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PAY STATUS, WORK DESIGN, JOB SATISFACTION, AND CAREER
DEVELOPMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF PAID AND VOLUNTEER INTERNS

By

SEAN EDMUND ROGERS

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Pay Status, Work Design, Job Satisfaction, and Career Development: An Analysis of

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by SEAN EDMUND ROGERS

Dissertation Director:

Professor Adrienne E. Eaton, Ph.D.

Volunteer labor – work performed for no remuneration – represents a sizable amount of labor power generated for nonprofit, public, and private organizations in the United States. Despite the tens of millions of men and women who donate their work to employers year in and year out, and despite the billions of dollars these unpaid workers save their employers in wage expenses annually, volunteers have received scant coverage in management and organizational scholarship. As a result, many of the fundamental aspects of work that have been studied concerning paid workers remain empirically unproven for volunteers.

This study represents an attempt to bring the academic study of volunteers into the mainstream of industrial relations, human resource management, and organizational behavior scholarship. Using literature and theory from several disciplines, and utilizing the case of paid and unpaid college student interns, the pay status of work is analyzed in terms of its relationship to job design, job satisfaction, and career development. For a range of reasons predicated upon theoretical and empirical positions from the management, volunteerism, and vocational development literatures, it was predicted that

non-wage jobs would possess lower levels of work structure in terms of a job's task, knowledge, social, and contextual-related characteristics, and that unpaid workers would be less satisfied with, and report fewer career development benefits from, their work than would paid work and workers.

A series of statistical analyses performed on data collected from 168 college interns partly supported the hypotheses put forth in this study. Volunteer interns indeed reported experiencing lower levels of knowledge and social characteristics than did their paid counterparts. However, no differences were found to exist between paid and unpaid workers on task and contextual dimensions of work. Additionally, paid and unpaid interns reported similar levels of satisfaction, as well as career development benefits, from their work experience.

This study shed new light on a workforce that has existed in America since its earliest years, but that has been largely overlooked by workplace scholars. Its findings, and the discussion and debate it hopefully prompts, stand to benefit employers, communities and societies, and most importantly, the volunteer workforce itself.

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– New Brunswick, New Jersey, August 19, 2013

DEDICATION

*This volume, and the achievement and vision it represents, is dedicated to my parents,
John W. and Asuncion Rogers, my wife Carmen and son Jackson Lee Rogers, and to our
future generations.*

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INTRODUCTION

Volunteer labor – work done by individuals for organizations for no pay – is a sizable economic activity in the United States (Freeman, 1997), with nearly 63 million Americans donating 8.1 billion work hours to organizations in 2010, saving those organizations an estimated \$173 billion in wage expenses (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2011). Despite the economic impact and scope of volunteer work and workers in the U.S., unpaid labor has largely gone unnoticed by workplace scholars, and practically all industrial relations (IR), human resource management (HRM), and organizational behavior (OB) issues concerning the volunteer workforce remain a “black box.”

This dissertation attempts to bring organizational and managerial aspects of volunteer labor to the forefront, first by broadly reviewing the nature of volunteer work and the volunteer workforce and considering the organizational and managerial implications associated with using volunteers, and then by empirically testing a theory-driven framework of volunteer work and outcomes. Following this brief introduction, Chapter 1 provides a literature review of volunteer labor. To start, the various conceptualizations and definitions of volunteer labor are considered. How volunteers are distinct from employees, and different than and similar to other forms of contingent labor such as contractors and temporary workers, are also discussed. In this chapter I will also provide statistics of the volunteer workforce in the U.S., and will use Smith’s (1994) typology of volunteerism and voluntary associations to describe the determinants and characteristics of the supply of volunteer labor, including contextual, social background, personality, attitudinal, and situational factors. Next, the issue of volunteer motives, or

why individuals provide their labor power to organizations for free, will be discussed, as will the legal concerns and issues related to the use of unpaid workers. Then I will review what has been studied about volunteer labor by IR, HR, and OB scholars, with a particular focus on coverage the topic has received within several of the “top” journals from the organization sciences. After providing this review of volunteerism and the volunteer labor literature, Chapter 1 will conclude with an introduction to the case that will comprise the empirical portion of this dissertation – paid versus volunteer interns. The origins and history, statistics and demographics, and outcomes of internships will be discussed, followed by the problem statement and research questions to be addressed by this study.

Chapter 2 will develop the theoretical framework I will use to compare paid and unpaid interns. It will include a general discussion about the function of pay for work and organizations, and will then hone in on how pay status might influence internship work design and job characteristics, intern job satisfaction, and career development. Chapter 3 outlines the methodology of the empirical study, and includes details of the sample, measures, and analytic strategy to be utilized. Chapter 4 presents results from a series of statistical analyses performed on the collected data, including the correlation matrix; means comparisons of several work design dimensions, subscales, and items; multivariate regressions; and two exploratory analyses. I end this dissertation in Chapter 5 with a discussion of the findings in light of the a priori hypotheses and theory and literature, and then lay out the limitations of this study and offer concluding thoughts.

CHAPTER 1 – LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Volunteer Labor: What is it?

Definitions of volunteerism and volunteers range from the simple to the complex, and from dealing primarily with the economic nature of unpaid work to its more ideological constructions. Musick and Wilson (2008) note that economists tend to think of volunteer work as “unpaid productive labor” (p. 12), and economist Richard Freeman’s (1997) definition of volunteer labor – “work performed without monetary recompense” – for example, evidences their claim. A similarly objective approach is the so-called “net-cost” definition of volunteer labor, in which volunteerism is defined as work that costs the individuals performing it more than what they receive in the form of economic rewards (Miejs et al., 2003). The net-cost definition is closely tied to the idea of sacrifice, in the sense that individuals who provide volunteer labor are performing acts that are “un-rewarded...and of benefit to strangers” (Musick & Wilson, 2008).

Many others, including Ellis and Campbell (2005), criticize as too simplistic definitions of volunteer labor that primarily emphasize the absence of pay. They specifically argue that a more complete definition of volunteer work must integrate notions of motives, free will and choice, and social responsibility and positive social action, and they offer the following:

To volunteer is to choose to act in recognition of a need, with an attitude of social responsibility and without concern for monetary profit, going beyond one’s basic obligations. (p. 4)

The United Nations, during its “Year of the Volunteer” celebration in 2001, echoed an expanded definition of volunteer labor, characterizing volunteerism as work that is not

undertaken for financial gain, is performed by one's free will, and that brings a benefit to some third party (Dingle, 2001). Motives are also considered in many attempts to define volunteer labor. Musick and Wilson (2008) note that "volunteer work is not simply unpaid labor, but unpaid labor performed for the correct reason" (p. 17). Martin (1994) and Wuthnow (1995) stress that volunteer labor is inspired by virtues such as compassion, loyalty, and generosity, and Campbell and Wood (1999) go so far as to deny volunteer status to individuals who donate their time but are primarily motivated by self-interest.

Volunteerism has, at times, also been defined in terms of social and political activism. The National Organization of Women, for example, promoted "change-directed" volunteerism, which they distinguished from "service-oriented" volunteerism, the latter of which they derided as seeking "to complement insufficiently funded social services with non-paid labor in order to alleviate social ills" (Gold, 1979). While volunteer labor often takes place within voluntary associations, and although there is considerable overlap between membership in voluntary associations and volunteering (Musick and Wilson, 2008), Cutler and Danigelis (1993), Hooghe (2003), and several others carefully note that volunteer work and membership in a voluntary association are not the same thing. Hooghe (2003) argues that simply asking an individual's membership status in an association does not provide much conclusive information about the volunteer labor activity of that person. The reverse opinion also exists, however. For example, Smith (1994) lumped voluntary association participation and volunteer work into a single category he called "volunteer participation," arguing that the two "seem qualitatively similar" (p. 244). Volunteer work has also been likened to (e.g., Wuthnow,

1995), and contrasted with (e.g., Musick and Wilson, 2008), so-called “care work” and informal helping. Given that these forms of helping often involve kin relations and are obligatory (such as a child caring for an ailing parent), most volunteerism scholars consider such behaviors as falling outside the realm of traditional conceptualizations of volunteer labor – that is, they lack the non-obligatory, free will aspect of volunteerism.

Rodell (2013) incorporates several of the perspectives described above to provide a definition of volunteer labor that is especially useful for studying the organizational and managerial aspects of unpaid work. She defines volunteering as “giving time or skills during a planned activity for a volunteer group or organization.” Drawing on research by Clary and Snyder (1999), Penner (2002), Wilson (2000), and many others, this conceptualization acknowledges that volunteering is an active form of involvement that involves giving one’s time and skills, is planned rather than spontaneous activity, and occurs within an organizational context. These conditions apply especially well to the workforce in focus within this study – unpaid interns. As a result, Rodell’s (2013) definition of volunteer labor forms the basis for this dissertation. As a caveat, my use of this working definition assumes that the volunteer work being performed is indeed voluntary (as opposed to forced unpaid labor, or some manifestation of wage theft).

To understand volunteer work is to also consider the ways in which volunteers are similar to and different from other forms of labor, particularly paid employees. In organizational studies scholarship, paid work has typically been described as two types – standard, and nonstandard or contingent. Davis-Blake et al. (2003) describe a standard employee as one who typically works on a fixed schedule at an employer’s location, has tasks that are directed by the employer, and has an expectation of continued employment.

“All other arrangements,” they note, “including temporary, contract, and part-time work, are nonstandard” (p. 475). Matusik & Hill (1998), drawing on the Bureau of Labor Statistics’ definition of alternative work arrangements, describe the contingent workforce as including “independent contractors; individuals brought in through employment agencies; on-call or day labor; and workers on site whose services are provided by contract firms, such as outsourced technology workers” (p. 680).

Notwithstanding the myriad non-economic factors identified above in the discussion of definitions of volunteer labor, a primary difference between volunteers and employees is the issue of pay. Employees, whether full-time or part-time, get paid for their work, whereas volunteers do not. This distinction, while simple and straightforward on its face, stands to have, as will be discussed in greater detail later, profound effects on the nature of each kind of work. The place of employees within society is rather clear, even if the “thought of work,” to quote Budd (2012), can mean many things to many different people. Whether work is viewed as a disutility performed in order to supply for life’s more enjoyable pursuits, a curse to be dealt with, or the multiple other conceptualizations described by Budd (2012), paid work tends to be readily classifiable. In contrast, volunteer work’s place in society is less clear, and as Pearce (1993a) notes, it occupies a “fundamentally uncertain societal position” (p. 9). She highlights the “inherently contradictory” nature of volunteer labor, in that “It is [both] ‘work’...and a ‘leisure activity’” (p. 9). This contradiction plays out at an individual-level in the ways that volunteers think about themselves and their roles and responsibilities in donating their labor, and at an organization-level in the ways in which volunteer jobs are structured and volunteer workers are managed. These individual and organizational differences

between paid and unpaid work receive detailed treatment in Chapter 3.

Although volunteer labor arguably falls outside Davis Blake and colleagues' (2003) description of standard employment, it is typically not included as a form of nonstandard or contingent labor by scholars who study such worker types. In one of the most comprehensive reviews of research and literature on nonstandard work arrangements, Kalleberg (2000) limited his attention to the "major" kinds of nonstandard work, which he identified as "part-time work, temporary agency and contract company employment, short-term employment, contingent work, and independent contracting" (p. 342). Considering that the average number of volunteer workers in the U.S. has hovered around 60 million each year since 2001, compared to fewer than 15 million independent contractors, on-call workers, temporary help agency workers, and contract company workers *combined* in 2005 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2006), the omission of volunteers is noticeable. Even the largest of Kalleberg's categories, part-time workers, comprised only 38 million Americans in 2009 (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010), about two-thirds the number of volunteer laborers during the same period. Categorizing volunteer labor as yet another form of nonstandard work may provide entrée to a greater focus on volunteerism by organization scholars.

The Volunteer Workforce in the U.S.

Each year, the Bureau of Labor Statistics releases an annual report entitled "Volunteering in the United States." These data are collected via an annual supplement to the September Current Population Survey (CPS). Via the CPS, the Bureau surveys about 60,000 American households ages 16 and older. For purposes of identification, BLS defines volunteers as persons who performed unpaid work (except for possible

reimbursement of expenses) through or for an organization. The following statistics are from the Bureau's 2012 report, and represent data for the year ending September 2011.

64.3 million Americans ages 16 and older donated 8.1 billion work hours to organizations in 2010. Thus, the volunteer workforce in 2011 constituted about 27% of the total U.S. population. Women worked as volunteers at a greater rate than men, with about 30% of the female population volunteering in 2011, compared with 24% of males. Additionally, women volunteered at a higher rate than men across all age categories, education levels, race and ethnicity categories, marital and parental statuses, and employment and labor force participation statuses.

Individuals who were ages 35-44 (32% of the U.S. population in this age range) and 45-54 (31% of the U.S. population in this age range) were most likely to volunteer, whereas people in their early twenties (ages 20-24, 19% of the U.S. population in this age range) were least likely to volunteer. As has historically been the case, Whites (28% of the U.S. population in this group) worked as volunteers at a higher rate than did Blacks and Asians (both groups had a 20% participation rate) and Hispanics (14% of the U.S. population in this group). Also in line with historical trends, married individuals (32% of the married U.S. population) volunteered at higher rates than those who were never married (21%) or had other marital statuses (22%). Thirty-four percent of parents with children under the age of 18 worked as volunteers in 2011, compared with 24% of persons without children.

Educational attainment remained positively associated with volunteer labor activity. Ten percent of individuals with less than a high school diploma worked as a volunteer in 2011, up a percentage point from 2010, whereas 18% of high school

graduates, 30% of Associate degree holders, and 42% of Bachelors degree holders volunteered in 2011. Thirty percent of employed individuals worked as volunteers in 2011, compared with 24% of the unemployed population in the U.S. Part-time workers (33% of the population in this group) were more likely than full-time workers (29% of the population in this group) to engage in volunteer activity. Twenty-three percent of individuals not in the labor force worked as volunteers in 2011.

Across the board, volunteers donated a median of 51 hours annually, with individuals ages 65 and older giving the most annual hours (96 hours), and individuals ages 25 to 34 giving the least annual hours (32 hours). The majority of the volunteer workforce worked for one (70% of the 2011 volunteer workforce) or two (19% of the 2011 volunteer workforce) organizations. The type of organization most frequently worked at for free was religious institutions (33% of the 2011 volunteer workforce), followed by educational or youth services-related organizations (26% of the 2011 volunteer workforce), social or community service organizations (14% of the 2011 volunteer workforce), and hospitals and healthcare organizations (8% of the 2011 volunteer workforce). Older Americans were more likely to volunteer for religious institutions than were younger volunteers – for example, 45% of volunteers ages 65 and older donated their time to a religious organization, compared with 27% of volunteers ages 16 to 24. However, the donation of labor power to religious institutions decreased with higher educational attainment, an interesting finding that seems to mirror rather consistent findings by sociologists and economists of an inverse association between educational attainment and religiosity (e.g., Mukhopadhyay, 2009). Nearly half of the volunteer workforce without a high school diploma performed their free labor for a

religious organization, compared to less than a third of volunteers with a Bachelors degree or higher. Instead, volunteers with Bachelors degree and higher tended to work at educational and youth services organizations at higher rates than did volunteers with less than a high school diploma (27% and 22% of each volunteer subgroup, respectively).

As might be expected, parents with children below the age of 18 overwhelmingly worked for free primarily at educational or youth services organizations. This included 46% of mothers and 37% of fathers in the 2011 volunteer workforce. Non-parents in the 2011 volunteer workforce were more likely than parents to donate their labor to social and community service organizations, and to hospitals and healthcare organizations.

In terms of the division of volunteer labor, male volunteers mostly performed what the BLS calls “general labor” (13%), or sports coaching or refereeing (10%) and fundraising (9%). Female volunteers mostly fundraised (13%), prepared and served food (13%), and tutored (11%).

Finally, the BLS queried respondents on how they became involved with the main organization for which they volunteered. Forty-two percent indicated that they began volunteering as a result of being asked to, while another 42% proactively initiated their volunteer involvement. These figures seem to support the conclusion Freeman (1997) reached years ago – that “volunteering...is something that people feel morally obligated to do when asked, but which they would just as soon let someone else do” (p. S140). In the next section I will discuss the determinants of volunteer labor supply.

The Determinants and Characteristics of Volunteer Labor Supply

As illustrated earlier, no single or standard definition of volunteer labor exists (Gaskin, 1999). Further, a lack of segmentation among types of volunteer work presents

challenges to understanding the who, where, when, and why of volunteer labor (Bussell & Forbes, 2002). Smith (1994) noted that “Most researchers treat volunteer participation as a unidimensional variable. Researchers should examine participation by group type as well as overall” (p. 257). In one of the most comprehensive and most frequently cited reviews of volunteerism, he categorized the determinants of volunteer participation in terms of contextual, social background, personality, attitudinal, and situational factors. This section briefly reviews Smith’s (1994) findings.

Contextual factors refer to those that characterize a person’s environment. In this category, higher volunteer participation has been found among individuals living in higher economic status neighborhoods (Bell & Force, 1956), as well as smaller, rural communities (Curtis, Grabb, & Baer, 1992; Sundeen, 1992). Also, middle managers were found to be more likely to volunteer when they worked for a larger organization (Houghland & Shepard, 1985).

Regarding sociodemographic variables, Lemon, Palisi, and Jacobson (1972) suggested that volunteers tended to be individuals who reflected more dominant or socioculturally preferred social roles. Some examples of dominant statuses include being a white, middle-aged, married man; being gainfully employed in a job with high occupational prestige; having high family income and wealth; having school-age children in the household; and having a high level of education (Smith, 1994b). Multiple studies seem to confirm this “dominant status” theory, finding that the most likely volunteers are in their middle ages (Auslander & Litwin, 1988; Freeman, 1997; Hodgkinson, Weitzman, Noga, & Gorski, 1992; Palisi & Korn, 1989), have higher levels of education (Auslander & Litwin, 1988; Curtis et al., 1992; Freeman, 1997; Palisi & Korn, 1989), have higher

family income levels (Freeman, 1997; Sundeen, 1992), work in high occupational prestige jobs (Palisi & Korn, 1989), are married (Auslander & Litwin, 1988; Hodgkinson et al., 1992), have school-age children in the household (Schiff, 1990), and have resided in their local community for longer periods (Schiff, 1990).

However, mixed findings for other important individual characteristics challenge the ubiquity of the dominant status perspective. Florin, Jones, and Wandersman (1986) and Bobo and Gilliam (1990) found that nonwhites, particularly African-Americans, had higher levels of “sociopolitical” volunteer participation, whereas Freeman (1997), Hodgkinson and Weitzman (1986), and Palisi and Korn (1989) found that whites did more volunteering in general. As for gender, while some studies show that men are more likely to be volunteers (Curtis, et al., 1992; Palisi & Korn, 1989), others report that women perform more volunteer work (Hodgkinson and Weitzman, 1986; Hodgkinson et al., 1992), and yet others find gender to be insignificant (Auslander & Litwin, 1988; Berger, 1991). Employment status also presents challenges to the dominant status perspective, with some results indicating that those with fulltime regular employment were more likely to participate in volunteering (Auslander & Litwin, 1988; Bussell & Forbes, 2002; Curtis et al., 1992), and others reporting that those holding only part-time jobs participate more in volunteer activities (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1986; Hodgkinson et al., 1992).

Where descriptive categories overlap, recent volunteer demographic statistics provided by the BLS (as described above) seem to largely accord with the dominant status perspective, with a notable exception being that women were more likely to be volunteers in the BLS dataset. Both the 2011 BLS data, and the majority of empirical

studies from the dominant status perspective, find that volunteers tend to be employed full-time, White, more highly educated, and have school-age children in the household.

In the personality category, volunteer participation has been found to be higher for individuals with high efficacy, empathy, morality, emotional stability, and self-esteem (Allen & Rushton, 1983). Smith (1994) suggests that this indicates that people with a social orientation are more likely to become volunteers, noting that volunteer activity is positively associated with other forms of social participation, including friendship, church, political, recreation and sport, charitable giving, and neighborhood interaction activities. Unfortunately, however, personality variables do not abound in volunteer participation research. As Smith (1994) observed, “Personal capacities do not seem to be included in the volunteer participation literature. Probably such variables are considered too “psychological” to interest most sociologists. But because psychologists who study capacities show little interest in relating such variables to volunteer participation, nobody does it” (p. 251). Thus it seems that the intersection of personality and volunteer labor presents a rich area for future scholarship.

Attitudinal variables have also been found to be significant predictors of volunteerism. People are more likely to volunteer when they view the host organization and its mission as attractive and satisfying (Chacko, 1985) and interesting (Hodgkinson & Weitzman, 1986; Hodgkinson et al., 1992). Similarly, feeling that a group’s purpose is important and meaningful is positively related to volunteerism (Cook, 1984). Perceptions of individual benefits and costs of participation are significantly related to an individual’s decision to become, and to remain, a volunteer (Freeman, 1997; Schafer, 1979). Hodgkinson and Weitzman (1986) found that receiving services from an organization

was a significant predictor of a person's decision to volunteer with the group. Finally, Widmer (1985) argued that self-development, socially or professionally, is a primary incentive for voluntary participation, and Houghland and Christenson (1982) found that volunteers displayed higher levels of values related to patriotism, political democracy, and national progress than non-volunteers.

In terms of situational variables, already having friends who volunteer for an organization was found to lead to a greater likelihood of an individual volunteering for that organization (Houghland & Wood, 1980; Rohs, 1986), and, as mentioned earlier, being asked to participate was found to be one of the most important predictors of volunteer activity (Freeman, 1997).

