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Motivation and satisfaction among paid and volunteer service workers

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Motivation and

Satisfaction

Among Paid and

Volunteer Service

Workers

June 2000

**Motivation and Satisfaction Among Paid
and Volunteer Service Workers**

by

Julie De Motte

A Thesis

Presented to the Graduate and Research Committee
of Lehigh University

in Candidacy for the Degree of Masters of Arts

in

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This thesis is accepted and approved in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the issue of paying college students for community service work. It examines the impact of payment upon the individual, as well as the effect paid and volunteer workers have on each other. One aspect of this study was a series of interviews with college administrators who are responsible for the supervision of students involved with service work. The second part of the study was a survey given to students about their work that measured motivation and personal satisfaction. Data are also presented regarding the types of programs involving students (i.e. volunteer, paid or a mix of paid and volunteer). It was projected that volunteers would report different levels of intrinsic motivation, service motivation, job satisfaction and job praiseworthiness than those reported by paid students. Using these same measures, it was thought that students in homogenous groups (i.e. all volunteer, all paid) would report different levels for each category than would students in heterogeneous groups (i.e. a mix of paid and volunteer).

For the first part of the study, thirteen college administrators and graduate students were interviewed about their supervisory work with undergraduates working with community service projects. The administrators found few problems with paid students. In general they strongly favored the work of paid students in comparison to volunteer students. Few distinctions were made between paid and unpaid students by the administrators who ran programs that mixed the two types of students.

Fifty eight college students completed an internet survey on their personal satisfaction and motivation for doing community service work. All of the students, both paid and volunteer, were working in programs relating to children's literacy.

Paid students strongly agreed that they were comfortable about receiving payment and felt they were paid appropriate wages for their work. Overall the students felt that they were intrinsically motivated, with volunteer students reporting significantly higher levels of service motivation. The majority of students also felt their work was highly satisfying and praiseworthy. The students in heterogeneous group reported higher levels of intrinsic motivation.

INTRODUCTION

In the past few years there has been a dramatic increase in funding to colleges and universities in the area of Federal Work Study (FWS) money. With this increase, the federal government added new mandates. In the past, colleges and universities could spend this money in any way they liked. Primarily, this money has been spent to subsidize the salaries of student librarians, office assistants, hall monitors, and gym attendants. Under the direction of President William Clinton, the federal government required in 1994 that schools put 5% of their funding toward the salaries of students working in community service jobs.

For the purpose of defining 'community service', federal guidelines state that schools "must always consider whether the service provided by the FWS student primarily benefits the community as opposed to the agency or school" (Student Financial Aid Handbook, 1997-98). The guidelines also state that these community service jobs should assist low-income individuals by improving their quality of life. No mention is made to define the benefit to the student involved in the community service work. As specified in the Code of Federal Regulation:

[[Definition of community services--34 CFR 675.2(b)]] Community services are defined as services that are identified by an institution of higher education through formal or informal consultation with local nonprofit, governmental, and community-based organizations, as designed to improve the quality of life for community residents, particularly low-income individuals, or to solve particular problems related to their needs (Student Financial Aid Handbook, 1997-98).

The Department of Education explains the position of the Clinton administration by saying that this funding will allow college students of lower economic status the

opportunity to work in the community when they might not otherwise have had this chance:

Most students are confronted with time constraints that force them to limit their involvement to a select number of activities. This is especially true for students who need to work in order to pay for a portion of their education expenses. For many of them, the combination of classes, study time, and one or more part-time jobs severely limits their ability to participate in volunteer activities. [Federal Work Study] community service jobs provide these students with the option of combining the financial need to work with the personal goal of helping the local community. (Department of Education, 1997)

Republican opponents criticize this Clinton initiative and other programs, such as the PeaceCorps and SeniorCorps that pay citizens to do work that has traditionally been within the domain of volunteers. Some policy makers have labeled this “paid volunteerism” and claim that it is degrading the volunteer sector and not helping to motivate civic action. They claim most people would be doing this work anyway, even if the government were not paying them salaries (Selingo, 1997).

AmeriCorps is an example of another program that offers financial incentives to students working in traditional volunteer positions. AmeriCorps provides its participants living allowances and education grants at the conclusion of the program. These grants can only be used to pay back student loans or to take additional higher education or technical courses. AmeriCorps participants work in a large variety of social service programs often running and working in programs generally supported by volunteers. However, Republican critics note that according to AmeriCorps statistics roughly half of participants have yet to use the financial reward given for educational purposes. They question the claim that the grants are a motivating factor

due to the high percentage of participants who are not taking advantage of these rewards. They further argue that if the government were not to support this program financially, the majority of this service work would be completed anyway.

Supporters of the program, however, point out that the program is still in its infancy and that participants have been given a seven year time frame in which to use the educational grants, many more students may use the still use this benefit in the future.

Evaluation surveys completed by the Clinton administration and AmeriCorps administrators provide additional support for the claim that money is not a primary consideration for participating in the program. Surveys given to all participants upon leaving the program in 1998 showed that many students claim not to be motivated to join the program by the extra educational funding. In the results, "only half of AmeriCorps members mentioned the education award as one of the top three reasons they had applied to the program. Every member, however, put 'helping the community' in the top three" (Selingo, 1998). This claim by students who are in the program, however, does not of course prove that the program is not working.

Because students who are in the program believe they are motivated primarily by a desire to help the community, this does not mean that they would be doing this without the structure of the program. It is likely that few students could be in the program without the living allowance. Furthermore, there clearly might be other factors that impede students from taking the educational award, although it may have enticed them to enter the program initially.

In any case, the Clinton administration has passed legislation that will increase funding for paid community service work. In the fall of 1997, the Clinton

administration introduced a program called America Reads. The program was established with the goal of teaching every American child to read by the end of the fourth grade. This program was set up to encourage senior citizens, high school students, and college students to get involved with literacy education in elementary school. As an incentive to get colleges and universities to establish America Reads programs, the government offered to pay the entire salary of any work study student employed in such a program. All other work study jobs are only supported with a 75% government reimbursement. These positions also count as community service work and factor into each institution's minimum 5% expenditure.

There is evidence to suggest that participants in this new paid community service program, America Reads, may also reject some of the financial incentives as has happened in AmeriCorps. At the work study level, some schools have had difficulty getting their students to accept payment for working in America Reads. As anecdotal evidence, while working as a college administrator, this researcher noticed that there was always a portion of students whom she employed who never submit their time sheets, essentially refusing remuneration. One first year student who was hired in the fall of 1998 worked 6 hours a week at a local elementary school. Despite bi-weekly reminders concerning her paperwork, she turned in no timesheets. In another attempt to pay students for service work, my university's Office of Financial Aid proposed that students be paid for the work that they do in coordinating Greek fraternal group service projects. One semester, approximately 15 Greek chapters participated. Each group had a student coordinator who could potentially have been given a stipend. No group chose the remuneration. Several students commented that

since the “Service Chair” (student responsible for coordinating volunteer activities) was an elected position, this person should not be compensated for their work.

Furthermore, as an employer at a university, the researcher encountered students who turned down paid community service jobs, while holding other work study jobs because they said they needed the money. In other words they turned down the opportunity to be paid for community service work but would be paid for less meaningful employment. At the same time, some students who do receive monetary compensation for the service work have commented that they are not really being altruistic because they are paid. This accumulation of anecdotal evidence began to convince this researcher that students feel some level of discomfort for getting paid for this type of work.

In the fall of the year 2000, all colleges and universities in the United States will receive a sizable increase in the amount of funding for financial aid. At the same time, the mandatory amount of money spent on service jobs will be increased to 7%, and all schools will be required to have a program such as America Reads or other equivalent program.

Fortunately for colleges and universities across the country, many of them already have this type of program in place. According to Rothman (1998) the most popular type of service program run on college campuses appears to be tutoring elementary school aged children. In a 1998 survey of approximately 600 colleges and universities who are members of the organization Campus Compact, it was found that 76% of campuses have tutoring programs for children in kindergarten through sixth grade (Rothman, 49).

Although many students already participate in paid service, an increasing number will be offered this opportunity, particularly in elementary education, in the near future. It is important to know how this may affect our students and the programs in which they work. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to explore the experience paid and volunteer students have when working in community service jobs. As the federal funding is imminent, at least for the foreseeable future, it is valuable to know what factors can contribute to increasing the personal satisfaction and commitment levels students feel in doing this kind of work.

THEORY

“Volunteers seem to assume a positive attitude about their work because they often do not know why they volunteer; they assume they are working because they want to do good.” - Jone L. Pearce

Extrinsic and Intrinsic Motivation

Extrinsic motivation is “motivation from without, external forces that create desire”, and intrinsic is “motivation from within, internal forces that create desire” (Newman, 1999). Extrinsic motivations are external rewards that motivate people’s action, such as payment, accolades, praise, or grades. Intrinsic motivations are internal rewards that cause people to act, such as interest in task or a sense of the moral rectitude of certain activity.

Many researchers have looked at the issues of motivation and to what people attribute the cause of their actions. It is commonly felt that in the presence of external rewards, people may attribute their actions less to internal motivations and more to the external rewards (Lippa, 1967). One researcher who studied the interplay of rewards and motivation was Jone L. Pearce (1983) who looked at the job attitudes and motivation of paid and volunteer workers. Pearce (1983) attempted to answer two research questions. The first asked, “Will volunteers report greater nonextrinsic motivation than employees performing the same tasks?” (Pearce, 647). More simply said, “Will volunteers feel more internal rewards than people who are paid?” Pearce’s second research question was, “Will volunteers report more positive work attitudes than comparable salaried workers?” (Pearce, 647).

