A Social Identity Model of Prosocial Behaviors Within Nonprofit Organizations

Michael V. Tidwell

This study draws on social identity theory, while developing and testing the Social Identification Model of Prosocial Behavior among voluntary participants in nonprofit organizations. This model posits relationships between organization identification, commitment, satisfaction, and prosocial behavior among nonprofit volunteers. Path analysis results indicate successful identification of the model. Specifically, when volunteers identified with their nonprofit, they had higher levels of prosocial behaviors, commitment, and satisfaction. This study provides several important extensions to social identity theory and nonprofit literatures while highlighting the need for further research examining motivations behind prosocial behaviors within nonprofits.

OVER 1 MILLION nonprofit organizations currently operate in the United States. Reporting yearly revenues in the hundreds of billions of dollars (Greenfield, 2001; Shervish and Havens, 1999), the nonprofit sector as a whole is healthy and robust. Many of these organizations remain fiscally sound and operational through the philanthropy of those who work for or contribute financially to the organization. Indeed, recent surveys indicate that nonprofit volunteers represent "the equivalent of over 9 million fulltime employees at a value of $225 billion" while voluntarily contributing over 60 percent of nonprofit revenues (INDEPENDENT SECTOR, 2001). These types of contributions play a pivotal role in the average nonprofit's ability to remain functional (Greenberg, 2001; Organ, 1988). Given their centrality to nonprofit strategy, understanding the antecedents to these prosocial behaviors is essential.

A growing body of research has found that altruistic personality types, situational contingencies (Penner and Finkelstein, 1998; Omoto and Snyder, 1995), and volunteer role identity (Grube and Piliavin, 2000; Lee, Piliavin, and Call, 1999) are associated with prosocial behaviors. Other competing perspectives endorse moral or religious obligations as antecedents (Lam, 2002). However, these variables do not fully explain this fundamental nonprofit outcome, in part because prosocial behavior decisions may be more strategic

and functional (Clary and Snyder, 1991; Omoto and Snyder, 1995). Social identity theorists, for example, would posit that when participants feel oneness with their nonprofit and value their attachment, they work to enhance their organization through increased volunteerism and cooperation (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Batson, Ahmad, and Tsang, 2002; Becker and Dhringa, 2001; Tajfel and Turner, 1985). Participants are motivated to increasingly serve the organization because it improves the organization's image and functionality and indirectly improves their "positive social identity" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 24; Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail, 1994; Smidts, VanRiel, and Pruyn, 2001). Batson, Ahmad, and Tsang (2002) refer to these motivations as "collectivistic" and "egoistic," respectively. Indeed, strong organizational identification has been shown to increase prosocial behaviors in for-profit organizations (Mael and Ashforth, 1992; O'Reilly and Chatman, 1986) and may explain related behaviors among nonprofit volunteers—those who choose to join and participate in a nonprofit (Becker and Dhringa, 2001; Penner, 2002). However, to date, no study has used social identity theory to examine this relationship.

Strong organizational identification has been shown to increase prosocial behaviors in for-profit organizations.

This study seeks to accomplish three goals: expand the reach of social identity theory to the nonprofit sector, contribute to the theory's general empirical validation, and add applied solutions to nonprofit problems with recruitment, retention, and the satisfaction of volunteers. This last goal takes on increasing importance in an environment where nonprofits are abundant and competition for volunteers is fierce.

Literature Review

The literature governing volunteerism in nonprofits comes from various fields of study. However, most nonprofit research relevant to this study resides in the area of social psychology. It is within this discipline that social identity theory finds its home.

Social Identity Theory

Developed by Tajfel and Turner (Tajfel, 1982; Tajfel and Turner, 1985; Turner, 1982), social identity theory holds that people seek to catalogue themselves and others into social categories by memberships, affiliation, age, gender, culture, and others (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Tajfel and Turner, 1985). When considered in organizational contexts, this self-categorization process provides a way to order and compartmentalize organizational environments while defining the self in reference to the environment (Hogg, 2000; Hogg and Terry, 2000). As organizational identification develops, oneness with or belongingness to that collective is forged (Bartel, 2001; Tajfel and Turner, 1985), and out-group characteristics become more salient. The more one distinguishes the in-group from the out-group, the more that person identifies with the collective (Hogg and Terry, 2000).