Volunteer Motives: Why Would Anyone Want to Work for Free?

Scholarship concerning the reasons why people donate their labor power have tended to focus on the sociological, the political, the economic, and the psychological. Whereas psychologists tend to focus on the individual pretenses for volunteer behavior and try to uncover the primal bases from which donative behaviors flow, sociologists tend to reject the notion of individualism as the genesis of volunteering, preferring to see such activity as prompted by social determination and structural pathways. As such, sociological studies of volunteer motives often mirror the review of Smith's (1994) work above – himself a sociologist – and focus on characteristics such as gender, race, age, education, income, employment status, marital and parental status, and religion as the determinants of volunteerism. And economists and political scientists tend to approach volunteer motives as a rational response to incentives and inducements in the case of the former, or interest in and concern for particular issues that “animate political

participation” in the case of the latter (Burns et al., 2001, p. 120). In this section I will focus on volunteer motivation from the psychological perspective, as it is the domain that has received the largess of recent attention, and is the perspective that primarily informs this organizational and managerially-focused study of volunteer work and workers.

Among psychologists there seems to be but one axiom when it comes to volunteer motives – there is no clear consensus about why people work for free. Early work by Sills (1957), who studied the volunteers who worked for the National Association for Infantile Paralysis (the precursor to the modern-day March of Dimes) to fight to end polio in the U.S., characterized volunteer activity as “triggered” by “self-oriented” and “other-oriented” goals. Subsequently, several scholars have confirmed this self-versus-other characterization in their own work (e.g., Frisch and Gerrard, 1981; Hibbert, Piacentini, and Dajani, 2003; Hwang et al., 2005; Latting, 1990). It is important to note, however, that these dual categories need not be mutually exclusive - volunteers can be motivated by one or the other, or simultaneously by both (Mayer, Fraccastoro, and McNary, 2007).

Other psychologists offer a finer-grained approach. Chappell (1999), for example, argued that volunteer motives can be represented by a three-factor solution of self-interest, obligation, and altruism. Self-interest in Chappell’s model mirrored the self-orientation advanced by Sills (1957) and others, and represents a person’s desire to meet new people and make new contacts, to learn new things and exercise and develop skills, and to accomplish personal goals, among others. The obligation motive referenced not only religious beliefs, but also ties to one’s community and heritage. The altruism motive again mirrored the aforementioned two-factor notion of “others,” and refers to a desire to contribute to others or to a cause. Batson et al. (2002) proffered a four-factor explanation

of volunteer motives that includes egoism, altruism, collectivism, and principalism. Egoism and altruism in Batson's Four Motive theory mirror the self and other orientations of the two-factor theorists, and Chappell's self and altruism elements, described above. Collectivism refers to individual desires to increase the welfare of a group, particularly a group with which the volunteer identifies. For example, a former drug user's desire to work for free at a home for recovering drug addicts may be motivated, in part, by Batson's notion of collectivism. And the principalism motive represents one's desire to uphold some moral principal, such as duty or justice.

Perhaps the most widely-used instrument to measure volunteer motivation in the organization sciences is the six-factor Volunteer Functional Inventory (VFI; Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Copeland, Stukas, Haugen, and others, 1998), which, as with the above-discussed psychological perspectives, is based on functionalist theorizing of volunteer motives. Functionalist approaches to the free provision of labor operate from the notion that people engage in volunteerism when they believe it will serve one or more of their psychological needs (Snyder, Clary, and Stukas, 2000), and that the same act can fulfill different functions for different individuals (Musick and Wilson, 2008). Thus, the VFI measures volunteer motives based on six psychological needs – value actualization, learning and experience enhancement, social fulfillment, career development, psychological protection, and personal understanding and growth.

Value-based motives in the VFI refer to a desire of “people [to] remain true to an ideal conception of themselves” (Musick and Wilson, 2008, p. 57). Expressions of volunteerism as altruism are also included in this value category. In this way it mirrors the “other” aspect of the previously-discussed perspectives; however, additional VFI

functions may also include an “other” orientation as well. Enhancement refers to the desire to build and develop one’s own knowledge, skills, and experiences. Social motives reflect individual’s desires to be part of, and get along with members of, groups that are important to them. In a way, the social construct within the VFI is quite similar to the social identity and self-categorization research also conducted primarily by psychologists.

Tajfel and Turner (1986) and Turner (1987) found that individuals create and maintain positive self-image and esteem by casting themselves as members of distinct, personally important categories and groups. Tajfel and Turner (1986) also posited that people who categorize themselves into social groupings have strong preferences for groups that are based on these personally-important categories, and Stephan (1978) demonstrated that people maintain a strong preference to interact with members of their own social group rather than with members of other groups. As Musick and Wilson (2008) stress, “this [social] motivation seems to be behind a lot of volunteer activity” (p. 59).

A fourth motive of the VFI is career-related. While similar in nature to the enhancement function, the career function specifically focuses on developing work skills and contacts that will directly positively impact one’s employment situation. A fifth function – protection – “enables...[volunteers] to deal with inner conflicts, feelings of incompetence, uncertainties about social identity, emotional needs, and the like” (Musick and Wilson, 2008, p. 62). An example of this motive can be seen in the work of Chamber (1995), who studied gay men who volunteered to help people living with AIDS as a way to cope with their own fears about the disease, or in the work of Blackstone (2004) who found that many women who volunteered for the Susan G. Komen Race for the Cure Foundation did so as a way to connect with others who shared the experience of being

diagnosed with breast cancer. The final motive, understanding, has to deal with volunteer work as a means of ego-enhancement and personal growth (Snyder et al., 2000).

According to this dimension, people volunteer in order to specifically enhance their self-esteem and self-confidence.

The VFI with its six-factor solution of volunteer motives, and other multidimensional explanations, were developed in response to criticisms that historical conceptualizations of volunteer motivation lacked formality and structure, and that they were simply ad hoc and ill-arranged lists. However, not all psychologists agree that volunteer motives can be boiled down to nice and neat clusters. Okun and colleagues (1998) vociferously contend that any attempt to categorize volunteer motives, or to find some latent factor structure, is misguided. Instead, they argue, volunteer activity can be traced to specific individual goals, the list of which is infinite. Although the VFI is arguably the most popular explanatory tool for volunteer motives, other factor-based and non-factor-based approaches continue to permeate the psychological literature, and that reality is not likely to change anytime soon.

Legal Considerations of Volunteer Labor

Unpaid labor opens the door to a seemingly unending range of legal and regulatory issues, the entirety of which cannot be addressed in the space of this dissertation. Some of the more encountered organizational concerns include the dividing line between employees and volunteers and other worker forms, a host organization's level of responsibility for the actions of volunteer workers, and liability and insurance for volunteers. These are briefly discussed in turn below.

In nonprofit organizations, where volunteer labor is most often found, Cilenti et

al. (2007) note that several categories of “workers” can be found working at once, including “employees, volunteers, interns, trainees, program participants receiving an incentive stipend, and independent contractors” (p. 4). The federal Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), and federal and state tax laws, provide some guidance as to which workers fall into which of these categories; however, the regulatory lines of demarcation surrounding volunteers can be characterized as blurry at best. Cilenti et al. (2007) proffer a legal definition of volunteer that includes both the economic (e.g., Freeman, 1997) and expanded (e.g., Dingle, 2001) characterizations mentioned earlier. They describe a volunteer as a person who “freely performs services” “without compensation or expectation of compensation” (p. 7). While volunteers cannot be paid or expect to be paid for their work under U.S. law, the FLSA *does* allow for volunteers to be reimbursed for out-of-pocket expenses that are incurred in the course of performing free work, such as the cost of meals or transportation. This allowance muddies the distinction between employee and volunteer as Cilenti et al. (2007) notes that: “Neither federal nor state law defines at what point – or dollar amount – the payment of expenses to a volunteer...will cross the line between volunteer and employee” (p. 8).

Another issue is that of to what extent organizations employing volunteer labor are responsible for the actions of volunteers. The legal doctrine of *respondeat superior* (“master is responsible”; the word “master” here makes reference to the statutory definition of an employment relationship in U.S. law, which is defined, in part, in master-servant terms) makes clear a work organization’s liability for employee actions – employers are generally held liable for injurious and negligent action on the part of their employees (Manley, 1978). However, historically in the U.S., the doctrine of “charitable

immunity” shielded certain organizations from being liable for the actions of volunteers working at the organization. The logic behind the court’s use of charitable immunity was that organizations (charities, in particular) “would face financial ruin if they were held liable for the actions of their numerous volunteers and would generally be discouraged from using volunteers” (Cilenti et al., 2007, p. 47). In the 1960s and the 1970s, in response to multiple cases involving actions by volunteers, various states began doing away with charitable immunity, instead applying the doctrine of *respondeat superior* to volunteers and their host organizations. In cases such as *Chavez v. Sprague* (1962), *State v. Tug Go-Getter* (1969), and *Baxter v. Morningside* (1974), the courts concluded that the absence of pay and a traditional employer-employee relationship does not absolve organizations from being responsible for the activities of individuals working on its behalf. Thus, contemporary organizations who engage the work of volunteers must remain mindful of volunteer behavior the same way they do for employees.

Another issue related to liability is what level of responsibility employers have for volunteers’ workplace safety and well-being. Worker’s compensation – coverage for paid employees who injure themselves at work – is generally not available to volunteers since volunteers do not receive wages. As such, many organizations employing volunteers purchase insurance products commonly referred to as “volunteer accident insurance” that will cover all or a portion of medical expenses related to on-the-job volunteer injuries (Cilenti et al., 2007).

Coverage of Volunteer Labor in the IR, HR, and OB Literatures

The great majority of scholarship on volunteer labor that relates to organizational and managerial issues appears in journals from the disciplines of social work and

nonprofit management, such as *Administration in Social Work* and *Journal of Social Service Research*, and *Nonprofit Management and Leadership* and *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. There is also a large amount of literature on volunteers in sociology, economics, and law journals, with these works tending to focus on the phenomenon of volunteering itself from each disciplinary perspective (such as the demographic determinants of volunteers in the case of sociology and economics, or the statutory distinctions between employees and volunteers in the case of law). What literature that does exist in the organization sciences is mostly concentrated in psychology journals, and mostly deals with the issue of volunteer motives, as discussed above.

In this section, I review management-related coverage of volunteer labor in the fields of industrial relations (IR), human resources (HR), and organizational behavior (OB) by conducting a targeted search of the “top” journals in these disciplines – that is, those journals with the highest number of citations as rated by their 5-year impact factor, year-ending 2011. I identified these journals and their 5-year impact factors via the Web of Science Journal Citation Reports (JCR) database, published by Thomson Reuters. The JCR categorizes journals by subject matter, and has a stand-alone category for “industrial relations & labor,” and a more general category of management, the latter of which contains journals in the domain of HR and OB. I included a journal in the volunteer literature search if its 5-year impact factor was 1.0 or higher. From the IR category of JCR, this resulted in the inclusion of eight journals. In the broader management category, after journals that were less applicable to the fields of HR and OB were excluded (e.g., *MIS Quarterly* and *Journal of Product Innovation and Management*), 25 journals were

identified. Thus, my search included 33 journals in the disciplines of IR, HR, and OB. Figure 1 below lists these journals, as well as the number of articles on volunteers appearing in each. Those categorized by JCR under the “industrial relations & labor” heading are marked with “(IR)” in parenthesis. All others were categorized by JCR as “management,” and pertain to HR, OB, or both.

Insert Table 1 about here

Pertinent articles in each of the 33 journals were located via a Web of Science database search using the wildcard search term “volunteer*,” designed to capture the variants volunteer, volunteers, volunteering, volunteerism, and any others. Each journal was queried individually; therefore, 33 separate searches were conducted. The publication timespan was set to “All Years,” meaning that the search engine returned all existing records up to the present.

This search process yielded 65 articles on volunteers across the 33 IR, HR, and OB journals. More than 20 of the articles, while containing variants of the search term volunteer within the text, referred to military members in a volunteer-service context or volunteering for a special duty assignment, or student “volunteers” as participants in study experiments. Thus, these were not applicable for this analysis.

Many other articles were not about volunteer labor or the volunteer workforce as has been described in the sections above, but rather concerned the organizational citizenship behavior (OCB) of standard employees. For example, Leana et al. (1992) in the *Academy of Management Journal* examined the attitudes and perceptions toward

work and union of employees who volunteered to participate in a company-sponsored employee involvement program, while Drago et al. (2009) in the *British Journal of Industrial Relations* examined Australian workers who worked more than 50 hours per week, categorizing those who prefer long hours as “volunteers” and those who do not as “conscripts,” and explored the underlying factors that led to hours worked for each group.

Similarly, several other articles focused on *employee* volunteerism as a form of corporate social responsibility (CSR). For example, Muthiri et al. (2009) in the *British Journal of Management* linked employee volunteering to firm social capital creation and community reputation. And Booth et al. (2009) in *Human Resource Management* used a gift-exchange perspective to link employer-supported volunteering benefits, such as recognition or paid time off to perform volunteerism, to the number of hours employees volunteered on their employer’s behalf. As scholarly interest in CSR and business ethics continues to grow – in particular, the more the “business case” for CSR gains traction through empirical validation – it is foreseeable that employee volunteerism research of this sort will gain in prevalence.

Twenty-one of the articles consider volunteer labor in a more traditional sense, with two taking an organization or sectoral-level focus, and the others focusing on individual volunteer concerns. At a macro level, Galaskiewicz et al. (2006) in *Administrative Science Quarterly* examined the effect of nonprofit organizations’ network tie structure on organizational growth, and found differing results for “donative” nonprofits, which relied heavily on contributions and volunteer labor, and “commercial” nonprofits, which relied more on fees and paid employees. In *Organization Science*, Wilderom and Miner (1991) proposed replacing the nonvoluntary/voluntary

dichotomization of organizations with a five-pronged typology – nonvoluntary organizations, they argued, could be classified as either entrepreneurial, professional, or bureaucratic, while voluntary organizations could be referred to as voluntary groups (consisting only of volunteers) or voluntary associations (consisting of volunteers and paid staff).

The 19 individual-focused articles covered several themes, the largest of which was motives for volunteering and the determinants of volunteer labor supply. Murnighan et al. (1993) in *Administrative Science Quarterly* conducted experiments among undergraduate and MBA students and working executives, and found that members of all three groups generally were willing to volunteer when the perceived benefits of volunteering was high. Harrison (1995) in the *Journal of Applied Psychology* framed episodic volunteerism as a form of (work) attendance motivation, and tested an expanded decision-making theory of attendance motivation created specifically for the volunteerism context against several existing theories. Across one panel and two cross-sectional replication studies he found that the expanded theory explained attendance, mainly because it included a moral obligation component. Freeman (1997) in the *Journal of Labor Economics* analyzed several national datasets from the U.S. and Canada to highlight that volunteers tends to have high skills and opportunity costs of time, and that being asked to volunteer is a primary predictor of volunteer activity. Farmer and Fedor (2001) in the *Journal of Management* confirmed a net-cost explanation of motivation, finding that healthcare executives' volunteering activities for a national health care advocacy organization was highest when the perceived demands from the volunteer role did not exceed individual's desired level of contribution. Boezeman and Ellemers (2009)

in the *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* found among a sample of 105 volunteers that intrinsic need satisfaction, in particular satisfaction of autonomy and relatedness needs, was positively related to a volunteer's intent to remain with their volunteer organization. Using 201 respondents from the Buffalo (NY) United Way, Puffer and Meindl (1992) in the *Journal of Organizational Behavior* found that volunteer workers were happiest (had higher levels of positive affect) when they were given rewards they valued, but that volunteer workers performed best when the organization provided them rewards that reinforced organizational goals, even if those rewards were not the most desired by volunteers.

Additional volunteer themes that appeared in IR, HR, and OB scholarship included the gendered nature of volunteer work, volunteer labor as a pathway to paid employment and as a career-development mechanism, turnover, organizational socialization, personality, volunteers' impact on those they serve, role conflict in volunteer management, recruitment and selection, organizational commitment, and volunteer performance. Kosny and MacEachen (2010) in *Gender, Work and Organization* argued based on qualitative data collected from several Canadian nonprofits that women's volunteer work in that sector was often undervalued and invisible. They identified three forms that characterized the work done by the women they studied – “background work,” which facilitated and supported the more front-stage visible work; “empathy work,” which included the relational aspects of social service delivery; and “emotional labor,” which included managing both their own and client's emotions. Women volunteers who engage in these invisible and taken-for-granted organizational activities, they argued, are overexposed to work environments that place them at

increased health and safety risks, yet given the nature and invisibility of the work are oftentimes outside the very occupational health and safety systems designed to protect workers. Tomlinson (2010) in *Gender, Work and Organization* described how voluntary work serves as a pathway to paid employment for refugee women in the UK, and Smith (2010) in *Human Relations* draws upon recent research to describe the ways in which work performed outside formal job structures, including unpaid work, can serve as a mechanism for enhancing one's employability.

In terms of volunteer turnover, Willems et al. (2012) in *Human Relations* uses the VFI framework to test whether the motives for staying and volunteering are different from those that cause volunteers to quit. Based on qualitative data collected from volunteers in a scouting association in Belgium (similar in nature to the Boy Scouts of America), they found that additional factors other than a lack of motive fulfillment influence volunteer's decision to quit. Also in *Human Relations*, Miller et al. (1990) found support for a causal sequential model of volunteer turnover, whereby work attitudes and elements of one's personal situation affected turnover intentions, which then related to turnover. Convenience of work schedule also had a direct effect on volunteer turnover in their analysis.

Two articles assessed the role of organizational socialization on volunteer outcomes. Haski-Leventhal and Bargal (2008) in *Human Relations* presented the Volunteering Stages and Transitions Model (VSTM) based on ethnographically-collected data from volunteers who worked with at-risk Israeli youth. They outlined a five-stage process of volunteer socialization – nominee, newcomer, emotional involvement, established volunteering, and retiring – and described the volunteers' experiences within

each stage. In the *International Journal of Human Resource Management*, Fee and Gray (2011) used longitudinal data collected from individuals participating in international volunteering assignments to describe the ways in which international volunteering experiences can accelerate the acquisition of global skills and capabilities. They frame this as a possible way for firms to prepare employees for expatriate assignments.

Neubert and colleagues (2006) considered the role of personality among a sample of 284 volunteers in a *Human Relations* article, finding that conscientiousness and extraversion was positively related to the selling of memberships among association volunteers. Caldwell et al. (2008) also considered the volunteer performance aspect in a *Journal of Organizational Behavior* article, finding that older age was generally associated with greater individual and team in-role performance. Their study was comprised of 458 volunteers within 74 teams of a large nonprofit. Ronel (2006) in *Human Relations* examined the impact of volunteer activity on organizational clients – the consumers of volunteers’ contributions. Based on analysis of qualitative data from encounters between at-risk “street youths” and volunteers in a mobile outreach service, Ronel found that when service recipients view volunteers’ motives as altruistic, several positive psychological processes ensued – the youth became aware of the notion of giving without the expectation of a reward, were encouraged to volunteer themselves, and were able to see social service provision from an altruistic frame as opposed to viewing it as something run by the establishment.

The final articles to be covered in this section deal with role conflict in volunteer management, volunteer organizational commitment, and volunteer recruitment and selection. Valcour (2002) in *Human Relations* conducted an ethnographic study of parent

cooperative nursery schools to examine the ways in which managers resolved role conflict in a multiplex role system – in this particular case, a system where the teachers in the nursery were both service providers to, and managers of, parent volunteers at the nursery – and found that the most effective teachers were able to capitalize on relationships with parent volunteers as well as knowledge about volunteer role expectations and capabilities. Boezeman and Ellemers (2007) reported findings in the *Journal of Applied Psychology* from two studies on the impact of pride and respect on volunteer commitment. Using samples of volunteer fundraisers, their first study demonstrated that pride and respect was positively related to intention to remain, mediated by organizational commitment, while their second study showed that perceived importance of volunteer tasks was related to pride, perceived organizational support was related to experienced respect, and that pride and respect both mediated the relationships between perceived importance and organizational support and organizational commitment. Boezeman and Ellemers (2008) extended this line of work to consider the role of anticipated organizational support and respect on volunteer recruitment in another *Journal of Applied Psychology* article, and found via three experiments that higher levels of both increase the willingness of non-volunteers to become volunteers for an organization. Lynch and Smith (2009) in *Personnel Review* provided additional evidence in support of the role of volunteer perceptions of an organization for recruitment and selection. Based on qualitative data from 12 heritage sector nonprofit organizations, they noted that a lack of formality and organizational allocation of resources during the recruitment and selection process can undermine volunteer staffing efforts.

Taken together, this section provides an overview of IR, HR, and OB research

concerning the management of volunteer labor and the volunteer workforce.

Volunteerism has received relatively little theoretical and empirical attention in the mainstream journals in each of these fields, despite it being a sizable economic activity in the U.S. (Freeman, 1997). My search of the 33 most-cited journals representing these academic disciplines turned up a grand total of 21 articles on volunteer labor, defined in the classic sense. While these 21 articles covered a range of topics – from turnover to recruitment and selection to performance to gender issues – in most cases a single or couple of articles provided the entire scientific knowledge base for each. Thus, this group of articles represents but the “tip of the spear” of potential research on volunteers.