Pearce (1983) researched volunteers and employees doing comparable work. The study included paid and unpaid staff working for newspapers, poverty relief agencies, family planning clinics, and fire departments (Pearce, 648). For each of these groups, Pearce studied one organization that was staffed predominantly by volunteers and one that was staffed entirely by paid workers. The subjects were not limited to college students. Pearce surveyed the subjects about their work using questions related to motivation and job attitude. The motivation questions concerned measures of “intrinsic”, “social” and “service work” and the job attitude measures concerned “job satisfaction”, “intent to leave” and “job praiseworthiness” (Pearce, 649). The researcher studied “intrinsic motivation” by asking questions about how interesting the job or tasks were that the subjects were doing. “Social motivation” was measured by how important the social and personal interactions were for the subjects at their paid or volunteer job. The researcher also asked subjects questions concerning how motivated they felt they were by the service work or redeeming social value of the tasks being completed. The job attitude measures were asked to determine how good the subjects felt about the jobs they were performing and how good the jobs made them feel about themselves. Measures of “praiseworthiness” included dichotomous adjectives such as “praiseworthy/ not praiseworthy” and “good/ bad”.

The data indicate that volunteers who do the same work as paid staff tend to report that they work more for the rewards of social interaction, and giving to others in service at higher levels than paid workers (Pearce, 650). Volunteer workers also claim their work is more praiseworthy (Pearce, 650). The results of Pearce’s study

were “consistent with her hypothesis that voluntary organization members’ contributions are ‘insufficiently justified,’ and consequently these workers were more intrinsically satisfied with their work than were members of remunerative organizations” (Schaubroeck & Ganster, 570). At the same time, Pearce (1983) concluded that, “Other satisfaction facets, e.g. supervision satisfaction, are obviously less relevant in voluntary organizations than in remunerative organizations. High intrinsic satisfaction probably characterizes the majority of voluntary organization (Schaubroeck & Ganster, 570).

Schaubroeck and Ganster (1991) have done similar work expanding from the findings of Pearce. They postulated that controlling for the “effects of affective commitment on the volunteerism criterion would eliminate the observed relationship between intrinsic satisfaction and volunteerism” (Schaubroeck & Ganster, 580). They claim that although satisfaction is generally viewed as a commitment antecedent, their data indicate that commitment to the cause of the group to which people belonged may be more important than remuneration for predicting satisfaction.

Schaubroeck and Ganster studied the “extrarole prosocial organizational behavior” (EPSOB) of their subjects. EPSOB essentially means additional activities that are asked of members of an organization above the normal role that help the organization. The subjects in this study were college students who were participating in telephone fundraising activities for service and fellowship/membership development organizations (Schabroeck & Ganster, 569).

Schaubroeck and Ganster (1991) contend that:

The relationship between satisfaction and commitment is generally regarded to be causal in nature (Batheman & Strasser, 1984). Inasmuch as job satisfaction and facets have been viewed as primary determinant of EPSOB in remunerative organizations (Organ, 1988) and the empirical and conceptual distinctions between satisfaction and commitment are narrow in nature, it is necessary to examine the effect of intrinsic satisfaction on our EPSOB criterion in conjunction with the effect of affective commitment (Schaubroeck & Ganster, 571).

Their results indicated that a positive effect of commitment was quite strong among members of public service organizations but that there was no commitment-voluntarism linkage among members of fellowship/professional development organizations (Schaubroeck & Ganster, 579). This is important because "if commitment were important only because it taps a more general dimension of positive affect, then commitment should have been related to voluntarism in all types of organizations (Schaubroeck & Ganster, 579).

Other researchers have conducted studies that support these findings. Porter, Crampon, and Smith (1976) have similar conclusions with data showing that commitment to an organization has to do with association with the goals of the organization and with the size of the organization. Their research including looking at students' commitment levels to various groups on campus including groups such as Greek social organizations and alumni related groups. Clary et. al. (1998) found that the extent to which volunteers' experiences matched their motivations predicted satisfaction. They also found that smaller organizations produce stronger commitments from members.

Volunteer and Employee Interactions

Freedman et. al. (1992) found that volunteer participants' satisfaction levels were influenced by the perception that other people were being paid for the same participation. This reaction differed depending on how much money the paid subjects received. Volunteer subjects who heard that other subjects were getting paid a large amount of money for participation rated their satisfaction with an activity lower than when they heard other participants were being paid a small amount. "Individuals who learned that other participants in a study received a large payment for performing a task rated this task as less enjoyable and were less willing to perform it again than participants who learned that others received a smaller payment" (Baron & Byrne, 165).

Cognitive Dissonance

Cognitive dissonance is defined as "an internal state that results when individuals notice inconsistency between one or more of their own attitudes or between their attitudes and their own behavior" (Baron & Byrne, 170).

There is a story about an old man who was annoyed by children playing loudly in front of his house. One day he approached the children and offered them each \$1.00 if they would play in front of his house in a noisy fashion. They willingly obliged. Each subsequent day he made the same request only with each passing day, he offered the children less money. Finally, one day he told the children that he had no more money to give them but asked if they would continue to play anyway. The children thought, "Why should we do this for him if he isn't going to give us anything?" and refused to play in front of the old man's house (Baron & Byrne, 170).

This story illustrates the potential danger of paying people what they would do for free. This payment can trigger cognitive dissonance and lessen the enjoyment that individuals might have at one time received from an activity they once did without payment (Festinger, 1957). The cognitive dissonance theory would explain that in their own mind people begin to believe that they are now doing the activity for the external reward and no longer for the intrinsic value of the activity.

Another example of a situation that might cause cognitive dissonance is when a student is offered money for an activity that he or she at one point had volunteered to do. When people experience cognitive dissonance, Festinger (1957) contends they can do a few things to ease the tension. One way they can do this is by reducing the importance of the elements involved. In the student example, this person could reduce the importance of the elements involved, beginning to feel that the money is not very important for him or her personally.

Another way Festinger (1957) felt cognitive dissonance could be relieved was for people to “add consonant elements – ones which are consistent with those generating the dissonance” (Baron & Byrne, 1977/134). Using the student example again, the student could think that she is taking the money because she really needs it now that she is in college. Finally, people can have a “subsequent change of private opinion to make it consonant with the overt behavior” (Festinger, 97). This method could be seen in a student who changed her opinion about her own motivation for doing the work. This shift in opinion could manifest itself in a lessening of satisfaction in her work and in a sense of her own altruistic motivations. To the

contrary, there could be an increase in the satisfaction because a student might think, "Wow, they are going to pay me!" (McIntosh, 2000).

Inferred Value

Inferred value is the idea that people place value on their experiences based in part on the awards, both positive and negative, that are associated with the activity. Freedman, Cunningham, and Krismer (1992) showed fairly conclusively that this phenomena exists when looking at the payment of subjects to participate in studies in varying amounts. These researchers did multiple studies on the payment of students to be subjects to participate in research projects. The higher the incentive, the more likely they were to infer that the task was boring or unpleasant. Consequently, this works in the reverse when the costs are as part of an initiation process. The higher the price people paid, in terms of effort or embarrassment, the higher they valued the subsequent experience (Freedman, Cunningham, & Krismer, 366).

At the same time relative deprivation may play a role in how subjects rate their experiences. Relative deprivation is "the idea that people's satisfaction is determined at least in part by a comparison of their rewards with those received by others. If they receive less than others, they feel deprived and are dissatisfied" (Freedman, Cunningham, & Krismer, 366).

Conclusions from the literature

Each of these studies has implications for research on paid and volunteer students doing community service work in both homogeneous groups and groups composed of both paid and volunteer workers. The 1983 Pearce study was important because it compared a variety of groups of volunteer workers with paid workers

doing similar jobs. This research would support the idea that, in general, volunteer workers would report higher levels of intrinsic motivation, service motivation, job satisfaction, and job praiseworthiness.

Both the Pearce study and the Schaubroeck and Ganster research, however, were limited to groups that were exclusively volunteer or remunerative. On college campuses, however, paid community service jobs are at times given to people who work along side volunteers doing the exact same job. This mixture of paid and non-paid service workers may affect how both groups feel about the work they do. Students who volunteer for something that others are paid for may not feel that their work is as valuable.

The Freedman et al. (1992) research and Festinger (1957) would lend support to the idea that programs that mix paid and unpaid students could be detrimental. It is possible that the mixture of volunteer and paid students working in the same organization may result in decreased satisfaction and lower levels of attributable intrinsic motivation for all involved.

This is an important concept to consider when looking at the payment of people to do community service work, generally seen as 'volunteer' work, or something that is done freely by people without thought of monetary compensation. For instance, students who tend to view reading with young children as "volunteer tutor work" and who are paid to do this may feel less good about the work they do and that they are not as intrinsically motivated as they might have been without compensation. It is possible than that if students identify community service jobs primarily as volunteer work, then their wage may cause them to feel cognitive

dissonance. Having other students in the program who are not paid may remind paid students that this is potentially volunteer work. At the same time, students who volunteer may sense the relative deprivation and see their work as less valuable and less enjoyable if they are in a program where there are paid reading workers than if they are in a program that is composed wholly of volunteers.