Organizational identification is a highly individualized and singularly experienced process; thus, the degree to which one "achieves positive social identity" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 24) with the collective ultimately varies (Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail, 1994; Nkomo and Cox, 1996). Nevertheless, organizational identification has normalizing and homogenizing effects on behaviors and attitudes because as participants cognitively assimilate to the "in-group prototype" (Hogg and Terry, 2000, p. 123), they begin to see these outcomes as "collective enhancing" and "self-enhancing."

Social Identity Theory and Prosocial Behaviors

According to Ashforth and Mael (1989) and several others (Bartel, 2001; Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail, 1994; Mael and Ashforth, 1992), as participants develop an identification with the organization, they begin to see themselves as integral to the collective and their fates intertwined. This sense of connectedness leads to less fear of exploitation and increased trust and empathy for the collective (Kramer, 1993), making it easier to engage in prosocial behaviors (Organ, 1988). While not formally required or rewarded, prosocial behaviors are defined as any behavior performed for the benefit of the organization (Organ, 1990). These behaviors are typically performed to sustain and reify the organization (Bartel, 2001; Kramer, 1991, 1993; Turner, 1982).

As participants develop an identification with the organization, they begin to see themselves as integral to the collective and their fates intertwined.

Supporting this theorizing, Mael and Ashforth (1992) found that college alumni who are high in organizational identification frequently engaged in prosocial behaviors on behalf of their alma mater. They made financial contributions, engaged in informal recruiting, and attended school functions to support their institution. Similarly, O'Reilly and Chatman (1986) discovered corporate and student populations high in organizational identification engaged in prosocial behaviors geared toward furthering the goal and mission of their respective collectives. These behaviors included helping others and attending voluntary functions to enhance the organization's image. Given these and similar findings (Becker and Dhringa, 2001; Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail, 1994), Kramer (1993, p. 244) concluded, "People are more likely to cooperate with other members of an organization when their identification with the organization is salient."

These findings should inform nonprofit research. While many nonprofit participants choose to volunteer for their organization, in some cases treating their participation "akin to a career" (Grube and Piliavin, 2000, p. 1109), others, including some identifying as volunteers (Grube and Piliavin, 2000; Lee, Piliavin, and Call, 1999), engage in "social loafing" (Wilson, 2000). Delineating the cause of these differential outcomes is central to developing programs to boost prosocial behaviors among all nonprofit volunteers. While many scholars cite personality and situational contingencies (Penner and Finkelstein, 1998; Omoto and Snyder, 1995), social identity theory argues that a participant's organizational identification leads to increased prosocial behaviors.

Nonprofit volunteers high in organizational identification may be motivated to engage in prosocial behaviors to enhance their organization's functionality (Bartel, 2001; Kramer, 1991, 1993; Turner, 1982). As identification becomes more salient, they depersonalize (Hogg and Terry, 2000) and deemphasize self-interests in place of organizational interests, increasing the likelihood of prosocial behaviors (Kramer, 1993). Other participants may be driven by the positive social identity derived from identifying with an attractive (Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail, 1994), successful (Fisher and Wakefield, 1998), and prestigious organization (Mael and Ashforth, 1992; Smidts, VanRiel, and Pruyn, 2001). As an outgrowth of this identification, they may begin to contribute to the organization more frequently to help it maintain status, thereby indirectly achieving desirable personal ends. This supports some rational choice interpretations of prosocial behaviors like volunteering (see Govekar and Govekar, 2002, for detailed discussion) noting that participants will not engage in prosocial behaviors unless the benefits outweigh the costs. Nevertheless, regardless of personal or organizational motivations, once one self-categorizes into a particular group, as organizational identification increases, each participant's prosocial behaviors may be influenced by pressures to conform to group standards (Homans, 1950; Roethlisberger and Dickson, 1939) and reluctance to let friends down (Wilson, 2000).