A Volunteer Labor Research Agenda: Possibilities at the Intersection of Volunteerism, Management, and Internship Literature

An exhaustive list of future research topics on volunteers is beyond the goals and perhaps capabilities of this dissertation. Whatever directions are taken by scholars, however, should consider integrating multiple literatures and research perspectives. Examinations of volunteers on work-related issues from a single perspective are likely to leave holes in theory and analysis, or result in the omission of important or meaningful questions. This is because most IR/HR/OB scholars are not applying mainstream management frameworks to the study of volunteers, and volunteer scholars are largely not exploring workplace and worker-related issues when they study volunteers. As noted earlier, Smith (1994), himself a sociologist, criticized the volunteer literature’s lack of attention to the “psychological” aspects of volunteer workers and work. In addition to the volunteerism and management literatures, the integration of other related literatures can be especially useful if an examination of volunteers applies to specific types of volunteers

or industries and sectors. Such is the approach taken in this dissertation, which uses a sample of paid and unpaid interns to better understand work-related differences among volunteers and paid workers. In this paper I integrate the internship literature, in addition to the volunteerism and management literatures, to expand knowledge about the volunteer workforce.

Given the dearth of work-related volunteer research (as evidenced by the only 21 management articles described above), there is almost a full shelf of topics to choose from when exploring volunteer labor. In this dissertation I set out to identify topics (and thus variables) for study that were well-established and well-researched in workplace research, but that were understudied for volunteers. One such topic, which has dominated American workplace research for the past hundred years, and has been written about by scholars globally since at least the 18th-century, is the design of work, and the impact of job design on worker outcomes. Scholars have long considered the consequences of work structure on individuals and organizations. From writings about the division of labor (Smith, 1776); to Max Weber's (2009) treatment on bureaucracy; to Frederick Winslow Taylor's (1911) emphasis on scientific management; to Elton Mayo (1990) and the Human Relations laboratory at Harvard University in the 1930s; to the studies on motivation by Vroom (1964), Porter and Lawler (1968), and Hackman and Oldham (1975) that blossomed from the 1950s to the 1970s and continue until the present day, volumes of examinations of work design have been carried out.

Despite the attention the topic of work design has received, all of it has focused on the jobs of paid workers, and none of it focuses specifically on volunteers. As such, one of the most examined variables in the study of work has not been applied to a

workforce that numbers approximately 64 million Americans annually. Thus, I set out to apply longstanding knowledge about the job design of paid work, and its impact on paid employees, to unpaid work and workers. To do so, I rely upon thinking and research from the traditional management, as well as the volunteerism, domains to create theoretical frameworks and to help spur ideas about potential relationships and outcomes. Because the sample I use to test these ideas and hypothesized relationships is composed of college student interns, I also triangulate my theoretical development by integrating the growing body of scholarship that has been specifically devoted to studying interns.

This focus on the work design of volunteer labor and its outcomes – specifically by comparing it to that of paid work and workers, and using a sample of paid and unpaid college student interns – forms the basis of the empirical portion of this dissertation, and is now described in detail.

Introduction to the Empirical Study: The Case of Volunteer Interns

Each year, U.S. organizations employ up to an estimated 2 million college students as interns (Perlin, 2011). About half of the intern workforce works for at least a minimum wage, while the other half works for free as volunteers (Gardner, 2010). For work organizations, internships function as a cost-effective talent screening and recruiting tool (Coco, 2000; Gerken et al., 2012) and a way to bring novel and up-to-date knowledge and skills to the workplace (Degraev et al., 2012). From a student perspective, internships provide students with enhanced career development and preparation, relevant work experience, and greater networking opportunities, among other benefits (Gerken et al., 2012).

Notably missing from most prior research on internship experiences and outcomes

are deep analyses of differences between paid and unpaid interns.¹ Given the growing popularity of and participation in internships, this omission represents a glaring gap in theory and understanding about a substantial and burgeoning segment of the American working population. Across the board, it largely remains unknown whether volunteer interns are the same or different from their paid counterparts in terms of work attitudes, behaviors, and experiences during an internship, and whether any potential differences result in internships having varying influence on an intern's career development and future employment outcomes. As Michigan State University College Employment Research Institute director Phil Gardner notes in Ross Perlin's (2011) book *Intern Nation*, "Right now the research capacity in this area is dismal" (p. 26). And Kirsten Holmes (2006), who studies museum and arts management, a sector in which pre-employment student internships is more norm than exception, concluded that "volunteering for work experience...has largely been ignored by previous studies" (p. 240).

The need to address the distinction between paid and unpaid internships will likely move front and center as organizations increasingly look to unpaid internships as a cost-effective way to control the operating expenses associated with participating in internship programs. Perlin (2011) points to several recent studies showing that unpaid internships in the U.S. continue to grow at the expense of paid ones. For example, the percentage of paid radio industry internships dropped from 81% in 1976 to only 32% by 1991, and in the television business the drop was from 57% to 21% during the same period. A 2010 Intern Bridge report (Gardner, 2010) highlights several occupational

¹ One notable exception is the work of D'Abate and colleagues (2009) in *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, which found that the correlation between pay status and internship satisfaction was negative (such that unpaid interns are less satisfied), but not statistically significant. This paper is discussed in greater detail later.

fields, including law enforcement and game design, where the percentage of paid internships is borderline single digits. Coupled with these trends is an increasingly dissatisfied and vocal unpaid intern workforce. Scores of past unpaid and low-paid interns are now expressing feelings of being exploited by employers (Gerken et al., 2012), and websites like “www.unpaidintern.com,” managed by New York City law firm Outten & Golden LLP, provide disgruntled interns class-action legal recourse against employers they believe illegally took advantage of their free labor. Despite the potential drawbacks of internships, many argue that internships are a win-win situation for both students and organizations (Knemeyer & Murphy, 2002), and some even argue that they should become a standard and required component of academic programs (e.g., Hildebeitel et al., 2000).

All this suggests an opportunity to better understand differences between paid and unpaid labor generally by specifically exploring potential differences between paid and unpaid interns. By definition, unpaid interns are volunteers, even though their motivations for donating their time and service may be different than that of other volunteers.² As such, the volunteer literature reviewed above and further elaborated in Chapter 2 suggests potential differences between the experiences and outcomes of paid versus unpaid (or volunteer) interns. This study capitalizes on the opportunity to understand volunteer labor through the lens of interns by first providing a literature review on internships and interns, and then by exploring several potential relationships between pay status and intern experiences and outcomes.

² As was discussed in the section on volunteer motives, one motivation for volunteering includes career, and another is developmental. It is likely that these motives underlie unpaid intern motives more so than, say altruistic, motives.

Origins and History of Internships

Taylor (1988) defined internships as “structured and career-relevant work experiences obtained by [college] students prior to graduation from an academic program” (p. 393). Currently, the labels “internship” and “cooperative education” are the two most frequently used in the U.S. to describe relevant pre-graduation work experiences (Gault et al., 2010), although others including “experiential learning,” “practicum,” and “clinical” are among the typical nomenclature, especially in higher education settings (Freudenberg et al., 2010).³

While the first formal interns in the U.S. were medical students (Perlin, 2011), the conceptual origin of the practice traces its roots to the customs of Medieval craft guilds (Sides & Mrvica, 2007), and to even earlier civilizations. In the 18th century BCE, Babylon’s *Code of Hammurabi* outlined rules by which artisans would pass down their skills to younger citizens, and later in Rome skilled workers formed “independent collegia” as a means of codifying worker standards, including training. During the Middle Ages, skilled craftsmen imparted trade expertise to novices through formalized stages of training and development, with learners spending years as apprentices and then

³ The term “Service Learning” is often part of the higher education experience and can even be a formal curricular requirement for certain degrees; however, it tends to serve a different purpose than internships. Service learning is described in the literature as the combination of community service and academic study. Whereas internships and co-ops are designed to provide students with career-relevant work experiences, the goal of service learning is to create a more “holistic” educational experience by integrating social action and community service into the educational process (Eyler et al., 1997; Bringle & Hatcher, 1996). According to the National Service Learning Clearinghouse (<http://www.servicelearning.org/slice>), service learning can begin as early as Kindergarten, and federal grants funds to support service-learning activities were formalized through The Community Service Act of 1990, suggesting more of a service, rather than career, orientation. Of course, overlap might well exist if one’s field of academic study largely overlaps with community service, such as philanthropic studies, nonprofit management, or social work.

journeymen, before earning status as a master craftsman and full-fledged membership in a guild. The apprenticeship years of this multi-year process were typically worked for in exchange for room and board, but no wages (Perlin, 2011).

U.S. interns appear in written record as early as 1865, when their activities were mentioned as part of a report to the trustees of Boston City Hospital (Stevens, 1978). Stevens (1978) noted that during this period, American hospitals began using the term “medical interne” to describe junior “house staff” who had been classically trained in medical schools, but who were not yet qualified to be permanent resident physicians (p. 2). Because, according to Stevens (1978), the early years of medical internships were “often unsupervised” (p. 5), critics argued that hospitals were simply exploiting the new medical graduates as “exhausting, cheap labor” (Perlin, 2011, p. 31). Perlin (2011) notes that Mayo clinic founder William Mayo once wrote: “medical interns seem to spend their days in permanent yessir-ing, in being flunkies for the permanent staff” (p. 31). Despite the criticisms, medical interning continues to the present day, albeit in forms much more formalized than 19th-century routines. There are currently more than 200,000 medical residents in the U.S., and many are still referred to as interns during their first resident year (Perlin, 2011).

Alongside the development of medical education, university-based “experiential learning” in business, public service, and other vocational fields grew in popularity by the turn of the 20th century (Keller, 2012). Hurst and Good (2010) documented that “the first academic internship programme in the United States was implemented in the Accounting Department at the University of Cincinnati in 1906” (p. 175). From the 1950s to the 1980s, collegiate cooperative education (co-op) programs – education experiences where

classroom instruction and paid discipline-related work are alternated (Cates & Cedercreutz, 2008) – boomed from 60 programs in 1956 to over 1,000 by 1986 (Howard, 2004). In the political realm, Perlin (2011) chronicles the 1946 Legislative Reorganization Act, which “equipped lawmakers and congressional committees with large staffs of experts for the first time,” as leading the way for an internship explosion that took root in the 1940s and 1950s, and which continues to present day. The prospect of doing an internship on “Capitol Hill” seems to be a popular one among college students, especially those of political science and government, and those attending universities in and around the District of Columbia. D’Abate and colleagues (2009) noted that a 2000 Vault.com survey of college seniors found that over three-fourths had completed at least one internship before graduation, up from the 3% participation rate in 1980. Today, across the range of academic and vocational disciplines, it is estimated that up to 2 million students work as interns each year in the U.S. (Perlin, 2011).

The Outcomes of Internships for Students and Employers

The tone of the majority of academic scholarship on this topic suggests that internships yield positive benefits for students. Hurst and Good (2010) contend that “Internship programmes have long been regarded as an important addition to undergraduate education, and they play a fundamental role in preparing students for their future careers” (p. 176). And Gerken and colleagues (2012) note the following: “These real-world experiences are an integral component of an academic program and provide students with the opportunity to develop not only work skills but also an understanding of the workplace” (p. 8).

Gerken and colleagues (2012) content-analyzed 66 empirical and non-empirical

articles on internships written between 1988 and 2010 which they located by searching 19 intern and internship-related search terms in the EBSCO, Web of Science, ScienceDirect, and Emerald Insight databases. Based on their results, they reported that internships primarily provide students with enhanced career preparation, but also results in increased job satisfaction in initial post-graduation job placement; developed communication and other job-related skills; more, sooner, and higher-quality initial job offers; stronger and more attractive resumes; greater networking opportunities; and obtaining relevant working experience. After surveying 281 paid and unpaid students at a northeastern U.S. college, D'Abate and her colleagues (2010) found that, once employed, interns tended to be promoted faster, have greater organizational commitment, and be more satisfied with their vocational choices. Cook and her colleagues (2004) surveyed participants in an ongoing paid internship program from 1992 to 2002 and found that 89% of students viewed their internship as a valuable experience, with most students consistently reporting their internship having a positive impact on their social skills, maturity, ability to better understand what they have learned in class, confidence in finding work after graduation, and ability to make career choices. Internships also help to focus students' future career choices (Cook et al., 2004) and crystallize their vocational self-concept (Brooks et al., 1995; Taylor, 1988).⁴

⁴ Vocational self-concept crystallization is defined as the “degree of clarity and certainty of self-perception with respect to vocationally relevant attitudes, values, interests, needs and abilities” (Weng & McElroy, 2010, p. 235). Self-concept theory was first introduced to vocational and counseling psychology by Donald Super in the 1950s, and has since been used extensively by career researchers to understand individual career and job decision-making and outcomes. Within internship research, many authors (e.g., Hall, 1976) have advanced the notion that internships play an important role in helping young adults flesh out their work-related attitudes and values, and as such have argued that effectively-designed internships function to crystallize a person's vocational self-concept.

Knouse and colleagues (1999) argued that internships function effectively as a realistic job preview (RJP) mechanism, and Atkins (1980) found that working nurses who had held internships during school had higher job satisfaction and lower turnover rates. Considering that internships contribute to the development of a student's marketable skills, self-confidence, self-motivation, self-esteem, and self-efficacy (Braswell, 2000; DeLorenzo, 2000; Fletcher, 1990; Hurst & Good, 2010; Pedro, 1984), Keller (2012) argues that internship and classroom experiences are a "powerful combination...for creating a more fully developed and well-rounded student" (p. 27).

Notwithstanding the rich literature documenting the benefits of internships for students, recently, scholars have begun to also highlight their drawbacks (Gerken et al., 2012). Especially among unpaid interns and those receiving very low wages, students have expressed feelings of being exploited by employers (Gerken et al., 2012; Perlin, 2011). Rolston and Herrera (2000), who conduct research on the music business, argue that "As long as internships are perceived as the best way into the job market, the music industry will take advantage of the free labor" (p. 28). Many interns also report that their experiences do not live up to the potential of providing meaningful career preparation because of a lack of clear learning objectives during the internship experience (Narayanan et al., 2010).

Hurst and Good (2010) noted that employers, in addition to students, benefit from the "valuable experiences" of internships (p. 176), and according to Verney and colleagues (2009), employers are key "benefactors" of internships. This supposition is suggested by the finding from a 2010 survey by the National Association of Colleges and

This construct, vocational self-concept, comprises an outcome variable in the empirical study below, and will be described in further detail in Chapter 3.

Employers (NACE) that over 85% of employers participated in some form of internship or co-op program. An earlier NACE study tracked the rate at which firms hired their own interns, and in 2008 employers made job offers to 70% of interns, up from 57% in 2001 (NACE, 2008).

Researchers most frequently identify talent screening as a reason for employer participation in internship and similar experiential learning programs (Gerken et al., 2012). Organizations view internships as a valuable recruiting tool (Coco, 2000), as they offer opportunities both to preview potential workers relatively cheaply, and to proactively recruit those interns who perform well (Beckett, 2006; Divine et al., 2008; Hurst & Good, 2010; Keller, 2012; Rothman & Lampe, 2010; Weible, 2009). Internships also provide employers with indirect recruitment benefits because students who have positive intern experiences often recommend internship and job opportunities at the firm to other students at their university and throughout their social networks (Planko, 1996). Planko (1996) also found that the recruiting and selection costs for firms to hire a college intern are about half the amount of hiring an experienced external recruit. In addition to using internships as a cost effective recruitment and selection tool, Degraev and colleagues (2012) conducted a review of literature on the value of internships for firms and found that using interns brings novel and updated content knowledge and technical skills that can enhance organizational know-how and productivity; enhances firm reputation through the development of links between social, university, and community networks; gives organizations opportunities to develop the supervisory skills of junior employees; and provides low-cost, highly-skilled labor that “produce real and tangible positive outcomes for the host organization, providing assistance, solving problems and

completing projects” (p. 33).

The few noted drawbacks of internships for employers mainly deal with the costs of coordination and supervision. Birch and colleagues (2010) note that interns typically do not have any prior relevant work experience, and thus need constant guidance and direction in their daily work. Gerken and colleagues (2012) further note that interns “need training and extensive support and feedback before they can become a productive part of the company,” a consideration they contend “implies that companies have to balance supervisor costs with potential benefits” (p. 12). While not specifically discussed in any of the internship literature, an additional potential problem is workplace relations between interns – who are by definition contingent workers – and permanent employees. Several studies have shown that blended workforces containing both standard and contingent workers can complicate work environments in negative ways (e.g., Pearce, 1993b), suggesting that interns too may have a negative effect on the workplace. This point is considered in greater detail later in the paper.

Problem Statement and Research Questions

Internships provide a unique opportunity to explore important issues about potential differences in how volunteer labor is managed, and what that means for the individuals engaged in it and to the organizations employing them, because some interns are paid and some are not. Notwithstanding the decades of internship scholarship chronicled above, empirical comparisons of paid and unpaid interns are all but nonexistent, which is surprising given the extent to which interns work for free. Perlin (2011) writes that “the best current estimate is that as many as 50 percent of all internships in the U.S. may be unpaid” (p. 28). He also points out that a recent 2010

report by the Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development estimates that 37% of U.K. internships are unpaid, and that Germany's International Institute for Empirical Socioeconomics (INIFES) found that 51% of interns in Germany worked for free in 2008. In the U.S., the percentage of unpaid internships varies widely based both on sector and industry. A 2010 Intern Bridge report (Gardner, 2010) found that 57% of nonprofit internships, 47% of government internships, and 34 % of private industry and corporate internships were unpaid. Whereas certain industries such as banking and finance provide some of the best-paid internships, in others, intern compensation has all but disappeared (Perlin, 2011). Data from the 2009 National Internship and Co-Op Study show that only 16% of all interns in law enforcement and security, and 11% in game design, received pay that year (Intern Bridge, 2010). Given that volunteers comprise so much of the intern workforce, a better understanding of unpaid internships appears needed.

Because of their existence at the intersection of education and employment, interns, both paid and unpaid, have long resided in a grey area in terms of employment status. Some researchers of intern labor, such as Perlin (2011), classify internships as “only one of many forms of nonstandard or contingent labor that have mushroomed since the 1970s” (p. 36). Others examine interns through the lens of the standard employment relationship and not as contingent labor. As an example, in a study of intern job satisfaction, D’Abate and colleagues (2009) admitted that their “propositions [about intern job satisfaction] assume similarity between interns’ and traditional (i.e. standard) workers’ experiences,” but defended their position by noting that, at least in the case of job satisfaction, prior workplace research suggests little differences between temporary and permanent workers (p. 528). No matter whether internships can be thought of as

contingent labor, or akin to regular employment, theorizing about intern work from either perspective fails to take into account one inescapable fact – that half of the intern workforce works for free and are volunteers. If nonstandard worker outcomes are in many respects different from regular ones because of such factors as work design (e.g., Aronsson et al., 2002) and the nature of employer-employee relationships (e.g., Tsui et al., 1997), then situations in which individuals work for corporations, government agencies, and nonprofits for absolutely zero wages adds a layer of complexity that seems to at least warrant a finer-grained analysis. Volunteerism provides a theoretical vehicle for such analysis. Economist Richard Freeman (1997) defined volunteer activity as “work performed without monetary recompense” (p. S414). Expanding this definition, and integrating components of several others, Rodell (2013) defines volunteering as “giving time or skills during a planned activity for a volunteer group or organization.” These conceptualizations of volunteers accurately define unpaid interns; thus, central to this paper is the integration of voluntarism theory and literature to expand understanding about intern work.

In a recent review of internship literature in the journal *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, Narayanan and his colleagues (2010) noted that, despite their popularity and extensive history, surprisingly little is known about internships, and that empirical studies on the topic lack a dominant theoretical perspective and are largely descriptive and anecdotal.⁵ The design of jobs has been the most consistently examined variable in the study of internships (Feldman et al., 1998), and internship job

⁵ Their literature search turned up only 22 empirical studies on internships. Three studies employed human resource theories in their analyses, and none considered volunteerism literature.

characteristics have been shown to be key determinants of intern job satisfaction (D'Abate et al., 2009) and vocational development (Brooks et al., 1995; Taylor, 1988), the latter of which is the most cited benefit of internships to college students (Gerken et al., 2012). Despite the centrality of these constructs to our understanding of the effectiveness of internship programs, scholars have yet to explore what effect pay status might have on the design of internship jobs, intern satisfaction, or student vocational development. While the general management literature is filled with explanations about the antecedents and consequences of job satisfaction, much less is known about the satisfaction of interns. Feldman and Weitz (1990) note: "very little work, theoretical or empirical, has been done on the factors which determine whether interns will view their internships as positive developmental experiences" (p. 268). Similarly, while management scholarship has traced the relationship between job design and career development for decades (Taris & Kompier, 2004), it has focused on adults already in their careers, rather than on students and interns preparing for and deciding upon future careers, and on employment-related outcomes such as on-the-job learning and job performance, rather than on vocational discernment and development variables more relevant for pre-career students.

This study attempts to fill in these holes, and chart new ground in the study of job design, satisfaction, and career development, by exploring the following research questions: (1) Do paid and unpaid interns encounter variations in the task, knowledge, social, and contextual-related characteristics of their internship jobs? (2) Do paid and unpaid interns differ in terms of satisfaction with their internships? (3) Do paid and unpaid interns receive different career development-related benefits from their

internships? In calling attention to these variables, this paper makes three key contributions to theory and scholarship. First, it responds to Narayanan and colleagues' (2010) call for more focused theorizing when it comes to the study of interns. Going beyond descriptive analysis and anecdotal evidence, which characterizes most of the field's existing work, this paper draws upon theories from multiple literatures to explicitly predict and test hypotheses concerning unpaid intern labor. In doing so, it informs research that either tends to analyze internships completely using the lens of regular employment or completely using the lens of nonstandard labor, and highlights a third perspective.