There is also research that supports the idea that there may be little or no differences between these different groups. Research conducted by Schaubroeck and Ganster (1991) indicate that there may be little difference between the groups, at least in terms of satisfaction, as most students might be highly committed to their community service projects. It is possible that if we control for the identification with the mission of the organization, then there will be no differences between paid and unpaid students.

A second factor that might be important is the size of the group. Some research indicates that students who work in smaller programs will be happier with the overall experience. However, Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) found that volunteers working in human social service agencies were motivated most by the “opportunity to do something worthwhile” and because it “makes one feel better about oneself” (Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen, 278). It would seem that volunteers have both ego needs and the desire to be altruistic. Although a motivator, adhering to an agency’s goals was less important than these other statements. The Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) research may be more applicable to students doing community service because they used subjects working in community service whereas the Schaubroeck and Ganster (1991) and Porter, Crampon, and Smith (1976) studies

included other forms of volunteer work (within for-profit organizations and fraternal clubs).

A survey of the current body of research did not show studies that have been done that look at both measures of satisfaction and motivation for volunteer and paid students working separately and together. Given this reality the researcher felt this was an important study. Given the aggregate research, the researcher predicted that there will be differences between the different types of students based on their remuneration status and group affiliation.

Hypotheses

1. Volunteer students will report different levels of intrinsic motivation, service motivation, job satisfaction and job praiseworthiness in comparison to levels reported by paid students.
2. Students in homogeneous groups will report different levels of intrinsic motivation, service motivation, job satisfaction and job praiseworthiness in comparison to levels reported by students in heterogeneous groups.

THE CURRENT STUDY

The purpose of this study is to explore the differences between paid and volunteer students working in social service activities. As a precursor to studying students directly, college administrators were surveyed to clarify appropriate research questions and to gain comparative information about the students' work situations. In exploring the relationship between paid and volunteer students it is important to study the context in which their work is completed. This context is created and controlled primarily by service directors and therefore the opinions of these directors are vital. This survey also served an important purpose in generating students to participate in the on-line student survey.

The first survey was given to college administrators at various colleges and universities in Pennsylvania. This survey was given to validate the researcher's anecdotal evidence concerning trends in the field and to set the context in which these students work. More importantly, it offered the researcher more insight into the interpretation of the student data. The second survey given to students was placed on the Internet and sent by e-mail to potential participants.

Sample

Survey I

The participants in the survey included one chaplain, three graduate students, and eight service or volunteer directors. All participants directly supervised student volunteers or employees. The sample included two men and ten women.

The researcher completed 12 interviews with people who worked at schools that qualified to participate in the survey. In order to qualify for the study, institutions needed to have a university sponsored literacy-tutoring program and have an administrator who was responsible for this project. The following colleges and universities were included in the survey: 1. Allegheny College, Meadville, PA, 2. Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania, Bloomsburg, PA, 3. Cedar Crest College (two people), Allentown, PA, 4. Indiana State University of Pennsylvania, Indiana, PA, 5. Juniata College, Huntingdon, PA, 6. Kutztown University (two people), Kutztown, PA, 7. Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania, Lock Haven, PA, 8. Messiah College, Grantham, PA, 9. Moravian College, Bethlehem, PA, and 10. Slippery Rock University, Slippery Rock, PA.

The following information regarding the participating schools was gathered by viewing institutional web pages and speaking with Jamie Birge and Michelle Laurey who were employees of the Pennsylvania Campus Compact, an organization that serves as a resource for colleges and universities in the state. Their knowledge of these groups is both anecdotal and based on self-reported surveys of institutional programs that are completed each year. Classifications of “small” or “large” are the opinions of these individuals.

1. Allegheny College, Meadville, PA

Allegheny is a private, co-educational institution of 1,900 undergraduates located in the northwestern corner Pennsylvania. Compensating students for doing service work was not at all new to this campus. The school had a strong relationship with the Bonner Scholar Program, a foundation that offers

scholarships and stipends to students who agree to do several hundred hours of community service. Allegheny also paid students to do community service using work study funds.

2. Bloomsburg University of Pennsylvania, Bloomsburg

Bloomsburg is a public institution located in central Pennsylvania with a combined total of 7,200 undergraduate and graduate students. The school had an active volunteer center and students were paid in a large variety of positions.

3. Cedar Crest, Allentown (two people)

Cedar Crest is a small private women's college located in east central Pennsylvania. The student body is about 1,600 and the institution is associated with the United Church of Christ. This college had two different people hired to work with service workers. One person worked only with paid and service learning students, while the other dealt with volunteers. The students were placed in completely different settings and many distinctions were made between them. All juniors were required to take a course called "Ethical Life" which had a substantial service component in it.

4. Indiana State University of Pennsylvania, Indiana

IUP is a mid-sized public university located in the western part of the state. This institution had a large administrative staff comprised of people who had been working in the field for a number of years.

5. Juniata College, Huntington, PA

Juniata is a small private college affiliated with the Church of the Brethren. The student body is 1,200, and it is located in the in the central part of the state. The

service program was small but growing. All students at the college were required to do at least one service project.

6. Kutztown University, Kutztown, PA

Kutztown is a public university with a student body of 6,932 in eastern Pennsylvania. The institution had two graduate students in charge of working with service. One student was in charge of the approximately 50 students working in America Reads and the other student was in charge of the volunteer center.

7. Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania, Lock Haven, PA

Lock Haven is rural a public institution located in central Pennsylvania with an undergraduate student body of 3,633. The service program was small but had a full time director.

8. Messiah College, Grantham, PA

Messiah is a college of 2,600 students located in south central Pennsylvania. The school is considered an interdenominational Christian college. The volunteer coordinator was quite new, but the school had a very established and centralized system.

9. Moravian College, Bethlehem, PA

Moravian is a small liberal arts college in eastern Pennsylvania. The college is private and affiliated with the Moravian Church, with a student body of 1,700. The service program was run through the Chaplain's office. The volunteer program was limited in scope but the college did have a sizable America Reads program.

10. Slippery Rock University of Pennsylvania, Slippery Rock, PA

Slippery Rock is a rural public institution with 6,300 undergraduates. The service programs were run by several graduate students. The director of the program was responsible for coordinating the service directors of all of the state system schools in Pennsylvania.

Survey II

Fifty-eight participants responded to the on-line web survey of an estimated 149 who were offered the chance to participate. The researcher collected no demographic data, but the targeted audience was full time college students enrolled at four-year institutions. The researcher presumed that a majority of the respondents were women. Women generally outnumber men in volunteer activities, particularly in tutoring related programs (Campus Compact, 1999). Furthermore, ten of the subjects identified themselves by asking for a gift to be sent after completing the survey (See page 33). These e-mails were from women.

The sample included subjects from six schools in eight different programs. The potential sample size was assumed to be 164. This number was based upon the estimations of the administrators during the initial survey. The actual sample size could have varied, depending on the administrators' errors. Additional students from four schools in five programs were not included in the sample as there was a zero response rate for these other groups. It was assumed that the administrators at these institutions did not send out the surveys to their students. There were 62 potential subjects in this category.

The response rate for the schools with responses greater than 1 subject ranged from 13% to 66%, with an average of 35%. The administrator at the school with the lowest response rate commented that the surveys were sent out during a testing period at his institution. The administrator from the school with the highest response rate was particularly enthusiastic about this research project and offered students the opportunity to do the surveys when they attended a meeting for the program.

Procedures and Materials

The researcher decided to limit the sample to employees of institutions of higher education in the state of Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania was chosen for the geographic proximity to the researcher and because of the proven strength and organization of academic institutions in terms of service programs in this state. This strength is attested by a strong showing of state member institutions in Campus Compact, a national organization that was established to support service administrators on college campuses. Pennsylvania has a strong Campus Compact state director who has an intimate knowledge of many of the academic service programs in the state. Pennsylvania is one of only a few states in the country that has an additional state organization and a state director. The researcher planned to use the Pennsylvania Campus Compact Director as a second party who could review and perhaps explain collected data to support the validity of the study.

It was proposed that the colleges and universities would be chosen by obtaining a list of the all colleges and universities from the Pennsylvania Department of Education webpage. Penn State regional campuses were included separately. Institutions were assigned numbers in alphabetical order and then using the SPSS 9.0

for Windows statistical software program, a random selection of these numbers was chosen. On the first attempt 8% of the total was chosen, giving a total of 11 institutions.

The colleges initially chosen were: Alvernia College, Delaware Valley College, Eastern College, Haverford College, Lebanon Valley College, Lincoln University, Lock Haven University of Pennsylvania, Mansfield University, Millersville State University, Pennsylvania College of Technology, and Penn State Erie.

The proposed sample turned out to be quite different from the final sample that was surveyed. The proposed plan proved to be inadequate because the researcher's qualifications for usable institutions disqualified most of the randomly chosen schools. Schools were disqualified because they did not have a person in charge of service or because the institutions did not have in-house tutoring programs.

