomplish discrete goals and proceed to satisfy others. An individual's desire to "give back to the community," for instance, may be fulfilled by a period of service after which the individual pursues other goals that have become higher in priority. This dynamic explains some of the research on volunteers that found declines in altruism over time (Clary & Miller, 1986; Pearce, 1993b; Phillips, 1982).

Our exploratory analysis suggests a slightly more complex interplay of goals and outcomes than we had originally theorized. We found that individuals achieving self-esteem outcomes are more likely to report greater achievement of instrumental, avoidance, social, and altruistic outcomes. Self-esteem has long been promoted as a moderator or predictor of many attitudes and behaviors, including goal attainment (Brockner, 1988), coping strategies (Kinicki & Latack, 1990; Utsey & Ponterotto, 2000), social skills (Flora & Segrin, 1999), psychological strain or depression (Jex & Elacqua, 1999; Wang, Kick, Fraser, & Burns, 1999), loneliness (Nurmi & Toivonen, 1997), the experience of social inclusion (Leary, Tambor, Terdal, & Downs, 1995), persistence after initial failure (Tafordi & Vu, 1997), and causal attributions of success and failure (Chandler & Lee, 1997).

The research on the importance of self-esteem provides clear links between our self-esteem and instrumental outcomes. Individuals with higher self-esteem tend to see more positive effects from their work than individuals with lower self-esteem (Chandler & Lee, 1997). Also, perceived worth in one setting encourages perceived worth in others (Carson & Carson, 1997). Individuals with higher self-esteem are more likely to recognize nontraditional career options and the career potential attached to their skills and contacts (Super, 1980).

The link between self-esteem and avoidance outcomes also has some basis. Researchers have linked low self-esteem to greater loneliness and psychological strain (e.g., Jex & Elacqua, 1999; Nurmi & Toivonen, 1997; Wang et al., 1999). Volunteer service has been argued to sometimes be transforming (Coles, 1993; Wuthnow, 1995), thus affecting self-esteem. Through transformative service, individuals develop senses of purpose and meaning

for their lives (Bellah, Masden, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985), gain empathy for others' problems (Coles, 1993; Wuthnow, 1995), and become less selfish and self-occupied (Stevick & Addleman, 1995), which results in reduced loneliness and boredom and the opportunity to escape from personal problems.

In our study, self-esteem achievement is linked to social achievement. This finding is also supported by the literature. Feeling needed and good about oneself can improve the ability and confidence to make friends and enhance existing friendships. In addition, respecting oneself may be a precursor of gaining or recognizing others' respect.

We can also establish an ad hoc link between the self-esteem and altruistic outcomes. The self-esteem outcome captures feelings about oneself, whereas the altruistic outcome captures behaviors. We found that the more an AmeriCorps member reported feeling needed and good about himself or herself, the more the member reported helping others and helping those in need. Self-esteem is linked to being competent and successful (Korman, 1970). Because in AmeriCorps, success is defined as being helpful, it is not surprising that we found a relationship between altruistic outcomes and self-esteem. This is consistent with Chandler and Lee (1997), who linked causal attribution to one's level of self-esteem.

Our study provides new insights on stipended volunteer satisfaction. Satisfaction is related to instrumental, altruistic, social, avoidance, and self-esteem outcomes. However, the hypothesized effect on satisfaction of the match of goal importance to achievement is supported only for the social and instrumental functions when the functions are looked at separately. The achievement of important altruistic, self-esteem, and avoidance goals is not critical to satisfaction when the functions are not looked at as a combined set. When we examine the overall achievement of goals, a clear link to satisfaction is established. A comparison of the regression models examining satisfaction illustrates the importance to volunteer managers of looking to goals, outcomes, and their match as predictors of satisfaction.

The results of the study help us predict the future likelihood of volunteering. In our study, the social function is of particular importance in predicting likelihood. AmeriCorps members with high social goals coupled with high social outcomes are more likely to have intentions to volunteer in the future than members with low social goal importance and low outcomes and members with high social goal importance and low social achievement. Other goal interests and achievements are less helpful in predicting intentions to volunteer, although the overall match of goal importance to achievement for the five functions is very helpful.

CONCLUSION

Overall, we find that the study supports the purposefulness of action in stipended volunteer settings. This validates the emphasis that the volunteer

management literature places on trying to understand potential volunteers' interests and needs during the recruitment, selection, and task assignment process. Goals guide behavior. Identifying a potential volunteer's goals can help in predicting the types of activities he or she will emphasize while performing a service role. For example, a volunteer with a strong social goal is likely to spend more time and effort making friends than a volunteer whose social goal is weaker.

We suggest that more research be conducted exploring the effect of self-esteem on volunteers. The achievement of self-esteem outcomes may moderate the achievement of other outcomes, and self-esteem may be a critical factor in achieving desired goals. Managers of volunteers may find that promoting volunteers' senses that they are needed and helping volunteers feel good about themselves may have multiple benefits for the volunteers and the organizations in which they serve.

We also suggest that a larger inventory of possible goals and outcomes be examined. We chose to examine only five functions of volunteering. Other functions may have patterns that are similar to or different from those we have presented.

Our research suggests that goal identification may be useful in addressing satisfaction problems. Once volunteers' goals are identified, managers can try to remove barriers to the fulfillment of those goals. However, benefits not related to initially important goals may influence satisfaction and plans to engage in similar service. If initial goals cannot be fulfilled, the substitution of other benefits may help keep a volunteer satisfied and eager to continue service activities. Volunteer managers interested in encouraging future service activity should help their volunteers achieve multiple types of outcomes, even if initial goal priorities related to these outcome areas are low.

The participants in this study received remuneration and other instrumental rewards for their service activity. Yet, despite what intrinsic motivation theory suggests (Deci, 1975), they did not develop a stronger focus on instrumental goals than altruistic ones over time. This suggests that our findings related to the initial goals and subsequent outcomes of stipended volunteers may be generalizable to volunteers who receive no formal and direct instrumental rewards for their service. Further research is needed to determine whether our findings are replicable for other types of volunteers and volunteer settings.

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