Second, this article expands volunteerism scholarship by applying theories of unpaid labor to college intern experiences and outcomes. While many studies of volunteerism have considered the donative work activities of college students, none have parsed internships from the whole of their volunteerism. As such, research in this area has yet to apply theories of volunteerism to understand how unpaid internships affect the experiences and outcomes of college student interns.

Third, organizations and practicing managers who participate in internship programs can also benefit from contributions made by this study. As discussed above, employers are increasingly turning to unpaid internships as a way to both continue to reap the benefits of participating in internship programs, and at the same time control human resource management expenses. The shift from hiring paid to unpaid interns in many occupations and industries is presumably predicated on the notion that organizations think they are better off when they save on short-term wage expenses. However, it is not well understood whether these pay decisions have negative consequences for the

internship experience and intern outcomes, and if so, whether these effects might pose indirect consequences for employers. Thus, this paper both contributes to theoretical development and practical application.

CHAPTER 2 – THEORETICAL DEVELOPMENT AND HYPOTHESES

As outlined in Chapter 1, this study attempts to expand knowledge about volunteer labor. Specifically, I chose to focus on the design of volunteer work, and its potential effect on the 64 million volunteers annually who donate their labor power to American organizations. The existing scholarship on volunteer work-related issues is extremely thin, with only 21 articles covering volunteers in mainstream IR, HR, and OB literature. Most topics that are commonplace in management literature have not been broached for volunteers. In selecting potential variables to focus on, I wanted to choose something that has been well-researched about paid workers but relatively absent for volunteers. Work design is one such glaring topic. Morgeson and Humphrey (2006) note that there are literally thousands of studies investigating work design. It has been discussed by writers interested in organizational functioning since at least the 18th century, with Adam Smith's (1776) writings on the division of labor. And in the U.S., work design, largely with a focus on worker productivity, has been a mainstay of management research. I described this lineage in Chapter 1. However, as applied to volunteers, even those who have studied volunteers extensively only mention potential relationships between job design and volunteers in the hypothetical. To date, no empirical work has been done comparing the two.

I specifically compare a sample of unpaid (volunteer) and paid college student interns to explore this issue. Ideas, frameworks, and findings from the volunteerism, as well the management and internship, literatures are used to create theoretical predictions about the nature of volunteer work, and its impact on volunteers.

In this chapter several hypotheses are proffered, and detailed theoretical

development borrowing from the three literatures described above help to explain the rationale behind each. Volunteer work is predicted to exhibit less structure, in terms of task, knowledge, social, and contextual-characteristics, than paid work. It is also predicted that the volunteer interns will report lower levels of internship job satisfaction and career development than paid interns. These relations are discussed in detail below.

A Brief Summary of Contemporary Work Design Research

The lack of pay is a key differentiator between employment and volunteering, so to help us better understand how to think about volunteers, we need to get a better picture of the impact of pay on or the inter-relationship between pay and other key constructs in the organization of work. This study extends this line of scholarship to consider whether and how pay status might influence these relationships.

In 1975 Hackman and Oldham presented empirical results demonstrating how certain characteristics of a person's job influenced their psychological well-being, and ultimately, their job satisfaction. Their model, called the Job Characteristics Model (JCM), consists of five distinct characteristics that describe the nature of an employee's job – skill variety, task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback. Skill variety refers to the degree to which a job allows for the application of multiple skills in performing tasks. Jobs high in skill variety are often more challenging and engaging to perform than those low in skill variety (Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006). Task identity reflects the extent to which a person's job involves producing a complete and identifiable piece of work. An example of low task identity would be an assembly line worker who works on a single or few components of a finished product. Task significance is the degree to which a job impacts others within or outside the organization. Autonomy refers

to the amount of freedom, independence, and discretion workers have in determining how they will accomplish their work, particularly as it relates to decision-making and work methods (Millette & Gagne, 2008; Wall, Jackson, & Mullarkey, 1995). And feedback is the amount of direct and clear information workers receive regarding the effectiveness of their own work performance. Key to Hackman and Oldham's (1975) conceptualization of feedback is the notion that it comes from the job itself rather than from other individuals; that is, workers come to know their own effectiveness either by cues provided by the job itself, or via their knowledge and appraisal of their own work activities. Since the introduction of the JCM, scholars have highlighted additional factors that can enhance the work experience. In developing a measure to "tap [the] work characteristics" contained across "thousands of studies investigating work and job design," Morgeson and Humphrey (2006, p. 1321) introduced the Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ), which expanded the JCM by adding to its task characteristics several knowledge-related, social-related, and context-related work characteristics.

Knowledge characteristics include job complexity, information processing, problem solving, skill variety (described above), and specialization. In their creation of the four work characteristics domains (task, knowledge, social, context), Morgeson and Humphrey (2006) classified the JCM's concept of skill variety as a knowledge characteristic, replacing it with task variety. As they explain, "It is important to distinguish skill variety from task variety because the use of multiple skills is distinct from the performance of multiple tasks" (p. 1323). WDQ social characteristics include social support, interdependence, and feedback from others. And the WDQ's contextual characteristics measure job features such as the nature and extent of ergonomics, physical

demands, working conditions (noise, temperature, humidity, and health and safety), and equipment use.

Compared with task characteristics which are concerned with how work itself is accomplished, knowledge characteristics reflect the knowledge, skill, and ability demands a job requires of workers. Elements of this domain include job complexity, information processing, problem solving, skill variety, and specialization. Job complexity refers to how challenging and demanding a job is to perform in terms of the complexity and difficulty of work tasks. Information processing reflects the amount of data gathering and processing required for an individual to perform their work. Problem solving reflects the extent to which workers must creatively generate unique ideas and diagnose and solve novel problems (Jackson et al., 1993). Skill variety was discussed earlier in this paper. And specialization describes the degree to which workers require deep, or specialized, knowledge in a specific content area.

Social characteristics reflect the fact that work, at least in most cases, is a social phenomenon that involves interpersonal relations, the quality of which has meaningful effects on individuals. Morgeson and Humphrey (2006) combined Karasek's (1979) concept of supervisor and coworker social support with Sims and colleagues' (1976) concept of friendship opportunities at work to create and validate the construct of social support. Social support reflects the extent to which a workplace provides opportunities for employees to receive advice and assistance from other workers. Interdependence speaks to the connectedness of jobs, and by extension people, to one another. And feedback from others refers to the extent to which other individuals, namely supervisors and coworkers, provide one with feedback about their work. In the original Hackman and

Oldham (1976) JCM, the only feedback measure was feedback from the job, which was included as a task characteristic. Morgeson and Humphrey (2006) note that feedback can come both from other individuals and from the job itself, and refer to the former as “feedback from others” and the latter as “feedback from job.” They include this feedback from others measure, which is distinct from feedback from the job, in their social characteristics dimension. I adopt their perspective in this paper.

Contextual characteristics, as described by Morgeson and Humphrey (2006), are factors such as ergonomics – or the degree to which the job allows for correct movement and posture – the level of physical effort and demand required by a job, the working conditions present in the environment in which a job is performed – including the presence of health hazards, noise, temperature and humidity, and cleanliness – and the variety and complexity of technology and equipment used in a job.

Previous Scholarship on Job Design and Interns

Internship scholars contend that for internships to work well, they must provide students with relevant working experiences and realistic previews of the actual work to be performed in an occupation (Knouse et al., 1999). As such, a primary goal should be to structure internship positions in ways that allow students a high degree of flexibility and freedom in their daily work activities (Coco, 2000), but yet exposes them to career-relevant job tasks and work assignments, rather than busy-work. Increasingly, interns are being assigned to project teams that focus on a single project for the duration of the internship (Hurst & Good, 2010). Hurst and Good (2010) documented expectations by retailers such as Abercrombie & Fitch and Target that their interns become “active players” in company efforts and present their results to senior leadership (p. 180). Glock,

as cited in Hurst and Good (2010), notes that current trends in internship program structure increasingly provide interns greater responsibility for the work they accomplish, and allow them to take ownership of it. These high levels of participation, decision-making, responsibility, and ownership tend to be especially popular among ‘Generation Y’ interns (Johns, 2003). Continuous feedback can also enhance the internship experience (Coco, 2000). For example, interns working on project assignments who received regular evaluations of their work reported higher internship satisfaction levels than those who did not receive feedback (Paulins, 2008), and Narayanan and colleagues (2010) found that interns get the most from their experiences when they received job-relevant and sufficient feedback from their supervisors. Providing interns with performance information is a key predictor of internship satisfaction (D’Abate, 2009), and multiple studies note that the highest quality internships feature channels for regular feedback and communication (Brooks et al., 1995; Johari & Bradshaw, 2008; Narayanan et al., 2010).

Although the importance of effectively designing internship work experiences is frequently discussed, most of the coverage is prescriptive or anecdotal. There are only a total of six studies that specifically empirically analyze the impact of job characteristics on internship experiences and outcomes. Findings from these studies are discussed below, and are summarized in Table 2. In the table, I group the study results by the dependent variable, and then job characteristics.

Taylor (1988) predicted and found that autonomy was related to increased crystallization of vocational self-concept among interns, and to less reality shock on their initial post-graduation jobs. However, her sample included only 32 interns and many of

her measures displayed marginal reliabilities, and as such the findings are often cited with extreme caution. In a study of 72 paid interns enrolled as upper-class students in a large public university business school, Feldman and Weitz (1990) found that autonomy, task identity, skill variety, and the opportunity to deal with others were positively related to internship satisfaction and the perception that the work of an occupation was challenging; that autonomy, task identity, and opportunity to deal with others were positively related to occupational knowledge; and that autonomy alone was positively related to an intern's willingness to accept a job in the industry they had worked in. Task significance and feedback did not prove to be significant predictors of intern job satisfaction, a highly interesting result that will be discussed in context later regarding the job satisfaction hypothesis.

Brooks and her colleagues (1995) analyzed 165 college seniors who had only internship experience, only work experience, internship and work experience, or no internship or work experience. In addition to testing a hypothesis concerning the relationship between career preparedness and type of experience, they explored the link between job characteristics and outcomes. They found that task variety was positively related to higher levels of attained occupational information, and that feedback was positively related to the crystallization of vocational self-concept. In 1998, Feldman, Folks, and Turnley tested the effects of job design on the socialization experiences of 138 second-year masters students in International Business at a large U.S. public university who had completed an international internship. They found that autonomy and having opportunities to deal with others while on the job was positively related to the interns' socialization at their host organizations, but that task identity was not. Rothman (2003)

conducted a qualitative study of 143 junior and senior undergraduate business students where she asked them “What did you like most/least about your internship position?” (p. 921). 71% of students responded that factors related to task and knowledge characteristics (e.g., skill variety and autonomy) or social characteristics (e.g., relations with coworkers and supervisors). And in a series of hierarchical regression analyses involving 261 students at a northeastern U.S. college, D’Abate and her colleagues (2009) found that the JCM task characteristics of task significance and feedback, as well as supervisor support, were positively related to internship job satisfaction. Coworker support was also tested in their analysis but was not statistically significant.

Insert Table 2 about here

The Taylor (1988), Feldman et al. (1998), and Rothman (2003) studies make no mention of intern pay status, so it is unclear from their findings whether pay status makes a difference for internship experiences and outcomes. All three of these papers included samples from business school students. As noted earlier, business internships tend to be among the most prestigious and highly paid (Perlin, 2011), and it is presumably the case, especially for Feldman and colleagues (1998) whose interns were MBA students on international assignments, that unpaid internships were rare or simply not present. The Feldman and Weitz (1990) article included an all-paid intern sample, a fact that further suggests the point made above. Brooks et al. (1995) only mention pay status as part of their description of the internship variable to survey respondents. Specifically, they asked students to answer the following: “Have you participated in any type of internship

experience (preprofessional/career-related experience, paid or unpaid, part of full-time) while at college?” (p. 336). Curiously, in their procedures section they describe deciding to include hours spent working or interning as a control covariate meant to “reveal any significant [individual] differences,” but consideration of a pay variable, or the merit thereof, is not discussed (p. 340). D’Abate and colleagues (2009) did include a variable for pay/no pay, and found no relationship between pay status and internship satisfaction. However, their hierarchical regressions only considered the direct effect of pay status on satisfaction within a block of other contextual variables, rather than a more nuanced theoretical take in which pay status affects factors potentially antecedent to satisfaction – including task, knowledge, and social characteristics. Indeed, a closer look at their correlation table reveals that lack of intern pay was negatively correlated with autonomy, task significance, and feedback, although only significantly ($p < .05$) with autonomy. They did not discuss their findings in detail and dropped pay and other contextual variables from their final discussion, which is unfortunate given that the direction of the results, albeit mostly statistically nonsignificant, support what voluntarism theory and research would predict about the impact of lack of pay on internship job design.

Arguments for Why Unpaid Work Might Be Less Structured than Paid Work

Bussell and Forbes (2002) and Pearce (1993a) describe the organization of volunteer work as tending to be less structured than that of paid employees, with volunteers having blurry organizational membership statuses and less formalized job responsibilities. By and large, organizations seem to not put as much thought or effort into the structure of volunteer job design as they do for paid jobs. Pearce (1993a) argues that this seems to derive from “the fact that all volunteers are paid equally and cheaply”

(p. 33), and because “volunteer work is often considered to be a peripheral activity” within organizations (p. 37). On the informality of work design and job characteristics, Pearce (1993a) makes the following observation regarding findings from an earlier (1983) matched-pairs study she conducted of volunteers and paid employees in newspapers, poverty relief agencies, family planning clinics, and fire departments:

Without differential labor costs there is no need to develop precise job duties [for volunteers] for compensation purposes. Since there are no labor markets to tie wages to, nor any need to protect internal equity in pay by justifying pay differences by variations in responsibilities, knowledge requirements, and so forth...there is no pressure to be precise about formal responsibilities (p. 41).

Pearce’s commentary points to a more fundamental question – that is, the role pay plays in work, and of specific interest for the present study, work design. As basic such a question is, it has largely escaped the examination of workplace scholars, perhaps for at least two reasons. First, as demonstrated above in the review of volunteer workforce scholarship in the IR, HR, and OB domains, unpaid work and workers have received very little research attention. As such, opportunities for the pay-job design link to come into focus may simply have been too limited thus far. Second, given that unpaid work has not traditionally been considered part of the world of work by mainstream organizational science, its distinguishing feature, the lack of pay in exchange for one’s labor power, may be an idea that is practically non-existent when work is thought about. The marriage of wages and work is ubiquitous in workplace research, and the lack of wages is oftentimes used merely as a hypothetical in order to strengthen some point. Such was the case in the

following comment by Doeringer (1967) in explaining internal labor market (ILM) theory:

If the process of filling vacancies in the job structure of the plant...were *costless*, the employer would be indifferent among the possible combinations of patterns of internal mobility and locations of entry ports... Given the job structure of the plant, the profit-maximizing employer, excluding questions of equity and employee morale, will presumably attempt to establish a sequence of hiring and internal movement patterns which will permit him to fill vacancies in the job structure at the lowest cost. (p. 213, *emphasis added*)

ILM theorists and workplace scholars readily recognize the function differential pay serves in the design of jobs and the division of labor. For example, in a study of 213 blue-collar jobs in the forestry industry, and blue-collar and white-collar manufacturing and development jobs in the electronics industry, Campion and Berger (1990) found that job design and compensation were linked such that jobs requiring more and higher levels of skills tended to be compensated at higher rates. Additionally, motivation-approach designed jobs were compensated higher than were mechanistic-approach and perceptual/motor-approach jobs. In paid work, wage differentials tend to mark worker skill levels, rank within the organizational hierarchy, educational attainment, and scope of responsibility, among other things. But as Pearce (1993a) noted from her study of volunteer workers in several organizational settings,

The most productive hard-working volunteers may have received

more tokens of appreciation, but they did not receive additional concrete rewards. Volunteers with valued skills (e.g. nurses in the family planning clinic or experienced firefighters) may have worked in specialized jobs that drew on those skills, but they did not receive any more compensation than the unskilled volunteer of one week's seniority. Volunteers received equal pay for decidedly unequal work. This practice is virtually unknown with employees.

(p. 40)

There is a very small amount of evidence from the volunteerism literature that supports the notion of a pay-job design gap. In a national study of human resource management practices in nearly 3,000 organizations that employed both paid and volunteer labor, Hager and Brudney (2004) found that less than half maintained formal written policies and job descriptions for volunteers to a large degree, and that less than a third conducted volunteer performance management or evaluation to a large degree. This latter finding suggests that the mechanisms essential for effective feedback are more frequently than not overlooked for volunteers. Participation in decision-making and freedom to accomplish job tasks autonomously also appear limited for volunteers. In the same national study by Hager and Brudney (2004), 97% of responding organizations reported that they maintained strict supervision over volunteers to a large degree or to some degree. Although not focused on the management of volunteers specifically, these findings from nearly 3,000 nonprofits seem to suggest the picture of an organizational posture toward volunteer labor that pays less attention to them versus paid employees, and that interns may get caught up in increasing employer efforts to replace paid

internships with unpaid ones. Based on these findings, the discussion above about the role of pay in job design, and the partially-significant findings from D'Abate and colleagues (2009) demonstrating negative correlations between intern pay status and job characteristics described above, it is predicted that:

H1: Volunteer interns will report experiencing lower levels of work design than paid interns. Specifically, they will experience lower (a) task-related work characteristics, (b) knowledge-related work characteristics, and (c) social-related work characteristics.

Pay-related variation in contextual characteristics is also expected, although some nuance might be expected. While the lack of pay may result in less employer and organizational attention to the ergonomics and use of technology and equipment present within the intern work environment, theories of compensating wage differentials (e.g., Duncan & Holmlund, 1983) suggest that difficult working conditions, such as those that require above-average physical engagement or those that present hazards to workers, are associated with higher wages. If such logic holds true, then among interns and internships, those jobs that possess such harsh characteristics can be expected to be more likely to be paid than unpaid.

H2: Volunteer interns will report a mix of contextual-related work characteristics when compared with paid interns. This includes lower-quality ergonomics, less-enhanced equipment usage, less harsh physical demands, and better working conditions.

Work Design and Internship Job Satisfaction

The link between job characteristics and employee satisfaction is well supported.

In their original introduction of the JCM, Hackman and Oldham (1975) linked job characteristics to three individual psychological states, and ultimately to job satisfaction. Since then, scores of studies have empirically demonstrated the linkages between job characteristics and satisfaction (by 1991, Yitzhak Fried had already identified nearly 200 published studies on job characteristics and work satisfaction for a meta-analysis he published in the *Journal of Applied Psychology*).

Among the six internship studies that consider the impact of job characteristics, all of which were described earlier, three discuss internship job satisfaction. Feldman and Weitz (1990) found that autonomy, task identity, skill variety, and the opportunity to deal with others was positively and significantly related to intern self-reports of job satisfaction. As noted earlier, task significance and feedback were not significant predictors of satisfaction in their model. Conversely, after predicting a link between the five Hackman and Oldham (1975) job characteristics and satisfaction, D'Abate and her colleagues (2009) found support for task significance and feedback, but not for autonomy, skill variety, and task identity. In other words, their findings were exactly the reverse of Feldman and Weitz's (1990) earlier work. D'Abate et al. (2009) in their discussion of their results expanded upon the significant findings for task significance and feedback, but did not discuss at length their thoughts concerning the nonsignificant results for the other three job characteristics. In the third study to discuss satisfaction, Rothman (2003) presented qualitative data that suggested that interns who responded positively to the job characteristics-related aspects of their internship experience also reported a positive experience overall. The other three studies linked internship job characteristics to several other outcome variables (e.g., socialization, information

attainment) that themselves have been shown to link to satisfaction in various ways.

Given that the two studies (D'Abate et al., 2009, and Feldman & Weitz, 1990) that have directly examined the link between internship job characteristics and intern satisfaction present exactly opposite findings, and that only the Feldman and Weitz (1990) article clearly distinguish the effects of pay status (by excluding unpaid interns from the sample), it remains unknown whether paid and unpaid interns experience varying levels of job satisfaction.

A Theoretical View of Unpaid Intern Job Satisfaction

Volunteer theory suggests that unpaid interns may experience lower job satisfaction than paid interns as a result of differences in paid and unpaid work design. Hackman and Oldham's (1975) JCM outlined a process whereby well-structured jobs enhance worker satisfaction through feelings of meaningfulness, responsibility, and knowledge of results. Work design and job characteristics also influence satisfaction by clarifying an individual's understanding of their role within an organization. Workers need clear information on how to perform their work tasks, as well as feedback on their performance, in order to succeed on the job and be satisfied (Morrison, 1993). Role clarity is most pronounced when newcomers have a clear sense of what their jobs entails, when they know what is expected from them in terms of task requirements and performance, and when structures are in place to allow them to receive high levels of indirect and direct communication and feedback (Ashford & Taylor, 1990; Wanberg & Kammeyer-Mueller, 2000). Clarity of work also greases the wheel for positive interpersonal relationships to form in the workplace, which too are critical predictors of job satisfaction (Adams & Bond, 2000; Eisenberger et al., 1997). In light of the

importance of job design for worker satisfaction, the tendency for unpaid labor to be less structured and to have blurrier organizational roles (Pearce, 1993a) than paid work suggests that the formalized mechanisms by which job characteristics enhance the employee experience may be less developed among unpaid interns. Indeed, volunteering is enhanced when jobs are more structured. In a study of 124 volunteers in a large metropolitan community medical clinic, Millette and Gagne (2008) found positive correlations between job characteristics and volunteer motivation, satisfaction, and performance, and noted that redesigning volunteer jobs “is likely to increase...people’s sense of interest and enjoyment in their work” (p. 18). Pearce (1983) found that, although a key motivator for volunteer workers was the reward of social interaction, volunteers tend to exist at the periphery of organizational life. As a result, unpaid workers are often perceived as not really being a legitimate part of the organization (Bussell & Forbes, 2002).