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Social Identity Theory and Attitudinal Outcomes

Predicting the satisfaction and commitment levels of volunteers is essential, given the environmental constraints of most nonprofits. We define ourselves in part by our collectives. Thus, social identity theorists postulate that our attitudes and evaluative organizational judgments are natural consequences of the identification process (Bartel, 2001; Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail, 1994; Ellemers, Spears, and Doosje, 2002; Terry and Hogg, 1999). If group-related attitudes become inconsistent with the collective's prototype, the collective, in an attempt to protect the group's interests, may exert direct or indirect pressure to change the attitude (Piliavin and Callero, 1991). For example, Salancik and Pfeffer's theory of social information processing (1978) argues that group members persuade one another to alter their attitudes regarding workplace issues. Fulk (1993) and others (Rentsch, 1990) have found empirical support of this contention, noting that group membership is a powerful predictor of workplace attitudes. In other cases of incongruence, one may enter a state of cognitive dissonance and seek to reduce it by voluntarily changing the attitude. In particular, Festinger's *Cognitive Dissonance Theory* (1957) proposed that we seek balance in life by maintaining consistency in our attitudes. When two sets of cognitions become incongruent, we may seek to reduce the dissonance by voluntarily changing one. Taken in the context of organizational identification, if our attitudes are perceived to be incongruent with those of our

collective, the resultant tension may induce an attitudinal shift. Therefore, one's attitudes are enhanced and influenced by organizational identification (Bartel, 2001; Luhtanen and Crocker, 1991).

This theorizing is best explained by data suggesting that organizational identification is a strong antecedent to organizational commitment (Mael and Ashforth, 1992; O'Reilly and Chatman, 1986). Although there has been considerable debate surrounding the differentiations between commitment and identification (O'Reilly and Chatman, 1986) recent scholarship indicates that in most cases, the two constructs are differentiable (Bhattacharya, Rao, and Glynn, 1995; Mael and Ashforth, 1992) yet strongly correlated. Indeed, previous empirical investigation bears this out (Mael, 1988). For example, Van Vianen (2000) found evidence noting that participants high in person-organization fit report similar levels of organizational commitment. Hence, as a volunteer identifies with the collective, he or she is likely to maintain a concomitant level of commitment and loyalty to the organization (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Mael, 1988).

Predicting the satisfaction and commitment levels of volunteers is essential.

Many social psychologists theorize that as organizational identification increases, satisfaction with the organization likely increases as well (Festinger, 1954; Turner and others, 1987). For example, Festinger (1954) argued that people draw distinctions between group members and nonmembers, resulting in feelings of contentment with their collective. Tangentially, Bartel (2001, p. 384) discusses how social comparisons of the in-group and out-group can affect how one thinks about the organization and the "value they place on their organizational membership." Supporting such theorizing, Mael and Ashforth (1992) found a positive relationship between satisfaction and self-reported levels of organizational identification. Similar results have been found in related work (Cable and Judge, 1996; O'Reilly and Chatman, 1986).

A nonprofit volunteer's organizational satisfaction and commitment are essential to nonprofit outcomes. If participants are unsatisfied with or uncommitted to the nonprofit, much like their for-profit counterparts, they may minimize their exposure by decreasing interactions or leaving the organization (Lee, Ashford, Walsh, and Mowday, 1992; Shore and Martin, 1989). For the average nonprofit, this type of withdrawal could result in the loss of financial and human resources (Hoge, Zech, McNamara, and Donahue, 1998). As a result, predicting a volunteer's organization-centered attitudes through an easily discernable concept like organizational identification takes on increased importance for nonprofit managers. To date, there has been limited analysis of the antecedents to these attitudes within the nonprofit literature. However, Snyder and colleagues have found significant antecedents in two separate studies.

First, Snyder and Omoto (1992) found that those motivated by personal development needs such as self-esteem were more likely to maintain concomitant levels of commitment. This finding is plausible in the context of current organizational identification research.

Participants high in organizational identification are likely to remain committed to an attractive (Dutton, Dukerich, and Harquail, 1994), successful (Fisher and Wakefield, 1998), and prestigious (Mael and Ashforth, 1992; Smidts, VanRiel, and Pruyn, 2001) nonprofit because these qualities may help develop and enhance their self-esteem (Tajfel, 1982). Moreover, Snyder, Omoto, and Crain (1999) discovered a positive relationship between one's interpersonal network's support for prosocial behaviors and commitment. Since organizational identification provides a similar network of support from one's in-group, participants high in organizational identification are also likely to stay committed.