A different approach was chosen after unsuccessfully trying a number of interviews from the schools chosen at random. This approach, which was significantly less random, involved approaching subjects at a conference for university employees involved in community service and service learning. Subjects were garnered primarily from the 1999 Pennsylvania Campus Compact Conference for service administrators in Pittsburgh, PA. Conference goers were approached at meal times and asked individually to participate. Each person who was asked, agreed to participate or referred the researcher to a more appropriate person at their institution. Each compliant person was asked a few screening questions, and about one third of the people approached were eliminated because their programs did not

meet the qualifications of the study. Institutions did not qualify if they did not have a tutoring program for reading or an employee who worked with promoting community service. Several respondents were known to the researcher, including the employees at Moravian College, Cedar Crest College, and Kutztown University.

Two of the interviews were done in person at the conference, and the rest were conducted by phone at a later date. There were no apparent differences between the phone interviews and those conducted in person. One survey was completed in two sessions because the participant was interrupted in the middle by a student in crisis. To the extent possible, the interviewer read the prepared questions. On occasion, the participants requested clarification, and this was provided. At times, the respondents would provide information that answered multiple questions, often anticipating questions scheduled to be asked later in the interview. When this was done, the researcher did not repeat areas the subjects had already covered.

Each administrator was asked programmatic questions concerning size and structure (See Appendix A). Directors were also interviewed about their programs and schools, to determine if there are any obviously unusual factors that made this survey inappropriate for their students.

At the conclusion of each administrator survey, the administrators were asked to send out an e-mail to their students requesting that they participate in the study (See Appendix B). At the bottom of the note there was a connection to the survey web location (See Appendix C). Four days following the initial e-mail, a second follow up e-mail was distributed, again encouraging students to complete the survey (See Appendix D).

Survey I

Questions 1&2: “Does your office run a program for reading education of children?” and “How does your institution use the federal funds allocated for community service jobs?”

The purpose of these questions was to establish that the institutions would qualify to participate in the program. Potential participants who could not answer either of these questions were not asked any additional questions. The researcher assumed, based on the Campus Compact 1998 survey, was that many schools would have reading programs. If a school had a reading program, it would qualify to have at least some students interviewed. Schools that worked only as a referral service for placing community service workers in the community would not qualify. It was assumed that this type of an administrator would not have an intimate enough knowledge of the working environments of these students to be useful for this study.

The second question was also asked to give insight into what types of positions these students were being placed in. These placements can vary between schools. For example, in 1997 George Washington University, a large urban institution in Washington, D.C., began placing the majority of their students in governmental and social service agencies. Students in these positions were working away from campus and not supervised on a daily basis by university administrators. In contrast, St. Joseph’s University in Philadelphia placed most of their students internally in their community service and service learning offices. It was assumed that most community service jobs would be placed through the community service office.

Question 3: “In what way do you feel having paid students has added to your program?”

The intent of this survey was to solicit information about the respondents’ feelings concerning the payment of students to do community service work. If the administrators were paying students, it was assumed that the administrators would generally have positive feelings about doing this. Subsequently, the researcher did not ask neutral opened questions about the respondents’ opinions. Instead, separate and perhaps leading, positive and negative questions were asked. This initial and positive question was asked to find out why specifically the administrators would support this funding. It was assumed that these administrators would have similar thoughts about the researcher, in that paying students allows more control over the quality of community service work and experience. Paid students would presumably be able to give more hours to the program, and administrators could have a better ability to mandate training and evaluation. Paying students also might allow administrators to remove students who were not doing quality work, more easily than they would be able to “fire” volunteers.

Questions 4 & 5: “In what ways do you feel paid students have detracted from your program?” & “Have you encountered any difficulties since you have started to pay students?”

The purpose of these questions was to see if the administrators had any negative experiences with paying students for community service. If political opponents of paid service programs were correct, some negative aspects should have been apparent to service administrators. These questions were also created to probe

for concerns that were similar to the researcher's own experiences with paying students. It was assumed that other administrators would have encountered students who were unhappy with getting paid. More importantly, it was assumed that some administrators might feel that the paid part of their program had caused a decrease in the emphasis on volunteerism.

Question 6: "Have you had students decide not to receive payment after being hired?"

The researcher had had several students decide not to get paid after being hired. This behavior was consistent with what has been suggested is happening to AmeriCorps participants. Although no hard data was kept on the number of students who did this, it was estimated that one or two in a semester would fall into this category. This behavior, although not the norm, was perhaps indicative of an underlying sense of guilt on the part of the students for taking money to do this kind of work. It is thought some students are really working because they want to serve people and not because they want or need the money.

Although AmeriCorps grants are given to individuals regardless of financial situations, it is important to note that any student who receives a work study allocation must show a demonstrated need based on his or her family's financial situation. However, the actual financial need of a student is based on several factors. Some of these factors include personal spending habits, types of course work taken (engineering students must spend far more on textbooks), a family's ability to "shelter" money from financial aid offices (retirement savings need not always be

reported but can be used for educational expenses), and family priorities for spending money.

Since it can not be presumed that all work study students need money, this question was asked to see if they had any discomfort with taking payment for service jobs. This question makes that assumption some students might feel internal conflict for receiving payment for “volunteer work” and choose not to get paid after starting the program. It was assumed that at least some of the participants in this study would have had similar experiences.

Question 7 & 8: “Are there any distinctions made between the paid and unpaid students?” and “What is the title given to the students?”

These questions were included to see if the administrators intentionally made the situations different for paid community service workers and traditional volunteer community service workers. Generally, volunteers working with children’s literacy have been called “Tutors”. This is in contrast with another type of student who works with children’s literacy in traditionally extrinsically rewarded situations. Students generally have been given academic credit and more prestige as a “Student Intern” or in a paid capacity as a “Teacher’s Assistant”.

Question 9: “How much do you pay students?”

This question was asked to determine if the rate of pay was an additional factor that might affect student opinions about their satisfaction with work and opinions about themselves. It was assumed that most schools would pay their students at a nominal rate; however, it was thought possible that some institutions would have elevated the pay to attract students or had obtained extra funding through

a special program to increase the pay. There are some funding sources that will give students extra money, on top of any work study payment, if they can complete a large number of community service hours. These programs, however, generally require extensive paperwork and documentation, and it was not thought that many administrators would be participating in such endeavors.

Question 10: “How many students are in your program?”

This question was asked initially for statistical purposes. The written web based survey for students would be sent out to the participants by the administrator. It was necessary therefore to determine up front what the potential sample size would be. In actuality it produced some interesting information about the programs.

Questions 11&12: “Would you be willing to have your students surveyed about their experiences in service work?” and “Do your students have access to e-mail and the Internet?”

These questions were asked in order to generate students for the Internet survey and to ensure that they would have adequate access to the web in order to participate. All respondents agreed to have their students participate in the study. Each also said that their students had access to e-mail and the Internet and e-mailing them was an excellent way of reaching them.

Survey II

Survey questions concerning motivation and job attitude come from a survey developed by Pearce (1983).

Questions were grouped in four areas looking at intrinsic motivations, service motivations, job satisfaction, and praiseworthiness. Intrinsic motivation was gauged

by asking the question: "How important is this reward to you?" Responses were rated on a 5 point Likert scale ranging from "not at all important" to "extremely important". The following questions from Pearce's 1983 study are followed by her coefficient alpha scores for internal consistency. The intrinsic motivation for doing the work questions were: "doing tasks that hold my interest," "an interesting job," and "enjoyment of just doing the work" ($\alpha = .73$). Service motivation will be measured by: "a chance to make a real contribution," "identification with the mission of the organization," and "the chance to further the goals of the organization" ($\alpha = .69$). Job satisfaction and praise-worthiness will be measured each on three differential bipolar adjectives for "My job is". For job satisfaction the measures are: "unpleasant-pleasant", "boring-interesting", and "bad-good" ($\alpha = .61$). For praise-worthiness the measures are: "praiseworthy-unpraiseworthy", and "receiving-giving" ($\alpha = .63$).

Additional questions were included about the subject's college or university name and whether they are paid or unpaid service workers. In order to rule out other forms of compensation, subjects were asked if they were receiving course credit for their work. Also students were asked about the make up of the group with which they worked.

Four additional questions were asked of the students who indicated that they were paid. These questions were included to consider the amount of the payment as a factor. Students were asked to rank the questions on a 1-5 Likert scale from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree". The questions were: 1. "At times I am uncomfortable taking money for the work I do.", 2. "No pay is necessary but it is a

nice bonus.”, 3. “The pay level is appropriate for the work I do.”, and 4. “The pay level should be higher for the work I do.”

A 1998 article in the Chronicle of Higher Education states that incentives, even nominal ones, are an important factor in response rates. Web surveys are often simply posted for all who happen upon the web site. These surveys tend to garner response rates of less than 1% of all hits to the page (Kiernan, 1998). However, a survey conducted by the National Aeronautical Space Administration (NASA) of a select group of people had a response rate of nearly 70%, by offering to mail respondents a simple celestial map.

Keeping this in mind and in an attempt to increase response from the students there was a link from the page that offered a small reward. The linking page stated: “We are offering a thank you gift to each of the participants in this study. This incentive will be a gift that is appropriate for distributing to the children with whom you work. Although, you will need to give us your name and mailing address, be assured that we will not connect this in anyway to your survey responses. Complete this survey and we will connect you to a page where you can request the thank you gift.” Participants were sent a package of 15 children’s bookmarks with the America Reads logo on them.

At the completion of the survey this message appeared: “To receive our thank you gift go to: <http://www.lehigh.edu/~jud2/surveygift.html>.”