These social identity and group dynamics (Stephan, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner, 1987) often prevent meaningful social support and interaction channels from forming between volunteers and their paid coworkers and supervisors. Simpson (1996) captured such tension in a study of paid and volunteer firefighters, noting that although some volunteers displayed bumper stickers that read “Paid or Volunteer, We’re All Professionals” and tended to minimize status differences between the two groups, paid firefighters largely dismissed their volunteer counterparts as inept and unreliable. In a study that examined how paid employees perceived their volunteer coworkers, Rogelberg and his colleagues (2010) found that, while paid employee assessments of volunteers were generally positive, they varied considerably and were positively correlated with the

level of formal volunteer human resource management practices in place. When less volunteer HRM was in place, paid workers reported having more negative experiences with and opinions of their unpaid coworkers, which resulted in the paid employees having lower job satisfaction. If not properly integrated into a working environment, volunteers can inhibit workplace coordination, learning, and shared values. When volunteers are hired, managers often increase standard employees' responsibilities (without corresponding increases in pay) by making paid workers "watch" the volunteers (Smith, 1994). Managers also tend to hold paid employees responsible for errors made by their volunteer coworkers (Pearce, 1993a). Evidence from the contingent labor literature suggests similar complexities. In a study of flexible employment HRM practices among three American electronics firms in the Irish Republic, Geary (1992) found that because managers have to devote more efforts to managing conflicts between standard and nonstandard workers, they have less time to provide standard employees informal feedback on their job performance, which ultimately hurts that group's promotion chances. This all suggests that the lack of work structure typically encountered by volunteer laborers stands to degrade working environments, leading to greater negative work experiences for unpaid (as well as paid) workers. Thus, it is predicted that:

H3: Unpaid interns will report lower internship job satisfaction than paid interns. There will be both a direct effect, and an indirect effect via work characteristics.

Work Design and Intern Vocational Development

Providing college students with vocational development and enhanced career preparation is the most cited benefit of internships for students (Gerken et al., 2012).

Internships serve a developmental function for students, helping them to sort out their career aspirations. Hall (1976) argued that by helping students to identify vocational interests and abilities, internships assist in the crystallization of a student's vocational self-concept (VSC). VSC refers to the clarity and certainty one has concerning their own career-related abilities, interests, needs, attitudes, and values (Barrett & Tinsley, 1977; Weng & McElroy, 2010). In short, the construct has to deal with an individual's perception of his or her "career self" – the types of jobs they are capable of and prefer performing, the values inherent in jobs and employers that are important to them, and so on. Although VSC describes several dimensions of a student's vocational development (abilities, interests, needs, etc), from the time it was first introduced until present-day publications, it has been presented as a global, unified concept, rather than a construct with multiple factors contained within it.

Internships provide individuals with opportunities for what Stumpf et al. (1983) termed career exploration – the career-related gathering of information both about oneself and potential employment opportunities. Career exploration involves both self and environmental exploration, allowing people to obtain a greater awareness of their own abilities and talents, interests, and work values and attitudes. As such, Weng and McElroy (2010) hypothesized a positive link between career exploration activities and the crystallization of VSC, and found evidence to support their theory in a study of 611 Chinese workers. This functional ability of internships to develop VSC among participants is referred to as the "crystallization hypothesis" (Taylor, 1988, p. 393), and internships help to crystallize VSC in several ways. As noted earlier, Taylor (1988) theorized that greater autonomy, more relevant and complex work tasks, and more

frequent feedback and coaching and development would facilitate the crystallization of VSC. Her results only supported the autonomy prediction; however, she did not examine the effect of intern pay. Brooks and her colleagues (1995) found that interns who received greater feedback and had more opportunities to deal with others during their internships reported higher crystallization of VSC. And Rothman's (2003) qualitative results showed that students who were most satisfied with the job and interpersonal aspects of their internships also felt as though their experiences were beneficial for their future careers. These mixed findings from the internship literature suggest that job characteristics do play a role in the vocational development of interns, but that the story is more complex and nuanced than has been told thus far. Whether an internship helps a college student better understand their vocational direction may well be influenced by the structure of the work they participate in. However, the current state of research leaves it to be discovered how job structure might affect VSC development, and whether this relationship is different among paid and unpaid interns. Based on the above discussion of the role of pay for work design, and the linkages between work characteristics and vocational development, it is predicted that:

H4: Unpaid internships will result in lower crystallization of vocational self-concept than paid internships.

All of the predicted relationships between pay status, job characteristics, and satisfaction and vocational self-concept are depicted in the model in Figure 1 below.

Insert Figure 1 about here

Summary of the Chapter

The design of work and its impact on workers is one of the most studied topics in management and organizations research. Yet, theories of job characteristics have yet to be considered in relation to the volunteer workforce – a group that numbers 64 million workers annually in the U.S.

In this chapter I reviewed the job design literature concerning paid workers, as well as how it has been applied to interns – the category of paid and unpaid workers that comprise the sample for this study. Then, using ideas from the management, internship, and volunteerism literatures, I proffered several predictions about how pay status, and in particular the lack of pay among volunteers, might affect work design and ultimately job satisfaction and career development. In the following chapters these hypotheses are tested, and their results are discussed.

CHAPTER 3 – METHODOLOGY

Sample

An Internet-based questionnaire was sent to undergraduate and graduate students at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, New Mexico. Specifically, Rutgers students were invited to participate by the University's central career services internship and co-op office, and the career services office of the Department of Human Resource Management, School of Management and Labor Relations. Thus, this segment of the sample represents students in potentially all disciplines at Rutgers University (via central career services), as well as those studying human resource management (via the Department of HRM). At UNM, invitations to participate were sent to students in the Anderson School of Management by that School's career services office director. This segment of the sample represents students in several management disciplines, including HRM and organizational behavior, finance, accounting, information technology, international business, and nonprofit management.

To maintain student anonymity and to stay within federal regulations (HIPPA guidelines prevent the release of student information, including personal contact information and academic records, to unauthorized parties), an email inviting students to participate in this study was sent directly to students by the director of each career services office. The Rutgers University central career services office invited a total of 420 students to participate. The Department of HRM at Rutgers University invited 73 students. University of New Mexico invited 30 students. Thus, a grand total of 523 students were invited to participate in this research project. 234 students, or 45% of those

invited to participate, began the online questionnaire. However, only 168 students submitted usable surveys, for a final response rate of 32%. As an incentive to participate, all respondents who completed a survey were given a \$5 Amazon.com gift card, and were entered into a grand prize drawing for one \$500 Apple Store gift certificate.

Measures

Internship Pay Status

Students indicated whether the internship in question was a paid internship, or an unpaid internship. This is treated as a dichotomous variable, and is named UNPAID (because paid = 0 and unpaid = 1) in subsequent statistical analyses.

Work Design and Job Characteristics

Items from Morgeson and Humphrey's (2006) Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ), tailored to apply to student respondents, was used to measure task, knowledge, social, and contextual-related work characteristics. Given the length of all these measures, they are listed completely in the Appendix.

Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) using principal components analysis (PCA) with varimax rotation was conducted on all task, knowledge, social, and contextual work characteristics items in order to assess the construct validity of each dimension. This analysis was performed using SPSS version 17.0.

62 items were simultaneously factor-analyzed, and 13 distinct factors emerged with Eigenvalues greater than 1.0, explaining 77% of the variance. Items were included in a factor if its factor loading exceeded .40 and the loading for that item was larger than the loading on another dimension by .20 (Nunnally, 1978). Using these criteria, eight of the original 62 items did not load on any factor, including one of the three items from the

feedback from job construct, three of the four items from the information processing construct, two of the four items from the problem-solving construct, one of the six items from the social support construct, and one of the five items from the working conditions construct. The remaining items from these particular constructs (where one or more of the original items did not load onto any factor in my EFA) either loaded onto their own factor (creating a factor with the same logical construct, but fewer total items than the original WDQ scale), or loaded onto another construct. If the latter occurred, that new construct was renamed in a way that reflected the combined nature of the items, and is described below.

It is notable that my EFA resulted in some different groupings than Morgeson and Humphrey's (2006) paper. Their analysis was performed on 540 incumbents, while mine only used 168. Although the Cronbach alpha's of my scales were very much in the acceptable range (that is, most higher than .90, and all higher than .80), perhaps the spread in number of incumbents used is leading me to different categorizations. In the end, the underlying structure of their original WDQ categories is largely maintained in my analysis. All their subscales are present, either exactly as they appear in the original, or combined with other items to create a similar but newly-named construct in this paper.

The 13 factors are described below, broken out in the four major dimensions of task, knowledge, social, and contextual characteristics. Factors were created by averaging all the individual items that loaded onto that factor. There were no missing data to account for – the online survey was set up so that all questions were forced-response. Respondents could only complete the survey if they answered each question. This did not violate the terms of the IRB protocol, in that all respondents could choose whether or not

they wished to provide answers to any and all questions. But, a respondent could not choose to skip some questions, and then submit a survey in hopes of receiving the automatic gift card, or being included in the grand prize drawing. This approach was taken in an attempt to preempt missing data problems.

Task-Related Characteristics

Four task-related dimensions emerged, including task identity (4 items, $\alpha = .86$), task significance (2 items, $\alpha = .80$), autonomy (6 items, $\alpha = .91$), and feedback from job (2 items, $\alpha = .90$).

Knowledge-Related Characteristics

Two knowledge-related dimensions emerged, compared with four separate constructs in the original WDQ. One of the dimensions, job complexity (4 items, $\alpha = .88$), retained the same items as in the original WDQ. All other eligible items (that is, those that met the Nunnally [1978] criteria described above) loaded onto a single factor. These include items from the original WDQ constructs of information processing, problem-solving, skill variety, and specialization. Logically the items – which, for example, include survey items such as “the internship required that I engage in a large amount of thinking,” “the internship required unique ideas or solutions to problems,” “the internship required me to use a number of complex and high-level skills,” and “the internship required a depth of knowledge and expertise” – seemed to reflect a job’s requirement of the use of advanced thinking and skills. Thus, in subsequent analyses I refer to this factor as Advanced Thinking and Skills; it consists of 9 items ($\alpha = .93$).

Social-Related Characteristics

Three social-related dimensions emerged, including social support (5 items, $\alpha =$

.91), interdependence (6 items, $\alpha = .91$), and feedback from others (3 items, $\alpha = .92$).

Contextual-Related Characteristics

Four contextual-related dimensions emerged, including ergonomics (2 items, $\alpha = .90$), equipment use (3 items, $\alpha = .87$), physical demands (4 items, $\alpha = .92$), and working conditions (4 items, $\alpha = .83$). The equipment use items were reverse-scored such that a higher measure indicates *less* use of equipment, or *less* time spent learning equipment (depending upon the specific item). This was done so that when this item was combined with the other contextual items to create a contextual job design dimension, all of the measurements moved in the same direction, and aligned with the predicted directions stated in Hypothesis 2. The other contextual subscale items (ergonomics, physical demands, and working conditions) are measured in a way such that higher scores reflect an overall better and easier working environment (i.e., better ergonomics, less physical demands, or better working conditions). When Hypothesis 2 is analyzed in the next chapter, a higher value on these ergonomics/physical demands/working conditions items for unpaid interns would support the prediction that paid interns are indeed being compensated for having to endure harsher conditions. In order to keep a combined scale moving in this same direction when the equipment use subscale is added to a combined contextual scale, the equipment use items are scored such that higher values would also support the volunteer hypothesis (that volunteers get less exposure to equipment in the workplace).

Creating the Four Major Work Design Dimensions

In addition to examining the subscales of each of the four major dimensions (i.e., task identity, interdependence, working conditions, etc.), four more general factors

reflecting the four major dimensions of the WDQ (i.e., task, knowledge, social, and contextual) were constructed for further analysis. This was done not from a purely factor-analytic perspective – as EFA of the original 62 items yielded the 13 factors, as described above – but rather from a theoretical perspective. That is, while looking at the 13 subscales individually will surely provide some insight (e.g., in a comparison of mean differences), examination of the four larger categories may prove more useful and parsimonious in more complex analyses (such as multivariate regressions), and when telling the overall story of this paper. Again, factors were created by averaging all the individual items that loaded onto that factor, and there were no missing data to account for.

These four major dimension variables are Task Characteristics (14 items, $\alpha = .81$), Knowledge Characteristics (13 items, $\alpha = .88$), Social Characteristics (14 items, $\alpha = .91$), and Contextual Characteristics (13 items, $\alpha = .80$).

Internship Job Satisfaction

My measures followed the lead of the single internship paper that directly analyzed the impact of job characteristics on internship satisfaction (D'Abate et al., 2009), which used a modified, three item version of Hackman and Oldham's (1975, 1980) general job satisfaction scale. Their items included: "Generally speaking, I was very satisfied with my internship," "I was generally satisfied with the kind of work I did at my internship," and "I frequently thought of quitting my internship" (this final item was reverse-coded). Their Cronbach's alpha was .79. Items were measured on a seven-point Likert scale from 1 = strongly disagree to 7 = strongly agree. An EFA of these three items yielded a single factor, Internship Job Satisfaction, with an $\alpha = .77$.

Vocational Self-Concept

Crystallization of vocational self-concept was measured with items from the Vocational Rating Scale (VRS; Barrett & Tinsley, 1977), with the wording modified to best capture the potential influence of one's internship experience. The original scale was developed by counseling psychologists, not with interns specifically in mind, but for episodic use with youth and young adults. Later empirical studies by other authors (e.g., Weng and McElroy, 2010) used a shortened version of the VRS which displayed equal or higher consistency than the original scale. In the current study, seven items from Weng and McElroy (2010) were used. All items are measured on a five-point Likert scale from 1 = "Completely False" to 5 = "Completely True." As in previous published studies, individual scores to all the items of the VRS were summed, with higher scores indicating higher levels of vocational self-concept (possible range = 7 to 35). An EFA of the seven items yielded a single factor – VSC, $\alpha = .85$. These items are listed in the Appendix.

Control Variables

The control variables, some of which are from previous internship studies, include months of internship work completed (continuous), hours worked per week (continuous), sector of the internship host organization (private corporation, nonprofit, public/government), size of the internship employer in number of paid employees (fewer than 10, 10-50, 51-100, 101-500, 501-1000, 1000+), year in school at time of internship (measured as the number of years of full time college study completed; continuous, 1-5), college major (categorized into the major disciplines of business, sciences, and liberal arts), GPA (lower than 3.0, 3.0-3.49, 3.5 or higher), gender, race, and whether the student is an international (non-U.S.) student.

Analytic Strategy

Several analyses will be performed in the next chapter. First, I will compare mean responses between paid and unpaid interns on the WDQ dimensions, subscales, and individual items, as well as internship job satisfaction, vocational self-concept, and all control variables. Then, I will conduct a structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis to test the research model presented in Figure 1. Next, a series of ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions will explore relationships between pay status, the four major WDQ dimensions, internship job satisfaction, and vocational self-concept, along with the control variables described above. Finally, additional exploratory analyses will be performed. In particular, I will (1) mine the work design and outcome variables for potential relationships above and beyond those hypothesized above, and (2) attempt to address two interesting questions about paid and unpaid interns. The first of these questions is whether or not wealthier students tend to perform volunteer internships at higher rates than students from less-well-off families. This is an issue that has been very present in media outlets, and that has also been alluded to by academic writers, but heretofore has not been empirically tested. The second question explores whether hourly pay has an effect on satisfaction and career development outcomes for paid interns. I will also conduct a two-factor cluster analysis to explore possibly-interesting groupings of respondents.

CHAPTER 4 – RESULTS

This section details several analyses performed on the data collected from student interns. First, descriptive statistics and a correlation table are presented. Next, mean responses on the outcome and control variables are compared between paid and unpaid interns. The results of a structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis of the research model in Figure 1 are then discussed. Because the SEM measurement model did not display acceptable model fit indices, next, a series of OLS regressions are used to explore relationships between the pay status, work characteristics, and satisfaction and vocational self-concept variables, as well as the control variables. Finally, additional exploratory analyses using variables collected from respondents – such as cross tabulations and regressions examining family household income and hourly pay of paid interns, and a two-factor cluster analysis aimed at uncovering potential grouping relationships – are presented.

Descriptive Statistics

Means, standard deviations, correlations, and scale reliabilities (where applicable) for all variables are provided below in Table 3.

Insert Table 3 about here

55% of students in the sample worked as paid interns, while 45% completed an unpaid internship. On average, students worked in their internship job for five months, and spent 24 hours per week working. 67% of students completed an internship in a for-profit company, with the remaining portion split evenly between students working at

either a nonprofit or a public/governmental organization. In terms of the size of the internship host organizations, 32% had 50 or fewer paid employees, 8% had between 51-100 paid employees, 8% had between 101-500 paid employees, 8% had between 501-1000 paid workers, and 44% had more than 1000 paid employees.

The majority (54%) of interns had already completed three years of full-time college study by the time they began their internship, with another 24% having completed 2 years of full-time study. This translates to 78% of students being sophomores or juniors by the time they began the internship referred to in this study. 58% of students had majors in the business disciplines (i.e., accounting, finance, human resources, MIS, etc.). This likely reflects the fact that the Rutgers University Department of Human Resource Management, and the University of New Mexico Anderson School of Management, represented two of the three data collection sites. The remaining approximate 42% of students represented the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics (STEM; 8%) or liberal arts (33%) disciplines. About half (52%) of respondents had a GPA between 3.0 and 3.5, with 38% having a GPA higher than 3.5%, and 10% having a GPA lower than 3.0. A slight majority of respondents were female (54%), and most were White (71%). Asians comprised another 21% of respondents, with Blacks, Pacific Islanders, Native Americans, and those reporting two or more races comprising approximately 3%, 2%, 1%, and 4%, respectively. Five percent of students reported being international students.

Means Comparisons for Paid vs. Unpaid Interns for All Study Variables

Table 4 shows the means of paid and unpaid interns on all the variables in this study. This includes the scaled variables (the major WDQ dimensions [task, knowledge, social, and contextual characteristics], the WDQ subscales [e.g., task identity, social

support, etc.], internship job satisfaction, vocational self-concept, and all control variables). For the work design subscales, Table 4 also compares means on all the individual items that make up the task, knowledge, social, and contextual characteristics subscales.

Task Characteristics

Contrary to the prediction in Hypothesis 1a, the difference among paid and unpaid interns for the major task characteristics dimension (i.e., the manually-scaled 14-item measure that included all four task characteristics subscales) was not statistically significant. Looking deeper at the four task-related subscales, only task identity showed a significant difference for paid and volunteer interns. Interestingly, the difference was in the opposite direction I predicted. I predicted that unpaid interns would report lower levels of task identity – a measure that captures whether job tasks have a clear beginning and end. The volunteers in my sample reported higher levels of task identity than did paid interns ($p \leq .10$). Within the task identity subscale, which was comprised of four items, only one of those items (“The internship involved completing a piece of work that had an obvious beginning and end.”) was statistically significant ($p \leq .05$). Volunteer interns had a mean rating of 3.92, compared to 3.69 for paid interns.

Knowledge Characteristics

Knowledge-related work characteristics displayed the largest differences between paid and volunteer interns of all four major WDQ dimensions. These differences were in the direction predicted in Hypothesis 1b – that volunteer interns would report lower levels of knowledge-related job design than paid interns.

Overall, the major knowledge characteristics dimension ($p \leq .001$), and the

subscales of job complexity ($p \leq .001$) and advanced thinking and skills ($p \leq .05$) that comprised it, were statistically significantly different, with volunteer interns reporting lower means. Most of the individual items which make up these subscales were also significantly different, as can be seen in Table 4.

Social Characteristics

Social-related characteristics as a whole also followed the hypothesized prediction that unpaid interns would report lower levels of job design than paid interns would. The overall social characteristics dimension was significantly different ($p \leq .05$), as were the social support ($p \leq .10$) and interdependence ($p \leq .01$) subscales. The feedback from others subscale was not statistically significantly different.

Contextual Characteristics

Practically none of the contextual characteristics measures showed any differences between paid and volunteer interns. The overall dimension was not statistically significantly different, nor were any of the subscales. One item within the equipment use subscale, which measured the level of use of equipment during the internship, was significantly different ($p \leq .05$), but interestingly in the opposite direction as I had predicted in Hypothesis 2. I had predicted that volunteer interns would have less access to technology than paid interns. But in my sample, volunteer interns reported using a greater variety of equipment in their internships than paid interns. In Table 4 the mean for volunteers is 2.54, compared to 3.11 for paid interns (recall that the equipment use items were reverse-coded such that *higher* scores indicate *lower* equipment use; this is explained at length in the measures section of Chapter 3, as well as in the footnote section of Table 4). Of note, however, is that while volunteer interns reported using a

greater variety of equipment, they did report using less complex equipment than paid interns. However, as Table 4 points out, the means for equipment complexity were not statistically different.

Internship Job Satisfaction and Vocational Self-Concept

While the reported mean differences for the internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept scales were lower for unpaid interns than paid interns, neither difference was statistically significant. Regarding the individual items for satisfaction, unpaid interns had a statistically significant lower response for: “I was generally satisfied with the kind of work I did at my internship.” ($p \leq .05$). Regarding the individual items for VSC, unpaid interns had a statistically significant lower response for “I know my own values well enough to make a career decision right now.” ($p \leq .05$), and “On the basis of my internship, I have a real clear picture of what kind of person I am.” ($p \leq .10$)

Control Variables

Several controls were statistically different between paid and volunteer interns. Volunteer internships were more than two months shorter than those of paid interns, on average (4 months; $p \leq .001$), and their workweek contained fewer hours worked (20 hours, compared to 28 hours for paid interns; $p \leq .001$). Volunteer interns were more likely to be found in nonprofit organizations ($p \leq .01$), but were less likely to be found in public and governmental organizations ($p \leq .001$), than were paid interns. In employers with between 10-50 regular employees, interns were more likely to be unpaid than paid ($p \leq .05$). For very large employers – those with more than 1000 regular workers – interns were more likely to be paid than volunteers ($p \leq .001$).