A compelling body of nonprofit scholarship has discovered empirical data suggesting prosocial behaviors are influenced by organizational commitment and satisfaction.

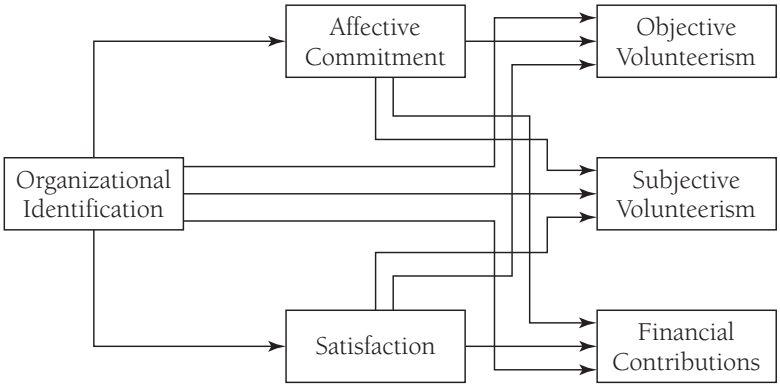
Attitudinal Correlates of Prosocial Behaviors

Although organizational identification is theorized to predict prosocial behaviors, it is not a panacea. Other correlates, some attitudinal in nature, may explain additional variance in these important organization-centered behaviors. Specifically, organizational commitment and satisfaction may have multifaceted implications for this model.

Consistent with for-profit examinations (Mathieu and Zajac, 1990; O'Reilly and Chatman, 1986; Organ and Ryan, 1995), a compelling body of nonprofit scholarship has discovered empirical data suggesting that prosocial behaviors are influenced by organizational commitment and satisfaction. For example, in a study of volunteers for the American Cancer Society, Grube and Piliavin (2000) explored the relationship between affective commitment toward the American Cancer Society and hours spent volunteering. These data, extending Penner and Finkelstein's findings (1998), suggest a positive relationship between organizational commitment and hours spent volunteering. Stated alternatively, loyalty and attachment to one's collective increase "the incidence of actions on behalf of the organization" (Penner, 2002, p. 526; Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Omoto and Snyder, 1995).

Similarly, while the relationship between satisfaction and the performance of one's formal job duties has historically rendered weak and inconsistent results (Iaffaldano and Muchinsky, 1985; Vroom, 1964), researchers have found positive results with the performance of prosocial behaviors (Puffer, 1987; Organ and Konovsky, 1989; Organ and Ryan, 1995). In the two studies to date that have examined this in the context of nonprofits, similar results emerged. Penner and Finkelstein (1998) found that satisfaction with the organization predicted length of service as a volunteer and time spent volunteering in AIDS clinics. Omoto and Snyder's examination (1995) of AIDS volunteers yielded comparable results. Although these findings are convincing and consistent with for-profit investigations, it is important to confirm these results with nonprofit volunteers who join their organization for reasons other than engaging in prosocial behaviors.

Figure 1. Hypothesized Social Identification Model of Prosocial Behavior



Delineation of the Model

Given the preceding discussion, the Social Identification Model of Prosocial Behavior among nonprofit volunteers is posited and three hypotheses are tested (see Figure 1):

HYPOTHESIS 1. *Organizational identification will be positively associated with frequency of prosocial behaviors (volunteerism and financial contributions) in nonprofit volunteers.*

HYPOTHESIS 2. *Organizational identification will be positively associated with levels of organizational commitment and organizational satisfaction in nonprofit volunteers.*

HYPOTHESIS 3. *Organizational satisfaction and organizational commitment will be positively associated with prosocial behaviors among nonprofit volunteers.*

Method

Given these hypotheses, the following methods were utilized to examine the model. Specifically, volunteers were recruited to participate in the study and original data were collected.