RESULTS

Survey I

Questions 1&2: “Does your office run a program for reading education of children?” and “How does your institution use the federal funds allocated of community service jobs?”

The most common position for students to be paid was as “student coordinators” in service offices. Student coordinators serve to administer volunteer programs for other students. This is a form of indirect service as the students are supervising the volunteers and direct action in the community of other students. The second most common position for schools to pay students to do service work was as reading tutors, although if a school had a paid reading program there were more students in this job than any other area. The other way schools used these funds was in direct service at local social service agencies.

Only one individual in the survey claimed that their institution did not pay any students to do direct service. The respondent said, “We don’t pay any students. We decided not to. We discussed paying them but we couldn’t see paying people to do what others would volunteer in a program. We didn’t want to get into it.” It was apparent by this and other comments that not all the participants were aware of the basic ramifications of the legislation concerning the payment of students in community service jobs, which require a certain percentage of the federally allocated funds to pay community service students. This indicates that the institutions are forfeiting a portion of their federally allocated funds or that students are being employed in community service positions that are supervised in other areas of the

university. One participant stated explicitly that he or she did not know anything about the legislation, while others admitted they did not know if other people on campus were supervising students doing community service work.

Question 3: “In what ways do you feel having paid students has added to your program?”

The responses to this question were generally very similar. Respondents commented that the students were more accountable, that they participated more frequently in scheduled service activities. Several participants said that the payment had empowered the agencies they worked with to “ask more of the students” and to create more in-depth programs. With increased accountability, students were given more responsibility when dealing with children. A typical response was, “It has allowed the students to be consistent because of this [payment]. The positions they get into are real. They are more than employees, they are committed.” In other words, when students are paid they show up to work assignments on a more regular basis.

Questions 4 & 5 : “In what ways do you feel they have detracted from your program?” & “Have you encountered any difficulties since you have started to pay students?”

The most common answer to these questions was that the respondent had not been at the institution long enough to notice if there were changes in the program. Although no question was asked about how long individuals had been at the institutions many commented that they had been hired only after the university had decided to pay students with federal work study money.

Most participants had no criticisms of paying students. For those who gave negative responses, their answers centered on motivation and interaction with volunteer workers. One said, "We have had problems with volunteers who look at the paid students negatively. They don't understand how what these other people do is any better than what they do. It has caused a mixing of the vision of the volunteer students and how they look at the work." A few respondents said that they thought paid students might be "in it for the money" but all generally stressed that these students were "weeded" (word used by two respondents) out of the program through the application or screening process.

They did praise the volunteer students saying: "Some of the best students are non paid because they were excluded [from the work study program] because they were not eligible. Their motivations are not money driven and they really care about the kids. Volunteers are just different." However, most participants took these questions as an opportunity to again praise the payment of students for service work.

In one school that had a mixed program the participant said that the administrators in their office had been more concerned about excluding people from the program than the problems it might cause between the students. This person felt the mixed program was working well: "We were concerned about some students who would want to do it but couldn't [students who were not work study eligible] but they have to understand that it is not us who makes the rules but the federal government so we pay some and not others." This participant did feel that his or her students understood this and implied that did they were not upset about not being paid.

Of all the respondents, only two felt that the paid students presented serious problems such as animosity between students and students who were not appropriately motivated to work with children. While many of the participants came up with answers they all prefaced that they thought there was more good done in having paid students in the program than bad.

One participant made a compelling statement about the “privilege” of doing service work. This statement is similar to the one made by President William Clinton’s administration in support of funding for service work. The respondent said, “Overall it is has been good. Most people, I feel, want to be involved but if they have to choose between volunteering and coming back to school they are going to choose a job. I mean we do *have* students who work 20 hours a week and then still find the time to volunteer but this way [by getting paid for service work] most students can still volunteer and get paid and still be able to go to school.”

Another respondent made a similar statement saying, “It [the funding] helps in terms of the range of students we have been able to attract to the program who would otherwise not be able to do this kind of work.”

Question 6: “Have you had students decide not to receive payment after being hired?”

The answer to this question was a resounding, “No”. Two respondents allow volunteers students to be in the program, although the majority of students in mixed programs were paid. Two respondents did comment that they had had students who declined to get paid for this type of work, but that the students had stated this before beginning work. This would indicate that there were some students who were

uncomfortable with taking money for community service work but that it was not the process of being in the program that caused them to feel this way. One person said, "Some have said from the beginning they would rather not get paid. Generally they just have problems but not because they chose it." The administrator from this example was acknowledging the payment was an issue but stressed that the reason most students ended up not receiving payment was for reasons beyond their control such as problems with their financial aid paperwork or package.

As a college administrator who employs many students through a work study program, these comments made a lot of sense. Frequently, my students have problems with their financial aid packages. The paperwork required to apply for these funding sources is extensive and at times difficult to obtain if a student's parents are estranged. Students' aid packages change each year and at times students who at one time received a work study allocation can lose it due to a changed financial status or error in completing required forms. The reasons behind changed financial packages can be complex. Common issues include students who lose their work study allocation because their parents earn more money in a given year or because they receive new scholarship money.

Question 7: "Are there any distinctions made between the paid and unpaid students?"

Five of the schools claimed to have separate programs for paid and volunteer students. When students were placed in different programs, the administrators generally said the students worked in different situations, in concern to time commitments required (more time was required of paid students) and locations of

tutoring sessions (no consistent patterns). For the ones that had students mixed, no school said that they made apparent distinctions. A common response was, "We simply do more paperwork for the paid students." Several persons also commented that they did not believe their students knew who was getting paid and who was not.

Question 8: "What is the title given to the students?"

Several respondents did not know how to answer this question. Often the researcher had to clarify it by saying, "For example, some schools call them tutors, while others call them reading partners. What name do you refer to these students by at your school?"

Most participants then responded "Tutors". Other names included Reading Partners, CSL students (Community Service Learning Students), Literacy Tutors, and America Reads Tutors. It seemed clear from the general response of the subjects that this was not an important point to them and that the titles of volunteer and paid students were generally used interchangeably.

Question 9: "How much do you pay students?"

Most students were paid \$5.15, the minimum wage, and a few paid up to \$6.00. It is likely that the supervisors have little or no input into the salaries, as they are often determined by financial aid office guidelines.

Question 10: "How many students are in your program?"

This question was asked initially for statistical purposes. The written web-based survey for students would be sent out to the participants by the administrator. It was necessary therefore to determine up front what the potential sample size would be. In actuality it produced some interesting information about the

programs. Two administrators who had said their programs were mixed were unable to come up with more than a few volunteer students. When they spoke in general about the programs, they meant more in a theoretical sense. Volunteers were allowed in their programs; however, when asked for the number of students, they admitted that they really had only paid students attending regularly.

Survey II

Of the 58 subjects, 34 indicated that they were currently being paid for the service work and 24 were indicated that they were not receiving remuneration. None of the students indicated that they were receiving course credit for their work with children's literacy.

There was a pattern of inconsistency between student and administrator responses on the types of programs that individual students were working in. There were 8 instances when the students reported being in mixed programs where the administrators said that they were homogeneous programs. Eight students did not report data for the type of program and one student reported to not know what kind of program was run at their institution. Five of the non-reporting students can be accounted for in an error in the program that did not properly record their responses. The data were analyzed using the administrators' data where there were differences or no answers. This was done primarily because the researcher felt that students may have made assumptions about the program in which they worked, when the reality their working situations was based on the model suggested by the administrator. There was one case in which the institution had both types of programs and the

student had not indicated in which type he or she worked. For the purposes of statistical analysis the researcher considered 25 students in homogeneous groups and 32 in heterogeneous groups.

Overall the students indicated that all of the aspects were important rewards to them. They all also indicated that their work was pleasant, interesting, good, praiseworthy and giving. Each question had a mode of 1 (Strongly agree/ highest level of agreement) except the praiseworthy/unpraiseworthy variable which had a mode of 2. Within the service motivation factor the “chance to make a real contribution” question was a significantly stronger motivator than the “chance to further the goals of the organization” question [$t=5.387, p=.000$ (2-tailed)]. Within the job praiseworthiness factor the participants felt that their jobs were significantly more “good” than “giving” [$t=12.290, p=.000$ (2-tailed)].

Table 1.

Mean responses for the motivation and satisfaction measures

Questions	N	Mean	Std. Deviation
Intrinsic Motivation			
1 Task that holds interest	58	1.66	.85
2 An interesting job	58	1.50	.68
3 Enjoyment of just doing the work	58	1.69	.75
Service Motivation			
4 A chance to make a real contribution	58	1.19	.51
5 Identification with the mission	57	1.70	.82
6 The chance to further the goals	58	1.71	.73
Job Satisfaction			
7 Pleasant/Unpleasant	56	1.52	.74
8 Interesting/Boring	58	1.72	.99
Job Praiseworthiness			
9 Good/Bad	58	1.55	.94
10 Praiseworthy/Unpraiseworthy	57	1.77	.82
11 Giving/Receiving	57	2.16	1.11

In general paid students and volunteer students had similar scores on most of the variables. The two variables that did show a significant difference were the answers to the questions of how important it was for a chance to make a real contribution [$t=2.328, p=.026$ (2-tailed)] and the identification with the mission of the organization [$t=2.006, p=.050$ (2-tailed)]. Students who were not paid feel that they were more intrinsically service motivated.