Among students majoring in the business and STEM disciplines, interns were

more likely to be paid than unpaid ($p \leq .001$ and $p \leq .05$, respectively), but the opposite was true for liberal arts majors ($p \leq .001$). Female interns were more likely to be volunteer than paid ($p \leq .10$). Among the international students in the sample, all were paid interns, and none worked as volunteers ($p \leq .10$).

 Insert Table 4 about here

Structural Equation Modeling Analyses

I used structural equation modeling (SEM), conducted in SPSS AMOS version 21, to test the model depicted in Figure 1 above. First, I tested a five-factor model which included pay status and the four work design variables (task characteristics, knowledge characteristics, social characteristics, and contextual characteristics). Second, a mediating model was tested which added the outcomes of internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept to the five-factor model. Under this scenario, I was specifically testing whether the four work design variables mediated the relationships between pay and job satisfaction, and pay and vocational self-concept. Mediation is evaluated by checking the statistical significance of path coefficients of a mediational pathway (Kenny, Kashy, and Bolger, 1998), which means that a mediating hypothesis is supported when all the paths making up the mediating process are statistically significant.

The model fit of both these SEM models were assessed using commonly-accepted metrics, particularly Chi-square (χ^2), root-mean-square error of approximation (RMSEA), the comparative fit index (CFI), and standardized root mean square residual (SRMR; Kline, 2005). Although the Chi-square values for both models were statistically

significant ($p \leq .001$ for both), neither the five-factor model nor the mediating model exhibited acceptable model fit in terms of RMSEA, CFI, or SRMR. Model fit for the five-factor model was: RMSEA = .42, CFI = .09, SRMR = .13. For the mediating model, fit was: RMSEA = .39, CFI = .57, SRMR = .54. An acceptable level for RMSEA and SRMR is less than .10, and greater than .90 for CFI (Kline, 2005).

While the path coefficients generated by SEM resemble those that were generated by the series of OLS regressions performed below, because the models did not display acceptable fit indices, their estimates were not further used in this paper. As an alternative analytic strategy, I conducted a series of OLS regressions to test the potential relationships between variables. These regression analyses and their results are presented below.

Regression Analyses – Paid vs. Unpaid Intern and Work Design Characteristics, Internship Job Satisfaction, and Vocational Self-Concept

The means analysis above revealed bivariate relationships between volunteer interns and work design characteristics, internship job satisfaction, and vocational self-concept. To explore these further, I conducted SEM tests; however, the models tested using SEM did not exhibit acceptable model fit, and their estimates could not be reliably used. As such, to see if the bivariate relationships may have other explanations, a series of OLS regressions was conducted.

Tables 5 and 6 report on six models where pay status is the independent variable, and the major WDQ dimensions (task characteristics, knowledge characteristics, social characteristics, and contextual characteristics; Table 5) and internship job satisfaction and VSC (Table 6) are, separately, the dependent variables. Each column is the full model for

each dependent variable, with all controls included.

Not all models were statistically significant; that is, their F -statistic did not reach conventional levels of significance. Estimates from these non-statistically-significant models are not discussed in detail below, as they may not provide reliable results. The models which *did* have statistically significant model fit in terms of their overall F -statistic include Model 2 (dependent variable = knowledge characteristics) and Model 3 (dependent variable = social characteristics); results from these are discussed below.

MODEL 2 – Knowledge Characteristics

The model predicting knowledge characteristics had an Adjusted R-square of .13. After controlling for multiple control variables, the relationship between pay status remained statistically significant. Unpaid interns reported experiencing lower levels of knowledge characteristics during their internship than did paid interns ($p \leq .10$). In terms of controls, the number of hours worked per week in the internship ($p \leq .05$), being a female student ($p \leq .10$), and being Asian ($p \leq .01$) were positively related to higher reported knowledge characteristics.

MODEL 3 – Social Characteristics

The model predicting knowledge characteristics had an Adjusted R-square of .07. As with knowledge characteristics, unpaid interns also reported their internships having lower levels of social characteristics than paid interns ($p \leq .05$). Interns who worked in nonprofit organizations ($p \leq .05$), and female interns ($p \leq .05$), reported higher levels of knowledge characteristics. Students who completed internships in organizations that had between 51-100 paid employees reported lower levels of social characteristics in their internship than those working in very large organizations with 1000 or more employees

($p \leq .10$), the latter of which was the omitted category.

 Insert Tables 5 and 6 about here

Regression Analyses – Work Design Characteristics as Predictors of Internship Job Satisfaction and Vocational Self-Concept

Models 5 and 6 above – those with the outcome variables satisfaction and VSC – were expanded to include the four WDQ dimensions of task, knowledge, social, and contextual characteristics. This was done in order to explore to what extent job design might explain college student outcomes (since pay status did not prove to be directly related to either internship job satisfaction or vocational self-concept; this was so in the OLS regression analyses above, as well as in the non-fitting SEM model described earlier). Such findings help to replicate (and either support or call into question) earlier internship researcher's examinations (as described in Chapter 2) of the linkages between job design and outcomes such as internship job satisfaction and career development metrics.

The expanded regressions are presented in Table 7. Model 7 is the expanded version of Model 5 (internship job satisfaction), and Model 8 is the expanded version of Model 6 (vocational self-concept). For ease of view and comparison, Models 5 and 6 are duplicated in Table 7, side-by-side with their expanded model.

Both expanded Models 7 and 8 are statistically significant in terms of model fit (as measured via the statistical significance of their F -statistic; $p \leq .001$ for both models). Additionally, the changes in model fit from Model 5 to Model 7 ($p \leq .001$), and

Model 6 to Model 8 ($p \leq .001$), were statistically significant. The Adjusted R-square from Model 5 to Model 7 went from .03 to .49, and the Adjusted R-square from Model 6 to Model 8 went from -.03 to .34. Thus, adding the WDQ dimensions statistically significantly improved the explanatory power of each model.

When task, knowledge, social, and contextual characteristics are added to the equations predicting internship job satisfaction (see Model 7) and vocational self-concept (see Model 8), all four are statistically significantly positive predictors of internship job satisfaction, and all but task characteristics are statistically significantly positively related to VSC.

As in the previous internship job satisfaction and VSC models (5 and 6), in the expanded models pay status continues to not be statistically significantly related to the dependent variables, even though it operates in the hypothesized direction (that is, the estimates are negative). While pay status does directly relate to some aspects of work design (knowledge and social characteristics; see Models 2 and 3), in this sample it simply appears to be directly unrelated to the outcomes internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept.

As for control variables, most of the demographics that were statistically significant in the previous models (5 and 6) remained so in the expanded models 7 and 8. These include internship organizational size, GPA, and race in the job satisfaction equation, gender and race in the VSC equation.

Insert Table 7 about here

One final analysis in this section was conducted to examine whether Vocational Self-Concept predicts internship job satisfaction. It may be the case that an intern's degree of clarity about themselves and their "career selves" influences their satisfaction with their internship experience. Further, this relationship may be moderated by pay status.

These ideas were explored through two separate OLS regression analyses. In the first, VSC was not a significant predictor of internship job satisfaction. In the second – the moderation analysis – there was not a statistically significant interaction between pay status and the relationship between VSC and internship job satisfaction. Since neither model yielded significant estimates, the results are not presented here in tabular form.

Pay Status as a Potential Moderator of the Relationship between Work Design Dimensions, and Internship Job Satisfaction and Vocational Self-Concept

Given that pay status did not *directly* influence internship job satisfaction or VSC in the models described above, but that the four WDQ dimensions *did* overwhelmingly relate to these outcomes, additional tests were conducted to examine whether pay status (paid vs. unpaid) moderated any of the relationships between the WDQ dimensions (task, knowledge, social, contextual characteristics), and internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept.

Two models were created, Model 9 (an expanded version of Model 7, with internship job satisfaction as the dependent variable), and Model 10 (an expanded version of Model 8, with VSC as the dependent variable). To ease interpretation of the eventual moderation results, the independent variables of pay status and the four WDQ dimensions, as well as the interaction terms between each, were mean-centered. That is,

before running the regressions, new variables were computed for each of these variables which reflect the standardized values (the original value minus the variable mean) of each. Without this step the interpretation of the moderation effects, if found to be significant, would be more difficult because the dependent variable values which would be listed on the plotted interaction graph would not be the same as the units used in the survey (although the nature of the relationships, and thus the interpretation, would be the same). Doing this step allows us to understand any statistically significant effects in terms of internship job satisfaction on a 1-5 scale, and vocational self-concept on the 7-35 scale described above (recall that responses on VSC were summed, rather than averaged, to create a composite VSC score).

Both Model 9 and Model 10 are statistically significant in terms of their F-values ($p \leq .05$ for both). The Adjusted R-square from Model 7 to Model 9 (relating to internship job satisfaction) went from .49 to .51, and the Adjusted R-square from Model 8 to Model 10 (relating to vocational self-concept) went from .34 to .35. In Table 8, which shows Model 9 and 10, the control variables were included but are not shown since there was no change in significance among variables from Models 7 and 8.

When the four pay status by WDQ dimension interaction terms (unpaid X task characteristics; unpaid X knowledge characteristics; unpaid X social characteristics; unpaid X contextual characteristics) were added in both the new models, only the interaction term between pay status and task characteristics proved statistically significant. This was so in both models; that is, pay status moderated the relationships between both task characteristics and internship job satisfaction, and task characteristics and vocational self-concept.

Insert Table 8 about here

Visual depictions of these interactive relationships were plotted according to standard procedures suggested by Aiken and West (1991), and are shown below in Figure 2 (for internship job satisfaction) and Figure 3 (for VSC). When it came to internship job satisfaction, unpaid interns were more greatly impacted by the presence or absence of task characteristics in their internships than were paid interns ($p \leq .05$). This same relationship was true for VSC. Unpaid interns were more sensitive to changes in task characteristics level, such that lower levels of task characteristics resulted in lower VSC than paid interns, and higher levels of task characteristics resulted in higher VSC than paid interns ($p \leq .10$).

Insert Figures 2 and 3 about here

Work Design Subscales as Predictors of Internship Job Satisfaction and Vocational Self-Concept

In the previous two sections, the four major work design dimensions of task, knowledge, social, and contextual-related characteristics were almost all positively related to satisfaction and outcomes. As described in Chapter 3, these subscales are comprised of multiple other scales, which are related, but do have different underlying constructs. In this section, I focus on what effect these subscales individually, rather than combined with one another into a larger dimension, have on satisfaction and outcomes.

To accomplish this, I ran eight separate OLS regressions. In each, I added pay status, and all of the subscales related to one of the four major dimensions, into a single regression. For example, in the first regression, I added pay status along with task identity, task significance, autonomy, and feedback from the job into a regression model predicting internship job satisfaction. For satisfaction, I ran three more models, one each for each of the knowledge-related subscales, the social-related subscales, and the contextual-related subscales. For VSC I ran another four models with the same set-up described above for satisfaction, but this time with VSC rather than satisfaction as the dependent variable. The same control variables included in above regressions were also included here; although, estimates for control variables are excluded from the tables for parsimony. Because I was most interested in the influence of the subscales, in the paragraphs below the results are described by subscale, and in relation to both outcomes. The combined results are shown in Table 9.

Task-Related Subscales

In Models 7 and 8 above, the major task characteristics measure was positively related to satisfaction at the $p \leq .10$ level, and was unrelated to VSC at all. Digging deeper into that task scale and examining the subscales reveals that task significance and autonomy are in fact the two subscales positively related to both outcomes. Neither the task identity nor feedback from the job subscales were related to satisfaction or VSC.

Knowledge-Related Subscales

While the knowledge factor was positively related to both outcomes in Models 7 and 8, this deeper analysis reveals that it is wholly the advanced thinking and skills subscale that powers this relationship. Job complexity was not a statistically significant

predictor of either satisfaction or VSC.

Social-Related Subscales

The social subscales were a mixed bag in terms of their influence on internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept. Of the three subscales, social support was strongly related to both at the $p \leq .001$ level. Interdependence was not at all related to satisfaction, but was positively related to VSC. Feedback from others was positively related to both satisfaction and VSC.

Contextual-Related Subscales

Finally, the ergonomics, physical demands, and working conditions subscales were positively related to both satisfaction and VSC. Given the direction of the measures, this means that better ergonomics, lower physical demands, and higher quality working conditions had a positive influence on outcomes. Equipment usage was not statistically significantly related to satisfaction or VSC.

 Insert Table 9 about here

Summary of Results of Hypotheses Tests

Taken together, all of the above analyses lend support to Hypothesis 1b (a relationship between pay status and knowledge characteristics) and Hypothesis 1c (a relationship between pay status and social characteristics, but not to Hypothesis 1a (pay status and task characteristics), Hypothesis 2 (pay status and contextual characteristics), Hypothesis 3 (pay status and internship job satisfaction), or Hypothesis 4 (pay status and vocational self-concept). Job design (particularly task, knowledge, social, and contextual

characteristics) was largely found to relate to internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept, and pay status was found to moderate the relationships between task characteristics and satisfaction and VSC. Breaking down job design from its four major dimensions into the smaller subscales, and entering those subscales into regression models predicting internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept, revealed a finer-grained understanding of how work design influences these outcomes. The subscales that positively related to both satisfaction and VSC were task significance, autonomy, advanced thinking and skills, social support, feedback from others, ergonomics, physical demands, and working conditions. The social subscale of interdependence was positively related only to vocational self-concept.

Exploratory Analyses

In this section I use variables that were collected from respondents, above and beyond those described above, to explore some interesting questions related to paid and unpaid interns and internships. I also present results from a two-factor cluster analysis that was performed to discover whether any notable grouping would emerge from the data.

Family Household Income and Internship Pay Status

A cross-tabulation was performed to ascertain the relationship between a student's background in terms of his or her parent's/household's annual income, and their participation in a paid or unpaid internship. Much anecdotal evidence and small-*n* qualitative interview data is used by both academic researchers (e.g., Perlin, 2011) and popular press writers and journalists (e.g., Hoder, New York Times, 2013) to argue that college students from wealthier backgrounds are more likely to participate in unpaid

internships than students from lower-income backgrounds because more-well-off students can “afford” to take an unpaid internship. This hypothesis has not been tested in published academic literature.

The Chi-Square analysis of my data showed no statistically significant difference between pay status and household income ($p = .62$). That is, students reporting higher levels of family income were no more likely to have completed an unpaid internship than paid ones than students from lower levels of household income.

As a more robust test of this hypothesis, a binary logistic regression analysis was performed with pay status as the dependent variable, household income as the independent variable, and several controls including: internship organization type (for profit, nonprofit, public), internship organization size measured in number of employees, year in college at the time of beginning the internship (sophomore, junior, etc.), academic major discipline (business, sciences, liberal arts), GPA, gender, race, and whether or not the student was an international student.

Logistic regression results mirror those from the cross-tabulation. The household income variable was not statistically significantly related to pay status ($p = .51$). Of the controls, internship organization size, student year in school, academic major, and internship organization type were statistically significantly related to whether an internship was paid or unpaid. Student interning in organizations with 10-50 paid employees were 4.5 times more likely to report being unpaid, compared to students working in organizations with 1,000 or more employees ($p \leq .05$). Year in school was negatively related to unpaid internships; as students moved up in years of college, they were 40% less likely to have reported being an unpaid intern ($p \leq .10$). In terms of

college major discipline, compared with business majors, liberal arts majors were more than eight times more likely to report having completed an unpaid internship ($p \leq .001$). The most curious finding relates to internship type. Students interning in public organizations were 78% less likely to report being unpaid than students working in *for-profit* host organizations. Two plausible explanations may exist, the first of which may be an artifact of the data. The respondents overwhelmingly completed their internships in for-profit firms (67%). Thus, the sheer high number of for-profit interns, and low number of public interns, in this particular sample may be exaggerating any differences which may exist. A second explanation may have to deal with the nature of the public/governmental sector, which can be argued to be more “in the know” of federal and state labor regulations concerning the use of unpaid interns, as well as overall more bureaucratic than for-profit firms. As discussed in Chapter 2, recent FLSA regulations have attempted to put more teeth into oversight of unpaid interns, as more and more firms of all types (for profit, nonprofit, public) have faced increasing accusations of abusing unpaid labor. Public organizations, perhaps because of their bureaucratic nature, or their proximity to or greater knowledge of federal and other regulatory frameworks, may be more hesitant to utilize unpaid labor than other types of organizations, even for-profit organizations (which may utilize unpaid labor simply out of ignorance of applicable laws; as anecdotal experience, I myself completed an unpaid internship at a for-profit major air carrier in the U.S. during my undergraduate years).

Effect of Pay Level (Dollars per Hour) on Internship Job Satisfaction and Vocational Self-Concept

Previous research has not specifically considered the effect that pay levels might

have on intern outcomes. D'Abate and her colleagues (2009) did include pay satisfaction in their study of intern job satisfaction, but actual pay amounts were not considered. And in any of the studies on intern vocational and career development, pay amount is not considered. Thus, in this study a pay per hour (in U.S. dollars) variable was regressed onto internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept to identify whether any relationships existed.

Two OLS regression models were run with pay level, in U.S. dollar per hour, as the independent variable, internship job satisfaction or VSC as the dependent variables, and the same controls as were included in Models 7-10. In these new models, the four major WDQ dimensions were included as controls.

Among the 92 paid interns in my dataset, pay level did not turn out to be statistically significantly related to either internship job satisfaction or vocational self-concept. As shown and discussed in the models above, aspects such as job design and some of the control variables influenced a student's satisfaction with their internship, and their level of career development. For paid interns, the amount of money they were paid did not influence their outcomes above and beyond these other predictors.

Two-Factor Cluster Analysis

I conducted a two-factor cluster analysis using SPSS Statistics version 21. In selecting variables to include in the analysis, my strategy was to choose variables that weren't too highly correlated so that meaningful groupings, if present, could surface. Two categorical variables – pay status and internship type (for profit, nonprofit, or public) – were included. Internship duration in months, number of hours worker per week in the internship, and internship host organization size in number of employees were the

continuous variables included. The clusters were determined using these five variables. SPSS provides the option to include “evaluation variables,” to which the inputted categorical and continuous variables will be compared. I included the four major work design dimensions – task characteristics, knowledge characteristics, social characteristics, and contextual characteristics – as evaluation variables.

Four clusters emerged from the analysis; these are displayed separately in Figures 4-7. The clusters fell primarily along the lines of internship type and pay status. Cluster 1 consisted of only volunteer/unpaid interns in for-profit firms. Cluster 2 consisted of both paid and volunteer interns in public/governmental organizations. Cluster 3 consisted of both paid and volunteer interns in nonprofits. And Cluster 4 consisted of only paid interns in for-profit firms.

The box plots in Figures 4-7 compare each cluster’s median on each variable to the median of the entire sample. Some notable results emerge, and are presented below in terms of the categorical, continuous, and evaluation variables.

Volunteer interns in for-profit firms worked the fewest hours per week at 19.44, followed by all interns (paid and volunteer) in nonprofit firms who worked 20.36 hours. Both of these groups’ weekly hours worked was below the median of the sample. Paid interns in for-profit firms worked the most hours per week, 29.12.

Nonprofit interns worked in the smallest size organizations. Interestingly, unpaid for-profit interns also worked in small firms. Both paid interns in for-profits, and all interns in public organizations, largely reported working for very big organizations.

Nonprofit and for-profit unpaid interns tended to have internships that were shorter than both their public and paid for-profit counterparts. The former two groups’

internships typically ranged from 4-5 months, while the latter two groups' internships typically lasted between 5 and 7 months.

Very interestingly, paid interns in for-profit firms reported the lowest levels of task characteristics, lower than all nonprofit and public interns, and even lower than unpaid interns in for-profit firms. This is a result that, while contradictory to my preconceptions above, may make sense upon closer inspection. I proffer some explanations as to what this result might mean in Chapter 6.

Volunteer interns in for-profit firms reported the lowest levels of knowledge characteristics, followed by nonprofit interns. Both medians were below the overall median. Public interns reported the highest median level at 3.74, and paid interns in for-profit firms had a slightly lower median at 3.70.

The median social characteristics level was notably lower for volunteer interns in for-profit firms than it was for the other three clusters, which were grouped around a median of 3.63 to 3.73. The median for interns in for profits was 3.33.

Finally, for contextual characteristics, interns in public organizations were the only to have a median below that of the entire group. As a reminder, higher values in this contextual scale indicate better conditions – more access to equipment, higher quality working conditions and ergonomics, and lower physical demands. Thus, this result suggests that interns in public organizations worked in worse environments than the group overall. All other groups had medians at or above the overall median, with unpaid interns in for-profit firms reporting the highest median. Perhaps those for-profit firms were paying these otherwise unpaid interns via a pleasant working environment.

Summary of the Chapter

In this chapter I presented results from several analyses. First, descriptive statistics and a correlation table were presented. Next, mean responses between paid and unpaid interns were compared. Then, the outcome of a structural equation modeling (SEM) analysis of the research model in Figure 1 was discussed. Because the SEM measurement model did not display acceptable model fit indices, next, a series of OLS regressions were used to explore relationships between the pay status, work characteristics, and satisfaction and vocational self-concept variables, as well as the control variables. This chapter concluded with additional exploratory analyses using variables collected from respondents.