Sample

There were 435 volunteers of four Pacific Northwest nonprofit organizations in the potential subject pool. These organizations offer multiple services to the local community, including counseling services, soup kitchens, and clothing drives. Given the longitudinal nature of the study, two data collections took place. One hundred eighty-five surveys were returned at the first data collection. One hundred sixty-nine usable surveys were returned at the second data collection. The final response rate was 39 percent, typical for mail surveys of this kind (Penner and Finkelstein, 1998). In the sample were 94 women (55 percent) and 75 men (45 percent). The ethnic background of the

participants is as follows: 157 Anglo American (92 percent), 7 African American (4 percent), 3 Asian (2 percent), and 2 Hispanic (1 percent). Twenty-seven of the participants were between the ages of twenty-six and thirty (16 percent), forty-two between thirty-one and thirty-five years of age (25 percent), thirty-one between thirty-six and forty years of age (18 percent), twenty-four between the ages of forty-one and forty-five (14 percent), and forty-five were forty-six years of age or older (26 percent). Respondents averaged 4.6 years membership within their respective organizations. Finally, no significant nonresponse bias was found based on gender or age. Women composed 61 percent (n = 265) of the potential subject pool, and the average age was thirty-six. However, tests of the age variable were limited since only one organization kept records of participants' ages.

Many of the measures used for this study were borrowed from for-profit examinations. However, some questions were altered to accommodate the uniqueness of life within nonprofits.

Procedures

The organization's offices were contacted to request participation. They provided the names and contact information for each member. Cover sheets requesting participation and surveys were mailed to each member's home address with a self-addressed stamped return envelope. Each respondent was assured anonymity. The study was conducted over a four-week period with the organizational identification, self-reported prosocial behaviors, and demographic data collected at time 1. Since a common method variance problem can result from collecting the dependent and independent variables on the same survey from the same respondent, the commitment and satisfaction data were collected at time 2. To ensure the validity of the self-reported prosocial behaviors, prevent a percept-percept bias (a type of common method bias where the perceptions of the respondent are used to answer questions for both the independent and dependent variables), and mitigate collecting the organizational identification and prosocial behaviors data at the same time, the administrator most responsible for overseeing volunteerism was asked to report objective prosocial behaviors data for all members. This method ensured the anonymity of survey respondents and nonrespondents. All objective data were returned during weeks 2 and 3. Due to the short duration of the study, no reminder notices were mailed.

Measures

Many of the measures used for this study were borrowed from for-profit examinations. However, some questions were altered to accommodate the uniqueness of life within nonprofits. To evaluate the coherence of the adapted measures, the items were assessed on a five-point Likert scale (5 = strongly agree to 1 = strongly disagree) and reliability coefficients were computed.

Independent Variables

Organizational Identification. Mael's measure of organizational identification (1988) was adapted for this study. Participants were

asked to respond to the following statements: "When someone criticizes [organization's name], it feels like a personal insult," "I am very interested in what others think about [organization's name]," "When I talk about [organization's name] with others, I usually say *we* rather than *they*," and "[Organization's name] successes are my successes." The alpha level was .77.

Commitment. Commitment was assessed by adapting the Meyer and Allen (1984) affective commitment measure. Participants were asked to respond to the following statements: "I feel emotionally attached to [organization's name]," "[Organization's name] does not deserve my loyalty (R)," and "I would be happy to participate in [organization's name] for the rest of my life." The alpha coefficient was .87.

Satisfaction. The Brayfield and Rothe (1951) measure of satisfaction was adapted to the parameters of this study. Specifically, respondents replied to the following statements: "I feel fairly satisfied with [organization's name]," "I find real enjoyment when attending functions at [organization's name]," "I am often displeased when at [organization's name]," and "When I go to [organization's name] I feel right at home." The alpha level was .85.

Dependent Variables

Prosocial Behaviors. Prosocial behaviors were assessed using two subdimensions: volunteerism and financial contributions. Volunteerism was measured using a subjective and objective format. Respondents were asked to respond to the following statements by noting the frequency (5 = all the time, 4 = most of the time, 3 = some of the time, 2 = every now and then, 1 = seldom) to which they do the following: "I come early or stay late to help out," "If something around [organization's name] needs to get done, I volunteer," and "I do work around [organization's name] that many get paid to do in the business world." The alpha level was .96.