Table 2.

Statistically significant differences for the grouped data

	Paid/Not Paid	Mixed/Separate
Intrinsic Motivation	No difference	Mixed significantly higher agreement
Service Motivation	Not paid significantly higher agreement	No difference
Satisfaction	No difference	No difference
Praiseworthiness	No difference	No difference

The students in homogenous groups felt more motivated by the interest and enjoyment of their work. The questions had the respective levels of significance: “Task that holds my interest” [$t=2.32, p=.025$ (2-tailed)], “An interesting job” [$t=2.030, p=.049$ (2-tailed)], and “Enjoyment of just doing the work” [$t=3.194, p=.002$ (2-tailed)].

The data also should some significant differences when looking at the within group differences for the paid and volunteer students in the different types of programs. Volunteers in the mixed groups (mean = 1.09) had significantly higher levels of intrinsic motivation (Sig. 2-tailed .000) in comparison to volunteers in separate programs (mean = 1.84). Volunteers in mixed programs had somewhat

higher levels of service motivation (mean = 1.18) than volunteers in separate programs (mean = 1.49) although the scores did not pass the significance test at the .05 level (Sig. 2-tailed .052). Similarly, paid students in mixed programs had a somewhat higher level of intrinsic motivation (mean = 1.57) than paid students in separate programs (mean = 2.07) although the significance was only Sig. 2-tailed = .059.

Although the statistical significance was not great for all of these measures, the charts show that there is grouping in the data. This order might indicate differences between mixed/separate and volunteer/paid comparisons.

Table 3.

Means for the grouped measures

	Variable	Paid	Volunteer
Mixed	Intrinsic Motivation	1.57	1.09
	Service Motivation	1.67	1.18
Separate	Intrinsic Motivation	2.07	1.84
	Service Motivation	1.83	1.49

Tables 3 and 4 depict this data in ranked order.

Table 4.

Means of the different groups in ranked order for the grouped Intrinsic Motivation measure

Ranked Groups	Intrinsic Motivation
1. Mixed Volunteer	1.09
2. Mixed Paid	1.57
3. Separate Volunteer	1.84
4. Separate Paid	2.07

Table 5.

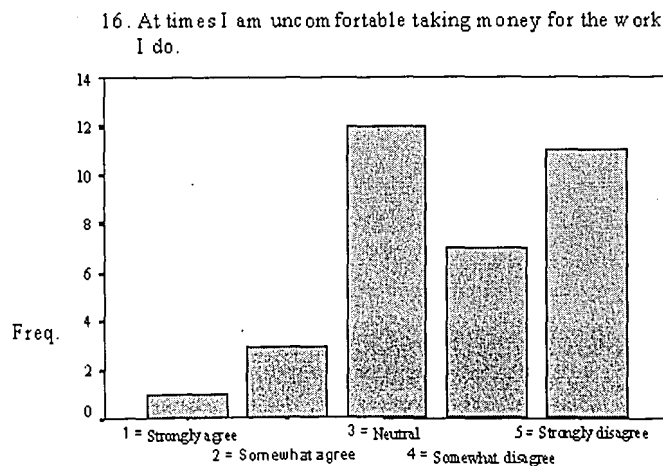
Means of the different groups in ranked order for the grouped Service Motivation measure

Ranked Groups	Service Motivation
1. Mixed Volunteer	1.18
2. Separate Volunteer	1.49
3. Mixed Paid	1.67
4. Separate Paid	1.83

The results of the questions on pay generally indicated that students did not mind getting paid, however, they felt they would work with out getting paid and that they do not want to get paid more. The following charts show this trend. The mean score for question 16 indicates that the subjects did not feel uncomfortable being paid to do service work, however the mode indicates that more students had a neutral response than any one of the other options. This indicates that there was some degree of concern from the average subject about getting paid for this type of work.

Figure 1.

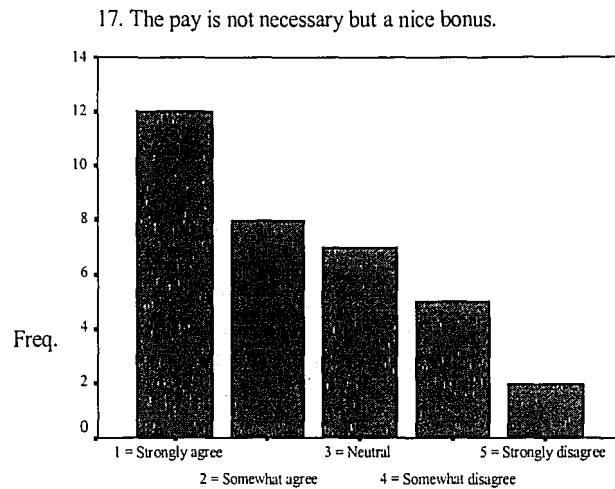
Frequency of responses for question 16



At the same time question 17 shows that they feel strongly that they would not need to be paid but that it is a nice bonus. This question elicited the strongest opinions from the students. The mode was a 1 or “Strongly agree” and the mean was 2.32.

Figure 2.

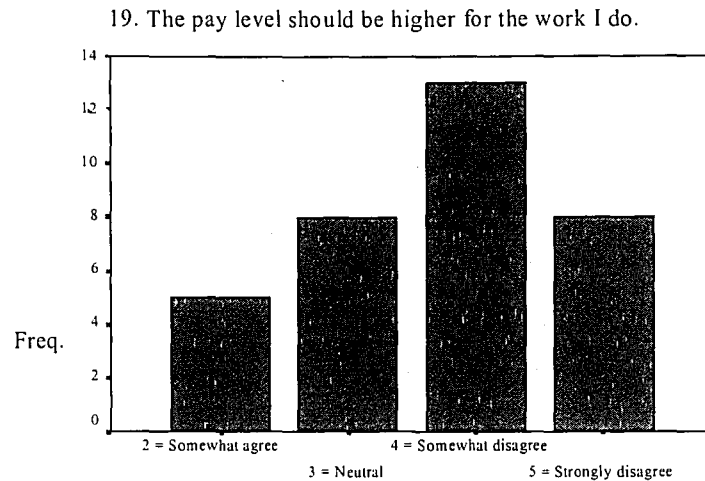
Frequency of responses for question 17



Question 18 indicates that the subjects feel strongly that the pay level was appropriate. The last payment question indicated that they do not feel that they should be paid at a higher rate. No students in the paid category felt that they strongly agreed that they should be paid more for their work. As this chart shows nearly 80% of the students who answered this question responded either neutrally or negatively towards getting a pay raise.

Figure 3.

Frequency of responses for question 19



A few students who indicated that they were not paid answered the “payment” questions anyway. This was considered an error and these answered were not included in the result calculations.

Ten students offered additional comments in the section provided for this. They are reported verbatim with errors included. Comments 1 through 4 were statements referring to how important the children were to the tutors and how great the experience is for the college students. All of these responses were from volunteers.

1. **(volunteer)** “my inner-city tutoring experience has been a conduit of extensive faith deepening. Giving my time and energy to those kids is one thing, but the love and excitement that THEY give to ME is heartwarming, to say the least. I LOVE those kids! I want to give them HOPE and a vision of a bright future! They have potential!! I want them to know that!”

2. **(volunteer)** “I love working with children. It is honestly the highlight of my entire week. I wouldn't give it up for the world!”
3. **(volunteer)** “I like knowing that I made a difference in the life of a child. Apparently it is becoming more and more important in society today.”
4. **(volunteer)** I used to get paid for service, and I felt uncomfortable being paid. I feel that working with children should never be for the money, it should be for the pleasure. If it were done for the money, the pay would never be enough.

A few comments were also made concerning confusion with the survey or additional explanations of their programs.

5. **(volunteer)** “paid volunteers from our school, but some unpaid volunteers at the center”
6. **(paid)** “What do you mean by receiving and giving? Does enjoying your work count as receiving? 7 is in opposite good bad order as the rest of the questions. 13 does not appear to be a yes or no question. I was unsure of how to answer it.”

Finally, a third category of comments dealt with explanations as to why students would take money for the work they were doing. These comments indicated that students felt it was important that the researcher know that money was not the most important factor for why they would work with children.

7. **(paid)** “i would do this as volunteer work if i had the time, and i did not need the money. it is a very rewarding experience”

8. **(paid)** “It is rewarding to help children because I know they are benefitting from what I do. That in itself is the reward that I get. So, I feel I give and receive in this job. I used to get paid for service, and I felt uncomfortable being paid. I feel that working with children should never be for the money, it should be for the pleasure. If it were done for the money, the pay would never be enough.”
9. **(paid)** “The questions regarding pay could be misleading. I get paid for the work that I do but that work is more in gathering volunteers for the programs rather than the time I actually get to work with the children. So being paid for the office hours makes it a lot easier to find more time to get out into the community to volunteer.”
10. **(paid)** “Having four brothers and knowing that two of them who are 4 and 5 years of age are just learning motivates me to help children in school. I hope that if my brothers ever need help there will be somebody, since I no longer am there to help them, who is willing to help them.”
11. **(paid)** “I would do this work with kids with or without the money. That's not why we're there-it's for them:)”

DISCUSSION

There is a story of a tourist visiting India who told Mother Theresa that she would not do the work of this nun for a million dollars. Mother Theresa responded, "Neither would I." With a similar premise, one of the subjects in this study (perhaps a saint in the making) expressed her unease about receiving pay for her work: "I used to get paid for service, and I felt uncomfortable being paid....If it were done for the money, the pay would never be enough."