CHAPTER 5 – DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, LIMITATIONS, CONCLUSION

This chapter first provides a detailed discussion of the findings presented above, particularly in relation to existing college student intern and volunteerism literatures. Combined with this discussion is consideration of the finding's implications for both students and employer organizations. Next, several limitations of this study are presented. Finally, I provide some concluding thoughts.

Discussion of Findings, with Implications for Students and Employers

In this study, I sought out to learn more about unpaid labor by exploring the case of unpaid interns. Within organization and management scholarship, volunteer workers have generally received scant attention. My literature review (in Chapter 1) of 33 of the top industrial relations, human resource management, and organizational behavior journals turned up a mere 21 articles that dealt with unpaid labor, leaving a gap in the knowledge as it relates to the plethora topics covered in these and other journals. In the present study I honed in on three outcomes in particular – job design, job satisfaction, and career development.

Volunteerism scholarship provided another basis from which to explore differences between paid and unpaid labor; however, as discussed in Chapter 1, most volunteerism research published in the psychological domain (which is closest in relevance to human resource management-type concerns) has dealt with the motivation to volunteer. Other aspects of unpaid work, such as job design, have remained largely untouched.

Since the empirical tests performed as part of this dissertation involved interns, a third avenue for exploring potential differences between paid and unpaid workers was the

college student internship literature. Given the relative ubiquity of internships in educational systems worldwide, this line of research has developed into its own strand, often being published in such journals as *Journal of Vocational Development*, *Academy of Management Learning and Education*, and *Career Development International*. After careful examination of this literature, surprisingly little was found to have been researched about pay status, or potential differences in experiences and outcomes between paid and unpaid interns. Of the entire literature, only one single article (D'Abate, 2009) makes anything more than a passing mentioning of pay status, and even in this article the issue of pay does not find its way into the author's final analysis.

It is under this backdrop that I examined potential differences between paid and unpaid workers, focusing on job design, job satisfaction, and career development as outcomes, and using college interns as a case. As has been stated earlier, Feldman and colleagues (1998) noted that job design has been the most consistently examined variable in the study of internships, with internship job characteristics being key determinants of intern job satisfaction (D'Abate et al., 2009) and student vocational development (Brooks et al., 1995; Taylor, 1988).

The Job Design of Unpaid Labor

Of the four work design dimensions (or factors) analyzed (task, knowledge, social, and contextual characteristics), unpaid interns reported statistically significantly lower levels of knowledge and social-related characteristics during their internships than did paid interns. This was as predicted in Hypothesis 1b and 1c. Results for task and contextual-related characteristics, although in the predicted directions, were not statistically significantly different between paid and volunteer interns. Below, the

significant dimensions of knowledge and social characteristics are discussed, and then attention is paid to the non-significant dimensions of task and contextual characteristics.

Knowledge and Social Characteristics

In terms of knowledge characteristics, volunteer interns reported that their work was less complex than paid interns (the job complexity subscale); specifically, that they engaged in relatively simple and uncomplicated tasks, or had jobs that only required that they perform one task or activity at a time, more often. This conclusion is based on the means analysis. Unpaid interns also reported that their internships required less advanced thinking and use of skills than did paid interns (the advanced thinking and skills subscale). Volunteers weren't required to engage in as much thinking, weren't required to use as large of a variety of skills in order to accomplish their tasks, weren't required to use as many complex and high-levels skills to do their jobs, and their jobs didn't require the same depth of knowledge and expertise as paid internships.

Social characteristics-wise, unpaid interns reported lower levels of social support during their internship experiences than did paid interns (the social support subscale). Specifically, they found fewer opportunities to develop close friendships, and reported less of a chance to get to know others at the internship work site, than paid interns. In this domain, unpaid interns also reported lower levels of interdependence (the interdependence subscale) in their internships than did paid interns. Volunteers' work was less critical to the work of others in the organization, and their own work was less dependent upon the work of others, than was the work of paid interns.

These findings accord generally with the anecdotal positions and theories of volunteerism researchers that volunteer work tends to be less structured and less

formalized than paid work (e.g., Bussell and Forbes, 2002). As Jone Pearce (1993a) notes, organizations often consider volunteer work (and by extension volunteer workers) to be of peripheral importance. In her matched-pairs study of volunteers and paid staff in different types of nonprofits, she found that employers tended to be less precise about formal responsibilities and knowledge requirements when it came to volunteers. This was so even when the same employer had paid workers working in the same positions (that is, newspaper companies, using an example from her paper, who had employees and volunteers performing the exact same roles would display a higher degree of formalization for the paid workers than they would for volunteers, even though its success depended upon the performance of both groups of workers). In describing internal labor market (ILM) theory decades ago, Doeringer (1967) explained the need for ILMs by describing how firms would not much care about mobility patterns and entry points if labor was “costless” (p. 213). While I would not make the leap to suggest that organizations that employ volunteer interns totally disregard planning for such positions, my data do suggest that, on average, unpaid jobs do exhibit lower levels of structure around the knowledge and social-related characteristics of work.

These findings also mirror a recent uptick of complaints, and even lawsuits, by more and more unpaid interns who argue that these “free labor” internships increasingly lack clear learning objectives and fail to provide meaningful experiences (Narayanan et al., 2010; Rolston & Herrera, n.d.).

Specifically related to college student interns, these findings could have a detrimental effect on the entire notion of internships. As Gerken and colleagues (2012) argue: “[internships] provide students with the opportunity to develop not only work

skills but also an understanding of the workplace” (p. 8). And Cook et al. (2004) found that students listed among the most beneficial aspects of internships to be the chance to develop their social skills, and to better understand and be able to apply what they’ve learned in class in a real working environment. If these and other positive benefits accrue to students who complete internships, but unpaid interns experience fewer opportunities to engage in complex work or to build meaningful social networks, then volunteer interns may not be realizing the full potential of the internship experience.

Diminished knowledge and social job characteristics, and their potential effects on unpaid interns, may well also have detrimental effects on employer organizations. Hurst and Good (2010), among many others, identify employers as key “benefactors” of internships. In particular, internships provide employers with a lower-cost and “relatively cheap” method of recruitment and selection (Beckett, 2006; Rothman & Lampe, 2010). Additionally, Degraev et al. (2012) found that firms benefit from interns because college students bring novel and updated content knowledge and technical skills that enhance company know-how and productivity. As a result, they argue, interns “produce real and tangible positive outcomes for the host organization” by, among other things, “solving problems and completing projects” (p. 33). If unpaid internships are systematically lacking opportunities for student workers to apply their complex and updated knowledge and skills in their internship work, and allow for less social interaction and relationship building, then firms may not be fully capitalizing on the potential they can glean from their unpaid interns workforce.

Also related to the organizational perspective is the issue of coordination and supervision costs. Birch and colleagues (2010) and Gerken and colleagues (2012) note

that because interns come to firms with little or no prior relevant work experience, many need constant guidance and direction in their daily work, as well as extensive training and support, before they begin to truly add value to a company. This “ramping-up” period may be made longer if unpaid jobs are already less structured in terms of knowledge and social characteristics from the start, resulting in increased coordination and supervision costs for host organizations.

Task and Contextual Characteristics

In the regression analysis comparing pay status and task characteristics (Model 1 in Chapter 4), pay status was not statistically significantly related to task characteristics. However, in the means comparisons which preceded the regressions, and in which a more fine-grained comparison of the subscales and specific items was conducted (albeit without controls), the task identity subscale was statistically significant *in the opposite direction* as predicted in Hypothesis 1a. Specifically, unpaid interns reported that they were more likely to be involved in completing a piece of work that had an obvious beginning and end than paid interns.

This finding, while puzzling at first, doesn’t necessarily obviate the idea that unpaid jobs exhibit lower-quality work characteristics than paid jobs. In fact, it may support it when one considers the notion of task identity as it applies to various types of work. Task identity refers to whether or not workers are completing tasks, or are working on tasks that have obvious start and end points. However, it says nothing about the complexity of those tasks, or the expertise needed to successfully perform those tasks, for example. Pearce (1993a) and others have described volunteers often being assigned to peripheral jobs. If such jobs are also overwhelmingly non-complex and lacking in

challenge, then it may be the case that those in them would perceive the job to be simple and straightforward, having a logical beginning and end (because they are performing relatively simpler tasks). This would be in contrast to, say, an intern who was working on a project in which a solution was being sought, but there was no clear answer as to what the “correct” solution was. To provide an anecdotal example, when I worked in the Strategic Pricing department at US Airways I had no defined day-to-day tasks. Instead, my job was to show up to work in the morning, log into my computer, and think of and research potential problems with the airline’s pricing approaches in its thousands of city-pair markets, and then create solutions for those problems. For the problems that I identified that could not be solved in my domain of responsibility (e.g., not a problem with pricing per se, but, for example, an issue of too many or not enough daily flights serving a particular destination, or use of the wrong size aircraft on the route), I passed things off to the route planning department. Were I asked to rate that strategic pricing job, which required an MBA degree and previous experience as a condition of employment, I would likely report that it rarely had a beginning and end, and that I didn’t always finish work that I started. Similarly, the paid interns in my sample may be reporting relatively more complex work through their responses to the task identity items (indeed, as discussed above, paid interns did rate their work higher in terms of job complexity and the requirement of advanced thinking and skills than did unpaid interns).

As for contextual characteristics, the finding of no difference may be explained by the fact that physical aspects of work, such as working conditions and ergonomics, are largely governed by workplace safety standards and regulations (such as OSHA), and that these internship jobs, whether paid or unpaid, fall under the purview of organizational

adherence to workplace regulations in the same way that their regular, full-time positions do.

Predictors of Internship Job Satisfaction

Pay Status and Job Satisfaction

Generally speaking, unpaid interns reported lower internship job satisfaction than did paid interns (3.81 mean satisfaction rating for unpaid interns, compared to 3.94 for paid interns; see Table 2 of Chapter 4); however, this difference was not large enough to be statistically different. Pay status continues not to be statistically related to satisfaction after running regression analyses with additional independent variables and controls.

College students glean many things from internships, some related to the actual work they perform, some related to the social relationships formed, and many related simply to having performed an internship in the first place. In this latter category include things like being able to list the internship (and the industry or occupationally-relevant experience that comes along with it) on one's resume, or learning more about a particular industry or occupation or firm well enough to know whether or not it is something one really wants to do for a living. Indeed, Knouse and colleagues (2012) noted that internships provide students with a realistic job preview, and Gerken et al. (2012) and Atkins (1980) found that students who had completed an internship during college had higher job satisfaction and lower turnover in their first full-time, paid job out of college, likely owing to the fact that their internships helped them figure out their way vocationally. Further, D'Abate et al. (2009) found that interns (as opposed to students who had not completed an internship) tended to be promoted faster and had greater organizational commitment in their first full-time jobs, and were more satisfied with their

vocational choices. Gerken and colleagues (2012) also noted that interns tend to have stronger and more attractive resumes, and obtain a greater number of higher-quality initial job offers sooner, than students who do not intern. Taken together, unpaid interns, even in the midst of having fewer opportunities to develop meaningful social connections or utilize complete knowledge and skills during their internship, still stand to gain a laundry list of other benefits from their experiences. This may help to explain why they are generally as satisfied with their experiences as are paid interns.

Work Design and Job Satisfaction

Given that there was no direct effect of pay status on internship job satisfaction, I took advantage of having the data available to examine whether work characteristics related to internship job satisfaction. To a small extent these tests replicated previous research by scholars who have examined the effect of some aspects of task characteristics on internship job satisfaction (e.g., D'Abate et al., 2009, and Rothman, 2003). However, unlike previous research, the analyses performed in this study employ all four categories of work design (task, knowledge, social, and contextual), and does so using a large number of items from a contemporary and empirically-proven job design framework beyond that of Hackman and Oldham's 1976 publication (i.e., the Work Design Questionnaire by Morgeson and Humphrey, 2006).

Where this study replicates previous research (i.e., concerning task characteristics), support was found for a link between job design in the form of task-related elements and internship job satisfaction. Greater task significance and autonomy resulted in interns (both paid and unpaid) reporting higher levels of internship job satisfaction (see Table 9). These findings somewhat mirror results from prior studies, and

also contradict them in places. Students in Rothman's (2003) sample of 143 junior and senior business majors reported satisfaction with the task variety and autonomy present in their internships, and D'Abate and colleagues (2009) found task significance and feedback to be positively related to internship job satisfaction. Concerning this latter D'Abate and colleagues (2009) study, I did not find an effect for feedback in my sample.

This study adds new knowledge concerning the relationships between knowledge, social, and contextual characteristics and internship job satisfaction. All three major job design dimensions are positively related to satisfaction for both paid and unpaid interns. This is not overly surprising, especially in light of the fact that task characteristics had already been found to be positively related to satisfaction as well. Students tend to enjoy their internship experiences more if they have the opportunity to engage in challenging and stimulating work, use a depth of expertise and skills, build meaningful social networks, and receive guidance and feedback from supervisors and peers, as well as work in a safe and comfortable working environment.

All of these findings of a positive relationship between job design characteristics and intern job satisfaction have particular implications for employers. Planko (1996) found that students who had positive internship experiences were likely to discuss their employer in a positive light on their college campus and throughout their social networks, and also often recommended internship and job opportunities at the firm to others. Those who had negative experiences also shared their perspectives. Thus, an organization's reputation and goodwill possibly stands to be enhanced or damaged as a result of its intern workforce's overall experiences and satisfaction levels.

Predictors of Vocational Self-Concept

Pay Status and Vocational Self-Concept

Unpaid interns reported lower career development benefits in terms of vocational self-concept than did paid interns (27.17 VSC rating for unpaid interns, compared to 28.00 for paid interns; see Table 2 of Chapter 4); however, this difference was not large enough to be statistically different. And pay status continues not to be statistically related to VSC after running regression analyses with additional independent variables and controls.

In a content analysis of 66 empirical and non-empirical articles on internships, Gerken and colleagues (2012) identified enhanced career preparation as the single most cited benefit of internships for students. That is, more than anything else, internships help college students “figure out” what they want to do in life career-wise, and whether or not the path that they are currently on is the one for them. Contrary to my prediction in Hypothesis 3, the data in this study suggest that both paid and unpaid internships have a relatively equally positive vocational development effect on students. The VSC scores for unpaid and paid interns were 27.17 and 28.00, respectively, both on the high end of the VSC range of 7-35 (a midpoint score, which would indicate a neutral level of career development, is 21). The items used to measure vocational self-concept include statements such as “My internship experience taught me a lot about myself” and “I know myself well enough to know what kind of job fits me.” Both positive and negative internship experiences can help students answer questions like these, even if the answers are totally different (that is, whether an internship confirms for a student that their chosen occupation or target employer is the one for them, or confirms for them that they need to explore alternative options). Such logic may help to explain why unpaid interns, who

report statistically significant fewer opportunities to utilize advanced knowledge and expertise and develop meaningful social relationships during their internships when compared to paid interns, ultimately report the same career development benefits from their internship experiences that paid interns do.

Work Design and Vocational Self-Concept

As with work design and internship job satisfaction, the four WDQ dimensions of task, knowledge, social, and contextual characteristics were opportunistically analyzed to explore potential relationships between each of them and vocational self-concept. And as before, these tests provided the opportunity to both replicate prior research, and uncover new knowledge. In terms of previous research, Taylor (1988) found a link between autonomy and vocational self-concept, and Brooks and colleagues (1995) found that feedback was positively related to VSC. And in terms of new knowledge, these analyses provide information on the knowledge, social, and contextual effects of work design on career development.

Unlike the relationship between work design characteristics and satisfaction, not all four dimensions of job design were statistically significantly related to vocational self-concept; task characteristics had no relationship to VSC. Social characteristics had a very strong (estimate = 2.59) and highly statistically significant ($p \leq .001$) positive relationship with career development. Knowledge and contextual characteristics were also positively and significantly related to VSC, though not as strong and as high as social characteristics. That social characteristics had such a strong effect may emphasize the inherently social and relationship-oriented nature of work. As Morgeson and Humphrey (2006) contend, work is largely a social phenomenon that involves relationships with

others, and the quality of these relationships has meaningful effects on workers themselves. The items in the social characteristics dimension included statements about developing friendships and getting to know others in the workplace, receiving information from supervisors and others about one's own work performance, and the like. Receiving such information, and having conversations and learning from others, may be central to one's vocational discernment capability. This presumed importance of the social aspects of work for VSC may also explain the lack of an effect for task characteristics (namely, things like task identity, task significance, and the like). Perhaps it is not the work itself, but rather the feedback interns receive about their own work and performance, that helps them determine their fit in a particular field or firm.

Moderating Effect of Pay Status on the Relationships between Work Characteristics and Internship Job Satisfaction and Vocational Self-Concept

Given that work characteristics largely related positively to both internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept, additional analyses were done to test whether these relationships were moderated by pay status. That is, I explored whether job design mattered differently for the satisfaction and career development of paid versus unpaid interns.

As described in Chapter 4 (see Table 5 and Figures 3 and 4), pay status did moderate the relationship between task characteristics and internship job satisfaction and VSC. Unpaid interns' satisfaction was more negatively impacted (in the case of lower levels of task characteristics), and more positively impacted (in the case of higher levels of task characteristics) than that of paid interns. This same relationship for paid and unpaid interns was found between task characteristics and vocational self-development.

As task characteristics reflect qualities of work such as autonomy and feedback from the job itself, unpaid interns (who already report lower levels of many of these characteristics) may be more sensitive to their absence or lack than paid interns, especially in the wake of lower-quality levels of other job design aspects (e.g., knowledge and social characteristics). This may especially be the case if their unpaid jobs follow the trend of other volunteer work, which has been described as less organized and formal, and existing on the periphery of work organizations (Pearce, 1993a).

Exploratory Analyses Concerning Paid and Unpaid Internships

Two additional questions were opportunistically explored using the data. The first is a major point that permeates popular press and media outlets, and that is increasingly asked (but not empirically answered) by academic writers – whether unpaid internships are largely the privilege of college students from wealthier socioeconomic backgrounds. Using my data, I explore whether or not household/family income is related to the pay status of the internship completed by students. The second question focuses solely on paid interns, and asks whether pay level (in terms of dollars per hour) relates to internship job satisfaction and perceived career development.

Also, a cluster analysis was performed to uncover potential groupings among respondents. The results of all of these analyses are discussed below.

Family Income and the Ability to Perform an Unpaid Internship

A Chi-Square cross-tabulation, and then a binary logistic regression, was performed to compare household income and internship pay status. The latter was done to provide a more robust test of the former, complete with several control variables which may have confounded the analysis. Neither the crosstab nor the logistic regression results

indicated that wealthier students were more likely to have completed an unpaid internship than students from lower socioeconomic categories.

While this is but one analysis using one sample of 168 students located at a mere two universities, and while these results are not nearly the last word on this issue, my data do not support what many anecdotally contend – that unpaid internships are the purview of the rich. Taking these statistically significant findings to be an accurate reflection of the students in my sample, I can speculate at least one reason why wealthier students may not be any more likely to perform unpaid internships than less-well-off students. First, unpaid internships are overwhelmingly located in the nonprofit sector. 57% of nonprofit internships are unpaid, compared to only about a third in private industry (Gardner, 2010). And many of these internships are attached to occupations and organizations involved in relatively low-status or less-attractive work (e.g., social services). Many nonprofits utilize unpaid interns out of a sheer inability to afford to hire paid ones (anecdotally, personally as a member of several nonprofit email listservs, the inability to pay interns remains a constant diatribe among nonprofit organizational leaders and HR professionals). These same organizations are oftentimes resource-strapped when it comes to compensating their full time professionals. It may be the case that, in the educational sorting and academic major selection process, wealthier students may have the ability to avoid lower-paying, lower status fields, in which case they would bypass the largess of unpaid internship opportunities altogether.

An important caveat to this logic is the fact that certain high-status industries, such as fashion and film production, have a history and normalcy of unpaid internship. These fields also tend to be very restrictive in terms of what type of students (namely in

terms of financial capabilities) can pursue education in them (for example, tuition and fees only [exclusive of books, other expenses, or cost of living] for undergraduate students attending the Pratt Institute in NYC, one of the countries preeminent art schools, was \$41,092 for the 2011-12 school year. Of their over 3000 students that year, only 395 applied for institutional financial aid, and 352 were found to have been in need of aid.⁶). Because my sample did not contain students pursuing these fields, I am unable to test this idea using data from the present study.

Pay Level and Paid Intern Outcomes

As described in Chapter 4, I ran two OLS regressions with pay level (in U.S. dollars per hour) as the predictor variable, and internship job satisfaction and vocational self-concept, respectively, as the dependent variables. Several control variables from the previous regressions were also included, and the four WDQ dimensions (task, knowledge, social, and contextual characteristics) were also controlled for.

Pay level did not statistically significantly relate to either of these outcomes. I did not develop *a priori* hypotheses concerning these relationships, and thus did not have any specific expectations about their relationships; this analysis was purely exploratory. As for the results, the same explanation that was proffered above for why pay status (which I did hypothesize about) did not relate as predicted to satisfaction or career development may apply here. Namely, interns may overlook the pay aspects of their internships, even if their pay satisfaction (which was not measured) is low. Instead they may choose to highlight and hone in on other benefits they derive from them (such as including them on their resumes, or meeting individuals in their future occupational field).