To verify the validity of this subjective volunteerism measure, the administrator most responsible for overseeing volunteers answered the following question for each participant on the same five-point scale: "How frequently does (participant's name) engage in organization-related volunteerism?" Cronbach's alpha noted the objective and subjective internal consistency rating was .80.

Second, financial contributions were assessed by asking, "How much of your monthly/yearly income do you voluntarily contribute to [organization's name]?" Possible responses were, 0-1 percent, 2-4 percent, 5-7 percent, 8-10 percent, 11-12 percent, or 13 percent or above. This measure is used because Mael and Ashforth (1992) and Tompkins (1986) note that contributions may be heavily affected by income. While one person may give $5,000 a year of her $100,000 income, another may give $5,000 of her $50,000 income. When using a percentage-based calculation, the former is giving 5 percent of income and the latter is contributing 10 percent. Because some

people have more to give, the percentage of their income contributed may be a more plausible assessment than actual contributions. Much like the volunteerism data, senior administrators were approached to disclose actual contributions, but no organization was willing to release members' accounting records.

Results

Descriptive statistics and intercorrelations for all variables are presented in Table 1. To evaluate the specified model, AMOS 4.01 statistical modeling software was used to conduct a path analysis. As an extension of multiple regression, path analysis is concerned with the predictive ordering of a set of variables. It yields a variety of an inferential test statistic noting the probability of correctly identifying the hypothesized model. Multiple fit indexes were computed and all noted the hypothesized model was identified (see Figure 2).

As participants identified with their nonprofit, they reported increased satisfaction (beta = .70) and commitment (beta = .55).

Hypothesis 1 was supported. This hypothesis predicted participants' organizational identification would be positively associated with their frequency of prosocial behaviors. As expected, analyses indicated organizational identification had a direct and significant relationship with financial contributions (beta = .52), subjectively measured volunteerism (beta = .19), and objectively measured volunteerism (beta = .13).

Hypothesis 2 was supported. The hypothesis posited a direct and positive relationship between organizational identification and organizational satisfaction and organizational commitment. As participants identified with their nonprofit, they reported increased satisfaction (beta = .70) and commitment (beta = .55).

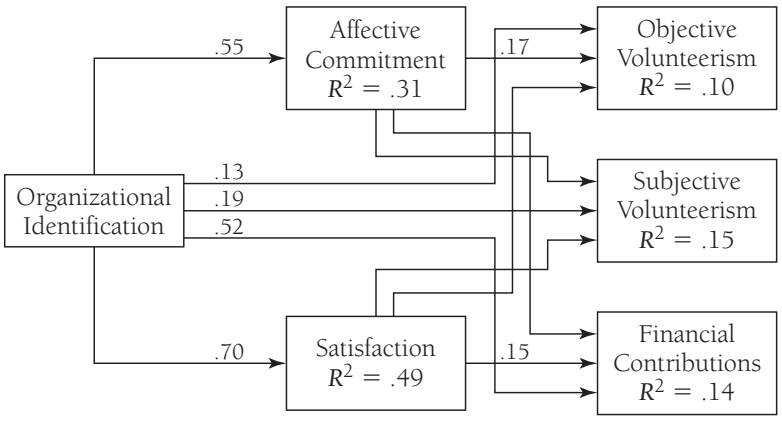
Hypothesis 3 was partially supported. This hypothesis suggested satisfaction and commitment would be positively related to engagement in prosocial behaviors. Satisfaction was significantly related to subjectively measured volunteerism (beta = .15) and objectively measured volunteerism (beta = .17) in the hypothesized direction. The relationship with financial contributions was not significant. In

Table 1. Means, Standard Deviations, and Correlations

	Mean	*SD*	*OI*	*SATIS*	*COMMIT*	*SUBVOL*	*OBJVOL*	*FINCONT*
OI	4.32	0.64						
SATIS	4.37	0.73	70**					
COMMIT	4.36	0.87	55**	73**				
SUBVOL	4.1	1.18	35**	36**	32**			
OBJVOL	4.7	1.85	28**	30**	25**	73**		
FINCONT	4.4	1.9	34**	12	05	27**	30**	
PSBTOTAL	4.27	1.2	43**	26**	19*	68**	57**	89**

Note: $N = 169$. Decimal points are omitted.
**.01 level. *.05 level.