The results of this study support the idea that volunteering allows people to feel better about doing social service work than when they are paid. At the same time, this study shows that mixing paid and unpaid students in the same project seems to allow students to have more positive opinions about their intrinsic motivation than do separate programs. While volunteering might be optimal from a student perspective, the administrators felt otherwise. The most significant finding of both surveys, however is that all subjects felt very positive about being involved with children's literacy programs. In the comment section, the student subjects spoke poignantly about how rewarding these experiences were and about much good they feel they were doing.

Survey I

The answers to this survey provided some evidence that was contradictory to some of the researcher's assumptions. First, the researcher had assumed that far more institutions would qualify for this kind of study because of the significant incentives

provided by the government for institutions to participate in programs such as America Reads. Even after the survey, it was not clear how some of the institutions were complying with the legislation. Additionally, the researcher thought that most of the administrators would have at least some criticisms of paying students doing community service work. These assumptions were based on the generally accepted social psychology theory of cognitive dissonance, that paying people to do some thing they would do for free can be deleterious. Some of the issues the researcher had dealt with in her own position as a community service administrator were not mentioned at all by the participants. Most significantly, few distinctions were made between service workers and volunteers even in their terminology. The administrators who responded to this survey generally disregarded the distinction between paid students and volunteer students doing community service work. In the words of many of the respondents, they were all "volunteers".

Another issue that was somewhat of a surprise was the lack of knowledge concerning work study legislation. Administrators working in financial aid offices are ultimately responsible for the distribution of the work study money allocated by the federal government. The survey responses called into question how closely financial aid officers were working with service and volunteer administrators. One administrator indicated that he or she did not know of any students being employed as community service workers. If the service administrators are not hiring students, then the schools are either refunding the money to the government or they are spending it in areas that are perhaps marginally "community service". For example, Lehigh

University has classified students working in the summer athletic camps as community service because scholarships were given to a few 'disadvantaged' pupils to attend the camps. At recent conferences I had also heard administrators complain about trying to wrest student jobs away from their campus library. Library workers had been classified as community service workers since the library was open to and served the public community. Although libraries should play an important role in the community for all citizens it is likely that the institution was making no additional efforts to have the facility become more accessible to "community residents, particularly low-income individuals or to solve particular problems related to their needs" (Code of Federal Regulation, 34 CFR 675.2(b)).

It was also found from this survey that the administrators were often new employees. When asked about changes in the program prior to and after paid service initiatives had been implemented, they simply could not make comparisons. It was interesting that people were readily available to talk about how paid students had contributed to programs using present terms. When asked about negatives they took it to mean what changes had occurred and therefore they could not answer the question. This could be a result of the wording of the question, the way the researcher presented it to the subjects or perhaps an unconscious desire on the part of the subjects to say only positive things about their program. Administrators might have been hesitant to criticize the funding, in a "Don't bite the hand that feeds you" mentality since apparently many of their positions had been created as a result of this funding.

Survey II

The opportunity to conduct research using the web and e-mail is exciting. However, there were many obstacles encountered in this research due to the survey method and it is important to consider these limitations when interpreting the data.

Web based surveys

There are many positives aspects to using a web-based survey. The data are easily collected and many subjects can be reached in a inexpensive way. The participants can respond quickly, their data is automatically entered into a computer system and there are no postage or printing costs. Subjects in a computer survey may also complete information in a more comfortable and natural state than they would in a 'foreign' and cold research lab or classroom.

This technology, however, also presents new research problems. In this study there was a glitch in the initial survey that incorrectly recorded the answers of the first few students on one question. In a paper survey, there is only one level to proof read. In an electronic study, the proofing is on multiple levels. The level that appears on the screen to the viewer contains only some of the information about the survey. At the most basic level of computer code (the programming code Html in the case of this survey) the proofing is tedious and difficult. Often "bugs" or code errors do not appear until the program has been run in a number of different ways.

There are a number of ways in which this survey was biased towards students who are more computer literate and who have advanced computers that are easily

accessible. It is possible that the subjects that were successfully polled could have been different from those who made unsuccessful attempts to have their opinions heard. It is possible that wealthier students as a group might fall into the more computer literate group and have different opinions about getting paid for service work or feel that the amount of payment was less significant in comparison to how poorer students would feel.

One problem that computer novices may have faced was simply accessing the survey in the first place. A student who is not as computer literate may not notice errors as readily in typing in the survey URL (internet address) as a student who is web proficient. If just one character were misplaced in the address, then a potential subject would not have been able to access the survey. More computer savvy students might also make multiple attempts to reach the page if any one of a number of web problems had caused them not to be able to reach the page initially. Secondly, in order for the data to be entered, the subjects had to click on a 'Submit Button' at the completion of the survey. Again, students who were not as used to completing web surveys may just have answered the questions without actually submitting the data by clicking on the button. If the data was not "entered" it was lost. The potential error had been anticipated and the 'button' was made a different color than the background and text had been included saying, "Click on the button to enter your data:". Additionally, the word 'button' was put in a red flashing font. However, even with these precautions, it is possible that students were not familiar enough with the technology to complete the survey.

Issues of accessibility could have played a part for some students if they did not have their own computer or access to web based e-mail systems. Students who got their e-mail separately from their internet access had to take a second step to access the survey. Students with more advanced e-mail systems could access the survey simultaneously with the e-mail request to participate in the survey.

Issues of confidentiality may also play into the completion of the Internet surveys. On the one hand, people may have felt comfortable saying things in electronic form that they would never say in person or in physical writing. The seeming anonymity of the internet might tap into people's true selves or simply tap their bolder side. At the same time, students in this study might have had some concern that their answers were not guaranteed to be confidential as advanced tracking devices may have been able to link them to their answers.

In general, the biggest source of potential technologically-based problems was the general lack of control and other unknown factors that come with having the researcher so removed from the subjects taking the survey. The researcher had to rely on multiple factors working correctly for the surveys to get to the subjects and for their data to be returned. The researcher had to rely on the administrators to act as intermediaries in getting the surveys out to the students and to disseminate follow up reminders. There was no control over how the administrators would present the study. The administrators could have added their own commentary to the e-mail that they forwarded to the students. The response rates were based upon estimates given

by the administrators as to how many students were in the program. The researcher had no way to determine how accurate these estimates were with the current study.

Additional Considerations

Students may do most of their community-based work on their own and not with the other students in the program. Information about the work setting of the students was not discussed in these surveys. However, it became apparent that some of the students conducted their work at different kinds of programs. For example, some worked at after school programs with all of the students in a room and others did their work individually with teachers. These differences in program format could have significant implications as to the levels of cognitive dissonance and relative deprivation that would occur as a result of student interactions. At the same time, this diversity of experiences could be seen as a positive aspect of the study when considering the sample as a whole. There were some significant results found despite students working in different programs. This situation makes the findings more robust and increases the validity of the study.

The participants in both studies were not chosen at random. Although there were no apparent differences between the sample and the population as a whole, several factors may have contributed to making this sample unique. The participants were chosen to some degree for their ease of availability at the expense of random selection. Schools with well organized programs and with full time staff members devoted to service and who were going to the conference were over represented, as these were easiest to contact. In addition, some of the participants were known to the

researcher. This fact may have had some impact on how they answered the questions. Furthermore, there were no schools included in the survey which were representative of large urban areas. It is indeed possible that programs administered in large urban areas are quite different from those in other areas.

There were also some discrepancies on the survey between the student and administrators concerning the type of programs the school had in place (i.e. students said they were in an exclusively paid program, and the administrators said that the program was mixed). When discussing this with some of my own students, I discovered that they did not know which type of program we ran at our own school. Although all of the students in this program were paid, they did not know if other students were volunteers. There were no clear guidelines given as to how many students from each group would have to be represented to call a group heterogeneous. Does one volunteer in a program with 20 paid employees mean it is a heterogeneous group? Technically, it is, but in the opinion of the program administrator or the participants, the answer is unclear. It is easy to see how a student who knows one friend who volunteers in a program may assume he is in a mixed program when in actuality his administrator claims to run a homogeneous program with one exception. It may have been prudent to ask administrators to elaborate more thoroughly concerning the composition of their groups. Similarly, students could have been asked about their programs using terms such as "All paid students", "Mostly paid students", "Evenly mixed", "Mostly volunteer students", and "All volunteer students".

General Conclusions

The results did not indicate that there was a difference between paid and unpaid students in terms of intrinsic motivation when these groups were separate but that there was a difference for separate versus mixed groups. Paid students reported significantly lower levels of service motivation. The differences between heterogeneous and homogeneous groups were likewise less than had been anticipated. The only area that showed significant differences was that mixed programs showed lower levels of intrinsic motivation. The mixing of paid and unpaid students could be a factor in how individual students perceive their own motivation. This could indicate that the mixing of students is detrimental when considering student motivation as an important factor.