Figure 2. Estimates of the Social Identification Model of Prosocial Behavior



addition, commitment was not a significant correlate of volunteerism or financial contributions.

Discussion

Based in social identity theory, this study developed and tested the Social Identification Model of Prosocial Behaviors among nonprofit volunteers for three primary reasons. First, this study sought to capitalize on theoretical developments in research to help broaden the nonprofit literature's theory base. Second, given the tendency for scholarship to examine social identity theory in the context of for profit organizations, testing the theory's generalizability to other settings is important in its developmental process. Finally, at a more applied level, this model was posited to help nonprofit managers better understand the attitudes and behaviors of the participants they greatly depend on but, in the absence of external controls such as promotion or pay increases, "cannot command" (Drucker, 1992, p. xv).

Overall, tests of the proposed model were consistent with predictions set forth by social identity theory and related empirical works. The results confirmed that those high in organizational identification are more likely to engage in volunteerism and contribute financially to their nonprofit. These findings offer an important extension to current models because much like altruism, those high in organizational identification may not have to be persuaded to engage in these behaviors. Consistent with previous works on nonprofit volunteerism (Wilson, 2000), these findings suggest that these participants may be motivated by a need to help their organization succeed and reluctance to let their organization down. Unlike altruism (a stable personality trait), however, the literature suggests that organizational identification may be increased when managers make consistent references to their mission, successes, and accomplishments while

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working to improve interpersonal relationships (Fisher and Wakefield, 1998; Smidts, VanRiel, and Pruyn, 2001). Knowledge of these and similar strategies gives nonprofit managers some much-needed leverage to influence organizational identification, the "key determinant" in prosocial behaviors performed for the "primary benefit of the organization" (Barr and Pawar, 1995, p. 304).

In addition, this study contributes to the nonprofit literature by assessing multiple outcomes using both objective and subjective measures. Recent scholarship indicates that many nonprofit volunteers are discriminatory when choosing a prosocial behavior. Penner and Finklestein (1998, p. 533) warned that it is "advisable to specify what aspect or facet of [prosocial behaviors] one wished to predict" because organizational participants may engage in some prosocial behaviors while abstaining from others. When assessed in the current study, the results were strong whether prosocial behaviors were assessed as one construct or separately as volunteerism and monetary giving. In fact, consistent with previous investigations (Hoge, Zech, McNamara, and Donahue, 1998), there was a strong relationship between the two variables. Future studies should examine a plethora of prosocial behaviors (such as mentoring and socializing newcomers) because "identification in organizations is neither stable or fixed" (Kramer, 1993, p. 255). That is, while identity may be highly relevant in one setting and greatly affect certain behaviors, Kramer concludes, the same identity may exert little influence in settings where salience is low. Thus, some participants may believe volunteering, not contributing financially, is part of their function as an identifying member.

Results from this study also highlight the central role of identification in feelings of organizational commitment and satisfaction among participants. Consistent with previous empirical and theoretical inquiries (Cable and Judge, 1996), those high in organizational identification were more committed to and satisfied with their nonprofit. These results were expected given the grounding provided by social identity theory and literature. Attraction-selection-attrition research (Schneider, 1987), for example, holds that people are attracted to organizations representing their central characteristics, they select to participate in those organizations, and once interests diverge, they leave those organizations. Stated more directly, a person who identifies with an organization remains committed until identification no longer exists. However, given the strong relationships between organizational identification and the attitudinal outcomes, it is possible to argue that the satisfaction and commitment data are retest results from the organizational identification responses, though recent scholarship and theory would argue that the constructs are differentiable (Adler and Adler, 1987; Bhattacharya, Rao, and Glynn, 1995; Mael and Ashforth, 1992) yet strongly correlated. Nevertheless, given the sample size, colinearity may be a factor.

Nonprofit managers should take note that in today's environment where nonprofits are copious (INDEPENDENT SECTOR, 2001), volunteers whose identification wanes can exit one nonprofit and enter another in a matter of days, making them less flexible regarding attitude change. More attention should be paid to ensuring commitment and satisfaction through organizational identification. Given current theoretical reasoning in the for-profit sector, this can be accomplished by putting procedures in place to recruit volunteers who already share the organization's vision and values. However, since it may be easier (and cheaper) to keep participants than it is to recruit new ones, more time should be spent creating an environment where identification can be sustained (Omoto and Snyder, 1995; Smidts, VanRiel, and Pruyn, 2001). Nonprofits with culturally, socially, and economically diverse climates are likely to have many divergent identifying points, so enacting an ongoing socialization program may help maintain a consistent level of identification among members, thereby keeping them apprised of organization values and norms in both informative and rhetorical ways.

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Although the data suggest no significant differences in the levels of identification based on age, gender, or ethnicity, nonprofit managers may be well served to create attractive small groups based on some affiliative or categorical criteria (for example, interests or hobbies). Identification can occur at virtually any level of analysis (Ashforth and Mael, 1989; Moreland and Levine, 2000; Moreland, Levine, and McMinn, 2001); thus, it should not be assumed that there are no alternatives to organization-level identification. One may highly identify with a subgroup within their nonprofit and confer on the group the attitudinal and behavioral outcomes noted here, thereby indirectly working to sustain the organization (Albert and Whetten, 1985).

The findings regarding the attitudinal predictors of prosocial behaviors are equally insightful. This study highlights the role that commitment to and satisfaction with a nonprofit may play in decisions to engage in prosocial behaviors. For example, although satisfied participants engage in more frequent volunteerism, they are not statistically more likely to contribute financially. This finding can be explained in two ways. First, since nearly 75 percent of this study's subjects were under the age of forty-six, they are more likely to have less disposable income (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). Contributing financially could place a strain on one's budget; thus, this behavior may not be a priority. Second, past studies have found that general attitudes are not always good predictors of specific behaviors (Ajzen and Fishbein, 1977; Kraus, 1995). Instead, general attitudes like commitment and satisfaction are better predictors of general behaviors. The measurement of specific behaviors (for example, monetary giving) may be responsible for the lack of significant findings. This is an important conclusion within the nonprofit and wider for-profit literature. When measuring the

relationship between general attitudes and behaviors, the findings substantiate the notion that using multiple acts of general behaviors may be the most appropriate avenue to discover results. When volunteering and monetary giving are combined into one measure, significant results are obtained.

Regardless of the aggregate's statistical significance, although satisfied participants are more likely to volunteer, they cannot be counted on to make financial contributions equal to their felt satisfaction. People volunteering are constantly in contact with those directly benefiting from their behavior. However, benefactors do not always see the results of their donations and should be reminded of its importance. Stressing the relevance of this behavior to the individual, the organization, and its other constituencies may influence consistent behaviors (Borgida and Campbell, 1982; O'Keefe, 2002; Prislin, 1987).

Nonprofits operating in international settings and those with largely multicultural constituencies may be fertile ground for future exploration.

Limitations and Future Research

This study's relatively small sample may have limited its statistical power to detect significant relationships. However, while this was the right population for tests of this model, future studies should look at larger and more diverse populations. Nonprofits operating in international settings and those with largely multicultural constituencies may be fertile ground for future exploration.

Second, although the attitudinal measures were obtained in a separate data collection and the volunteerism data were measured objectively and subjectively, a longer time span between data collections and additional data collections may have illuminated deeper findings. In addition, organizational identification's causality in the hypothesized model cannot be determined with the current design. Future studies may benefit from more rigorous data collection and developing more objective methods of measuring prosocial behaviors.

In conclusion, it is important to note that this is a small, preliminary attempt to study a large and complex issue. Despite these limitations, the hypothesized model makes value-added contributions to current nonprofit volunteerism models and the generalizability of social identity theory. It provides added theoretical parsimony, a vehicle to assess intrinsic and functionalistic motivations driving prosocial behaviors, and a way to evaluate multiple behavioral outcomes relevant to nonprofit strategy and prior theory. With a more detailed understanding of the identification process, managers may be able to improve their most relevant performance indicators: volunteerism and financial contributions.

MICHAEL V. TIDWELL is assistant professor of management at Truman State University, where he teaches international business and organizational behavior. His current research explores the socialization of organizational newcomers in for-profit and nonprofit organizations.

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