This data would appear to indicate that students can maintain the duality of feeling good about themselves for doing the service work while not feeling bad about taking money for it. One aspect of the work of Freedman, Cunningham and Krismer (1992) may explain why there are few differences. The inferred value theory states that “subjects make inferences about an activity on the basis of the reward (price or cost) associated with that activity” (Freedman, Cunningham, & Krismer, 364). At the same time, the researchers claim that subjects make these inferences only when the reward implies something about the job. Subjects may make inferences “only when the reward carries or is perceived to imply something about the activity, it must be offered (or be seen to be offered) as an incentive to induce the subject to perform the activity. Otherwise, subjects are likely either to make no inferences on the basis of

the size of the reward or to make inferences about factors extraneous to the activity itself (e.g., the experimenter has a big grant or is generous.)” (Freedman, Cunningham, & Krismer, 364).

Although Freedman, Cunningham and Krismer (1992) do argue that issues of inferred value play a role in how people feel about the work, they also propose that the level of arbitrary nature of the reward is a factor that may play a role. Their explanation is as follows:

Moreover, even if the reward is an incentive, if it is arbitrary or applies to all activities or is explained by some factor extraneous to that activity, it will probably imply nothing about the activity in question in comparison with other similar activities. If at a given university all subjects are paid \$5 for participating in research, they cannot infer anything about the particular study they are in on the basis of a \$5 payment (Freedman, Cunningham, & Krismer, 364).

Although some students are paid in service programs and others are not, there is a logical reason behind this discrepancy. Students who are paid must have a demonstrated need for financial assistance based on their financial aid request. From both the unpaid and paid student perspectives the payment is not arbitrary but is based on their financial aid package. Students may not have feelings of cognitive dissonance because they see the money as something that is owed to them. Paid students may feel they are entitled to the money, and therefore it has little bearing on the value of the work they do. Students may in reality be comparing themselves not to the other students in the group but to others in the university. All work study students are paid generally at the same rate. Students working with children in the

schools are paid at the same rate as someone working in food services an athletic office security building.

The reported levels of job satisfaction and praiseworthiness for all groups were reported similarly. The additional comments made from the student participants may give insight as to why this is the case. Comments like these indicate a fairly high level of satisfaction and investment in the program: "My inner-city tutoring experience has been a conduit of extensive faith deepening.", "It is honestly the highlight of my entire week.", and "I like knowing that I made a difference in the life of a child." It is possible that the scales provided could not accurately differentiate as all of the students are working with children and this could be considered a highly rewarding situation for all participants. This is particularly true when compared to other student employment options such as building security or shelving books. If the study had provided room for more extreme answers then it might have shown more variance. Furthermore, the relatively small sample size may not have had enough power to show differentiation. At the same time, Pearce (1983) lends credence to the possibility that there truly are no differences in a setting such as this where the needs of the children are apparently so great and the rewards of working with them are high.

Future Research

As with most research, there are many other factors that could have been studied. One area that was completely neglected by this study was the children and teachers served by these student service workers. There have been no major studies conducted to see the impact these students are making in the classrooms. Most of the

administrators provided anecdotal evidence supporting the higher quality of work done by paid students when compared to volunteer students. These administrators, however, were not generally watching the students at their work sites and they may have had a vested interest in emphasizing the positives of their own programs. To more accurately evaluate the worth of these programs research should be conducted including the opinions of teachers and pupils as well as other quantitative evidence for the merit of these students' work.

For the sake of brevity, few demographic or personal questions were asked of the subjects in this survey. This kind of information could have provided additional insight into the motivations of the subjects. One personal issue that became apparent was that students might experience guilt from being paid. Some of the subjects seem to indicate that was an issue for them, particularly by the comments they provided. Additionally, issues of identity-formation and social identity could be good areas of further research. It would also be useful to know the long-term impact of these kinds of programs on individuals. Does paying students to do service work in college instill in them a sense of social commitment or sense of entitlement when they would otherwise volunteer?

In conclusion, although there appears to be some benefit from being a volunteer, paid students who do community service work also maintain high levels of perceived intrinsic motivation and satisfaction. It appears that students in general are willing to take financial compensation for this type of work. It appears that the

students who feel guilty about taking the money are anomalies. At the same time there are indications that there is a threshold at which students might feel they would be getting too much money for this type of work. Furthermore, the separation of students into heterogeneous groups may be helpful but is not crucial. It would appear the Clinton administration and its opponents were both correct to some degree. Students are motivated by intrinsic rewards but as stated in subjects' comments many feel they would not be able to do this work with out some financial compensation. This information would support the idea of funding programs, at least at a minimal level. At the same time the students rejection of additional pay, would indicate that increased funding may actually be too much of a good thing.

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APPENDIX A

Script: Hello. My name is Julie De Motte and I am the Community Service Program Coordinator at Lehigh University. I am also currently working my thesis in a sociology program and I have been looking at evaluating some aspects of service programs on college campuses. I am trying to gather some more general information to help me finalize my proposal and I wanted to know if I could ask you a few questions. The information that you give me will be included in my research. I will keep the information secure and the only people who will see it are my research advisors and myself. If I use your answers in my study it will be done so anonymously. If you are not comfortable with any of the questions, feel free not to answer them.

1. Does your office run a program for reading education of children?
2. How does your institution use the federal funds allocated for community service jobs?
3. In what ways do you feel having paid students has added to your program?
4. In what ways do you feel they have detracted from your program?
5. Have you encountered any difficulties since you have started to pay students?
6. How much do you pay students?
7. Have you had students decide not to receive payment after being hired?
8. If the interviewee has indicated that there are paid and non-paid students in a program in questions 1 & 2: Are there any distinctions made between the paid and unpaid students?
9. What is the title of the students?

10. How many students do you currently have working in your program(s)?

This has been very helpful – thank you. Sometime this semester I hope to send out a survey to students who are actually participating in such programs. My intention is to send out e-mails to students directing them to a brief web-based survey.

11. Would you be willing to have your students surveyed about their experiences in service work?

Assuming yes:

12. Do all of your students have access to e-mail and the Internet?

Assuming yes:

Great. I will contact you sometime soon with more details. I really appreciate you taking this time to help me. One last question: will your school have a break during the week of March 8th? If you have any questions please feel free to call me anytime. My phone number is 610-758-5445. If you would like to speak to someone about this research you can contact Ruth Tallman in our Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at 610-758-83024. Thanks again – goodbye.

APPENDIX B

Introductory letter

Dear student,

You have been chosen to participate in a study looking at students participating in community service work. This survey is designed to look at satisfaction level of students who work with reading education for elementary school aged children. Your input will be valuable in helping us to improve service experiences for other students.

I have designed this study to be simple and easy for you to complete. The survey is a web-based form that you will be able to complete quickly and confidentially. For participating in this study we are prepared to offer you a small incentive. After completing this quick survey you will be directed to a web page where you can submit your name and address. Note that your name will not be connected to your survey responses because you will not be responding on an e-mail account. The researcher will keep all information collected secure and use it only for this study.

This study is being conducted to fulfill requirements for a Master's degree in sociology. I am required to survey only people who are 18 years of age and older. Please do not participate if you are younger than 18 years of age. If you have questions now or at any time you can contact the researcher at (610) 758-5445 or Ruth Tallman in our Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at (610) 758-3024.

Thank you for your participation and help!

Sincerely,

Julie De Motte

To participate in this study please go to the following web page on the Internet: <http://www.lehigh.edu/~jud2/survey.html>. By completing this study you are indicating that you agree with and comply with the above conditions.

APPENDIX C

Survey

Please complete the following questionnaire and push the "submit button" when you are finished. Answer each question as it pertains the service work you do with children's education or tutoring.

How important is this reward to you?

1. Doing tasks that hold my interest

Important Not important
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

2. An interesting job

Important Not important
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

3. Enjoyment of just doing work

Important Not important
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

4. A chance to make a real contribution

Important Not important
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

5. Identification with the mission of the organization

Important Not important
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

6. The chance to further the goals of the organization

Important Not important
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

My work is:

7. Unpleasant Pleasant
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

8. Interesting Boring
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

9. Good Bad
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

10. Praiseworthy Unpraiseworthy
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

11. Receiving Giving
. 1 . 2 . 3 . 4 . 5

12. What college or university do you attend? _____

13. Do you work in a program that uses only paid students, only volunteer students, or both? do not know paid volunteer both

14. Are you receiving a work study stipend or wage for your

work? do not know yes no

15. Are you receiving course credit for your work? do not know yes no

Please answer questions 16-19 only if you are paid for your work.

16. At times I am uncomfortable taking money for the work I do.

Strongly Agree Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5

17. No pay is necessary but it is a nice bonus.

Strongly Agree Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5

18. The pay level is appropriate for the work I do.

Strongly Agree Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5

19. The pay level should be higher for the work I do.

Strongly Agree Strongly Disagree

1 2 3 4 5

20. If you have comments you would like to give to the researcher, please put them here:

Click on the button to enter your data:

Submit to jud2@lehigh.edu
--

Thank you for your time and help with this project. If you would like to see a report on the finding of this study you can find them on this web site after August 1, 1999.

To receive our thank you gift go to: <http://www.lehigh.edu/~jud2/gift.html>

APPENDIX D

A few days ago we sent you a survey concerning community service and your work with reading education. Thank you to those of you who have already completed this survey. If you have not yet done this we encourage you to check out our web page at the following site: <http://www.lehigh.edu/~service/survey.html>

Your work is important to your community and your opinion is important to us!

VITA

JULIE DE MOTTE

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**END OF
TITLE**