⁶ Source: http://collegedata.com/cs/data/college/college_pg03.tmpljhtml?schoolId=109

Cluster Analysis

A two-factor cluster analysis revealed four groupings of respondents – a cluster containing all public sector interns, another containing all nonprofit interns, one for unpaid interns in for-profit firms, and another for paid interns in for-profits.

Some interesting results emerged pertaining to the work design domains. Most notably, paid interns in for-profits reported the lowest median levels of task characteristics. One might think the opposite, as I hypothesized in Chapter 3 – that paid interns in for-profit corporations would have the highest level of task characteristics in their work. However, as I discussed above about task characteristics, this finding may be reflecting the “fuzzy,” problem-solving nature of work in these firms. Perhaps these are professional jobs that are heavily infused with problem-solving tasks like the one I described during my time working at US Airways. That is, these jobs may not register high when one is asked whether they have clear beginnings and ends, or whether they inherently provide feedback about performance (if I recommended pricing changes at US Airways, there was no way to know whether or not I was correct until a few weeks had passed and I was able to see consumer reactions to my changes).

Other than that, volunteer interns in for-profit firms seemed to report lower levels of work design than the other clusters, even interns in nonprofit and for-profit firms. Looking at the organization size data from the box plots, these volunteers in for-profits appear to be working in small firms, perhaps family firms or other types of for-profits that more closely resemble nonprofits in terms of their resources or capabilities. I might also conclude that these firms, perhaps because of resource constraints, are more apt to hire unpaid interns than paid ones; large private firms almost always utilized paid interns.

If this is the case, then volunteer interns in paid firms may be most subject to a working atmosphere that is not well planned or well thought out, even more so than your average nonprofit which may be resource constrained, but is used to operating in a certain environment and has taken a more deliberate approach to unpaid labor.

Limitations of the Study

In light of the results discovered throughout this paper, several limitations must be highlighted, particularly as they relate to the robustness and generalizability of the results.

First, data collection was limited to two public universities in two states, hardly a representative sample of college student interns in the United States. Furthermore, within those two universities, students were culled largely from business disciplines (two of the three data collection sites included the Department of Human Resource Management at Rutgers University, and the Anderson School of Management at University of New Mexico). These aspects of the study likely influenced the type of students who participated, and also restricted the range of possibilities when it comes to interns. Future projects should seek to include a wider array of universities, schools, and students in order to draw more generally representative conclusions.

Doing the expansion above would also deal with another limitation of the present study, namely, its modest sample size. While the number of respondents in my analysis was large enough to uncover statistically significant relationships where they existed, a bigger sample would lend greater credibility to the results, and would allow for even more nuanced analyses of the variables that were collected (for example, running regressions with all of the work characteristics subscales [task identity, social support, job complexity, etc] simultaneously), even if only in an exploratory nature.

Regarding execution of the data collection, a more optimal approach would have been to deploy the surveys in two waves, particularly for the vocational self-concept variable. Measuring student's VSC levels prior to the start of their internships, and then after completion of them, and using the difference between the two in the analyses performed above would allow for a finer-grained understanding of the effect of pay status and work characteristics on career development. Future research, even a replication of the present study, should use this longitudinal approach.

A limitation germane to the sample – interns – relates to the issue of whether or not interns received credit for their internship work, and if they did receive academic credit, whether or not they were required to pay for those credits. Many university programs allow students to count internship experiences toward their graduation requirements in the form of semester or quarter hours (the amount of which may vary as determined by a specific program). Having “paid” for an internship (in the sense that a student had to pay for their experience to “count” toward their degree) may change the way in which they think about their internship, and their attitudes toward outcomes such as satisfaction and career development. Psychological theories of justification and cognitive dissonance suggest that, in the case of a student paying for credit, individuals are more likely to view all experiences, both negative and positive, in a more positive light. Because some (but not all) programs at Rutgers University and the University of New Mexico, the sites which comprise my sample, allow for internships to count for credit, a portion of my respondents may have been influenced by these psychological forces.

On a broader level, this study, though using the case of unpaid interns, was an

analysis of unpaid labor in general. As described in Chapters 1 and 2, volunteers permeate American society, and can be found in a wide range of sectors and organization types, from religious institutions to educational institutions to sports and recreational groups and more. The findings from this study reflect the experience of just one type of volunteer – unpaid interns. Care should be taken when applying these findings to the entirety of unpaid labor, so that any elements specific to internships are not magnified, and that any elements present in other sectors where volunteers work are not inadvertently overlooked. For example, internship job satisfaction is not likely synonymous with the traditional job satisfaction of regular employees. Interns are, by definition, temporary employees. In addition, their motives for working are largely career development oriented, as opposed to fulfilling a need to make money. As such, they may have different thoughts about what makes for satisfying work, and such differences need to be taken into account when translating the findings from this study to other domains.

Conclusion

Volunteers form a sizable workforce in the United States, with nearly 63 million Americans donating 8.1 billion work hours to nonprofit, public, and private work organizations in 2010. These unpaid workers saved those organizations an estimated \$173 billion in wage expenses (Corporation for National and Community Service, 2011). In light of the economic impact and scope of volunteers in the U.S., and in light of the near absence of volunteers in industrial relations, human resource management, and organizational behavior scholarship, this study sought a greater understanding of the design of volunteer jobs, and its implications for volunteer outcomes. It did so using literature and theory from the management and organizations literature, as well as from

the volunteerism and college student intern literatures, to develop theoretically-grounded frameworks and hypotheses.

Using a sample of 168 paid and unpaid interns from two public universities in New Jersey and New Mexico, this study found that volunteer interns experienced statistically significant lower levels of knowledge and social job characteristics. Paid and unpaid workers reported no differences in the task and contextual characteristics they encountered in their jobs. Despite these work design differences, volunteers did not report any less satisfaction in their jobs, nor did they report any lower career development benefits from their work experiences, than did paid workers.

This study and its findings shed new light on volunteer workers and jobs, providing both workers and employers insights that can be used to develop meaningful and effective volunteer jobs that both enhance and enrich workers, and allow unpaid labor to contribute to organizational goals and objectives. Hopefully this research is a first step toward a long and productive line of inquiry concerning one of America's largest workforces.

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Table 1

IR, HR, and OB Journals Included in Volunteer Labor Literature Search

Academy of Management Annals	0	Journal of Human Resources (IR)	1
Academy of Management Journal	4	Journal of Labor Economics (IR)	1
Academy of Management Learning and Education	0	Journal of Management	2
Academy of Management Perspectives	1	Journal of Management Inquiry	1
Academy of Management Review	0	Journal of Management Studies	0
Administrative Science Quarterly	3	Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology	5
British Journal of Industrial Relations (IR)	1	Journal of Organizational Behavior	3
British Journal of Management	2	Organization Science	5
California Management Review	0	Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes	1
Gender, Work and Organization	2	Personnel Psychology	3
Group and Organization Management	0	Personnel Review (IR)	3
Human Relations	10	Research in Organizational Behavior	0
Human Resource Management	1	Small Group Research	1
Industrial and Labor Relations Review (IR)	0	Strategic Management Journal	0
Industrial Relations (IR)	0	Work and Occupations (IR)	0
International Journal of Human Resource Management	3	Work, Employment and Society (IR)	2
Journal of Applied Psychology	10		

Table 2

Summary of Empirical Studies Analyzing the Impact of Job Characteristics on Internship Outcomes

Internship Outcome/ Dependent Variable	Job Characteristic	Relation of Job Characteristic to Outcome	Author/Study*
<i>Internship Job Satisfaction</i>	• Dealing with others	+	Feldman & Weitz
	• Task identity	+	Feldman & Weitz
	• Skill variety	+/+	Feldman & Weitz/Rothman
	• Autonomy	+/+/not significant	Feldman & Weitz/Rothman/D'Abate et al.
	• Task variety	+	Rothman
	• The work itself	+	Rothman
	• Positive relations with coworkers and supervisors	+	Rothman
	• Opportunities to learn	+	Rothman
	• Task significance	+/not significant	D'Abate et al./Feldman & Weitz
	• Supervisor support	+	D'Abate et al.
	• Feedback	+/not significant	D'Abate et al./Feldman & Weitz
<i>Vocational Self- Concept (VSC)</i>	• Autonomy	+	Taylor
	• Work task similarity	-	Taylor
	• Effective supervision	-	Taylor
	• Feedback	+	Brooks et al.

<i>Occupational Knowledge</i>	• Dealing with others	+	Feldman & Weitz
	• Autonomy	+	Feldman & Weitz
	• Task identity	+	Feldman & Weitz
	• Skill variety	+	Feldman & Weitz
	• Task variety	+	Brooks et al.
<i>Perception that the Occupational Field is Challenging</i>	• Dealing with others	+	Feldman & Weitz
	• Autonomy	+	Feldman & Weitz
	• Task identity	+	Feldman & Weitz
	• Skill variety	+	Feldman & Weitz
<i>Willingness to Accept a Job in the same Industry</i>	• Autonomy	+	Feldman & Weitz
<i>Reality Shock (in first job after college)</i>	• Autonomy	+	Taylor
	• Work task similarity	–	Taylor
	• Effective supervision	–	Taylor
<i>Socialization at the Internship Organization</i>	• Autonomy	+	Feldman et al.
	• Opportunities to deal with others	+	Feldman et al.
	• Task identity	–	Feldman et al.

* The Rothman study and findings were not based on statistical tests of a prior hypotheses; rather Rothman asked interns which aspect(s) of the internship were the most satisfying, and then synthesized those individual responses into the broader categories above. Those listed above are the internship characteristics that interns

reported being the most satisfied about, in terms of the percentage of interns reporting being satisfied with that aspect.

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations, Correlations, and Scale Reliabilities

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>
1 UNPAID	0.45	0.50									
2 TASKCHAR (.81)	3.94	0.71	0.03								
3 KNOWCHAR (.88)	3.53	0.70	-0.30**	0.46**							
4 SOCLCHAR (.91)	3.57	0.72	-0.19*	0.64**	0.58**						
5 CNTXCHAR (.80)	3.70	0.69	0.00	0.07	-0.15	-0.15*					
6 INTERNSAT (.77)	3.88	1.07	-0.06	0.53**	0.48**	0.56**	0.24**				
7 VSC (.85)	27.63	4.34	-0.10	0.49**	0.41**	0.58**	0.07	0.46**			
8 INTRNSHPMNTHS	5.20	3.19	-0.35**	-0.03	0.15	0.04	0.10	0.05	0.05		
9 INTRNSHPHRS	24.16	10.29	-0.39**	0.01	0.27**	0.21**	-0.04	0.04	0.10	-0.03	
10 INTRNSHPTYPEPRF	0.67	0.47	0.03	-0.11	-0.09	-.16*	0.10	-0.07	-0.10	-0.17*	0.06
11 INTRNSHPTYPENPO	0.17	0.37	.24**	0.11	-0.03	0.10	-0.04	0.03	0.14	-0.07	-0.17*
12 INTNRSHPTYPEPUB	0.17	0.37	-0.28**	0.03	0.14	0.10	-0.09	0.06	-0.01	0.28**	0.09
13 INTRNSHPSIZE10	0.14	0.35	0.13	-0.02	-0.03	-0.09	0.07	-0.11	-0.06	-0.01	-0.24**
14 INTRNSHPSIZE50	0.18	0.38	.170*	0.04	0.02	0.03	-0.08	0.02	-0.01	-0.07	-0.11
15 INTRNSHPSIZE100	0.08	0.28	0.07	-0.13	-0.19*	-0.18*	-0.07	-0.05	-0.07	-0.08	-0.15
16 INTRNSHPSIZE500	0.08	0.28	0.07	0.08	-0.04	0.01	-0.05	-0.05	0.01	-0.13	-0.03
17 INTRNSHPSIZE1000	0.08	0.27	0.10	-0.04	0.04	-0.02	-0.02	0.12	-0.03	-0.12	-0.11
18 INTRNSHPSIZE1000PLUS	0.44	0.50	-0.35**	0.03	0.12	0.14	0.10	0.05	0.10	0.24**	0.41**
19 YRSCLGCOMP	2.79	0.92	-0.09	-0.08	0.01	0.03	0.01	-0.07	0.01	-0.09	0.07
20 MAJORBIZ	0.58	0.49	-0.32**	-0.01	0.13	0.00	0.19*	0.04	0.01	0.17*	0.07
21 MAJORSCI	0.08	0.28	-0.19*	-0.09	0.06	0.02	-0.03	0.04	-0.04	0.06	-0.02
22 MAJORLIB	0.33	0.47	0.45**	0.07	-0.17*	-0.01	-0.18*	-0.06	0.01	-0.21**	-0.07

<i>Variable</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>21</i>
1 UNPAID												
2 TASKCHAR (.81)												
3 KNOWCHAR (.88)												
4 SOCLCHAR (.91)												
5 CNTXCHAR (.80)												
6 INTERNSAT (.77)												
7 VSC (.85)												
8 INTRNSHPMNTHS												
9 INTRNSHPHRS												
10 INTRNSHPTYPEPRF												
11 INTRNSHPTYPENPO	-0.63**											
12 INTNRSHPTYPEPUB	-0.63**	-0.20**										
13 INTRNSHPSIZE10	0.06	0.10	-0.18*									
14 INTRNSHPSIZE50	-0.23**	0.33**	-0.04	-0.19*								
15 INTRNSHPSIZE100	0.08	0.04	-0.14	-0.12	-0.14							
16 INTRNSHPSIZE500	0.08	-0.08	-0.02	-0.12	-0.14	-0.09						
17 INTRNSHPSIZE1000	0.11	-0.07	-0.07	-0.12	-0.14	-0.09	-0.09					
18 INTRNSHPSIZE1000PLUS	-0.01	-0.27**	0.28**	-0.35**	-0.41**	-0.27**	-0.27**	-0.26**				
19 YRSCLGCOMP	0.00	0.16*	-0.16*	-0.04	-0.03	0.00	0.14	-0.03	-0.02			
20 MAJORBIZ	-0.19*	0.05	0.18*	0.02	0.02	-0.10	-0.14	0.02	0.09	0.04		
21 MAJORSCI	0.08	-0.14	0.04	-0.12	0.08	0.07	-0.01	-0.09	0.04	-0.05	-0.36**	
22 MAJORLIB	.15*	0.02	-0.22**	0.05	-0.07	0.06	0.15*	0.03	-0.12	-0.01	-0.84**	-0.21**

<i>Variable</i>	<i>Means</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>
23 GPALESS30	0.10	0.29	0.11	0.02	0.06	0.05	0.02	0.14	0.01	-0.03	0.04
24 GPA30349	0.38	0.49	0.03	0.01	0.04	-0.03	-0.10	0.02	-0.05	0.12	-0.12
25 GPA35PLUS	0.52	0.50	-0.09	-0.02	-0.08	0.00	0.08	-0.11	0.04	-0.10	0.09
26 FEMALE	0.54	0.50	0.14	0.11	0.09	0.16*	0.00	0.14	0.01	-0.01	-0.12
27 RACEWHITE	0.72	0.45	-0.07	-0.12	-0.18*	-0.11	0.07	-0.19*	-0.05	0.03	-0.03
28 RACEBLACK	0.05	0.23	0.10	0.09	0.01	0.04	0.01	0.11	0.00	-0.02	-0.11
29 RACEASIAN	0.23	0.42	-0.02	0.09	0.21**	0.12	-0.09	0.15	0.06	0.01	0.06
30 RACEISLANDER	0.02	0.13	0.15	0.06	-0.05	-0.01	0.08	0.07	0.06	0.01	-0.14
31 RACENATIVEAMER	0.01	0.11	0.01	0.06	-0.02	-0.07	0.01	-0.02	-0.14	0.11	-0.04
32 INTLSTUDENT	0.05	0.21	-0.20**	-0.05	0.03	0.04	-0.03	0.03	-0.02	-0.11	0.20**

* Correlations significant at the 0.05 level; ** at the 0.01 level. Two-tailed tests. Scale reliabilities are in parentheses.

<i>Variable</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>20</i>
23 GPALESS30	0.06	0.02	-0.09	0.23**	0.06	-0.02	-0.10	0.06	-0.17*	-0.01	-0.10
24 GPA30349	-0.07	-0.06	0.14	-0.06	0.05	0.03	-0.02	-0.04	0.02	-0.16*	-0.26**
25 GPA35PLUS	0.03	0.04	-0.09	-0.07	-0.08	-0.01	0.07	0.01	0.08	0.17*	0.31**
26 FEMALE	0.03	0.03	-0.07	0.05	0.15	-0.11	-0.11	0.04	-0.05	-0.23**	0.05
27 RACEWHITE	-0.10	-0.04	0.17*	-0.14	-0.16*	0.04	0.09	0.08	0.10	0.07	0.12
28 RACEBLACK	0.00	-0.04	0.04	0.14	0.10	-0.07	0.12	-0.07	-0.16*	0.08	-0.01
29 RACEASIAN	0.15	0.02	-0.21**	0.15	0.08	-0.06	-0.12	-0.05	-0.03	-0.07	-0.11
30 RACEISLANDER	0.00	0.06	-0.06	0.21**	-0.06	0.12	-0.04	-0.04	-0.12	-0.07	-0.07
31 RACENATIVEAMER	-0.04	-0.05	0.10	-0.04	0.09	-0.03	-0.03	-0.03	0.01	-0.03	-0.02
32 INTLSTUDENT	0.10	-0.10	-0.03	-0.01	-0.03	-0.07	-0.07	-0.07	0.14	0.02	0.13

<i>Variable</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>23</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>26</i>	<i>27</i>	<i>28</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>30</i>	<i>31</i>
23 GPALESS30	0.05	0.07									
24 GPA30349	0.12	0.20**	-0.26**								
25 GPA35PLUS	-0.14	-0.24**	-0.34**	-0.82**							
26 FEMALE	-0.16*	0.04	0.10	-0.19*	0.13						
27 RACEWHITE	-0.05	-0.09	-0.07	-0.17*	0.20**	-0.12					
28 RACEBLACK	-0.07	0.06	-0.08	0.09	-0.04	0.11	-0.26**				
29 RACEASIAN	0.09	0.06	0.16*	0.09	-0.18*	0.08	-0.85**	-0.13			
30 RACEISLANDER	-0.04	0.10	-0.04	0.17*	-0.14	0.03	-0.22**	.37**	-0.07		
31 RACENATIVEAMER	-0.03	0.04	-0.04	0.03	-0.01	-0.01	-0.05	-0.03	-0.06	-0.02	
32 INTLSTUDENT	-0.07	-0.10	-0.07	0.00	0.05	-0.02	-0.17*	-0.05	.21**	-0.03	-0.03

* Correlations significant at the 0.05 level; ** at the 0.01 level. Two-tailed tests. Scale reliabilities are in parentheses.

Table 4

Means Comparison between Paid and Unpaid Interns

Variable	<u>Paid Interns</u> <i>Mean</i>	<u>Unpaid Interns</u> <i>Mean</i>	Mean Difference Level of Significance
<i>Task-Related Work Characteristics</i>	3.92	3.96	n.s
Task Identity	3.69	3.92	†
The internship involved completing a piece of work that had an obvious beginning and end.	3.50	3.89	*
The internship was arranged so that I could do an entire piece of work from start to finish.	3.58	3.64	n.s
The internship provided me the chance to completely finish the pieces of work I began.	3.73	3.99	n.s
The internship allowed me to complete work I started.	3.93	4.16	n.s
Task Significance	3.97	3.99	n.s
The results of my internship work were likely to significantly affect other people within and/or outside the organization.	4.16	3.99	n.s
The internship itself was very significant and important in the broader scheme of the organization.	3.77	3.99	n.s
Autonomy	4.05	3.96	n.s
The internship allowed me to decide on the order in which my work was done.	3.92	3.89	n.s

The internship allowed me to plan how I did my work.	4.08	3.93	n.s
The internship gave me a chance to use my personal initiative and judgment in carrying out the work.	4.27	4.18	n.s
The internship allowed me to make a lot of decisions on my own.	4.03	3.89	n.s
The internship allowed me to make decisions about what methods I used to complete my work.	3.99	4.03	n.s
The internship gave me considerable opportunities for independence and freedom in how I did the work.	3.98	3.80	n.s
Feedback from Job	3.95	4.01	n.s
The internship itself provided me feedback on my performance.	3.96	4.03	n.s
The internship itself provided me with information about my performance.	3.99	4.01	n.s
<i>Knowledge-Related Work Characteristics</i>	3.72	3.30	***
Job Complexity	3.32	2.66	***
The internship required that I only do one task or activity at a time (reverse-coded). RECODED	3.58	3.05	**
The tasks on the internship were simple and uncomplicated (reverse-coded). RECODED	3.26	2.43	***
The internship consisted of relatively uncomplicated tasks (reverse-coded). RECODED	3.23	2.61	**
The internship involved performing relatively simple tasks (reverse-coded). RECODED	3.25	2.55	***
Advanced Thinking and Skills	3.89	3.59	*
The internship required that I engage in a large	3.84	3.55	†

amount of thinking.			
The internship often involved dealing with problems that I have not encountered before anywhere.	3.92	3.68	n.s
The internship required unique ideas or solutions to problems.	3.84	3.67	n.s
The internship required me to utilize a variety of different skills in order to complete the work.	4.05	3.78	†
The internship required me to use a number of complex and high-level skills.	3.87	3.21	***
The internship required the use of a number of skills.	4.10	3.74	**
The internship was highly specialized in terms of purpose, tasks, or activities.	3.95	3.71	†
The internship required very specialized knowledge and skills.	3.75	3.58	n.s
The internship required a depth of knowledge and expertise.	3.67	3.39	†
<i>Social-Related Work Characteristics</i>	3.69	3.42	*
Social Support	4.12	3.91	†
I had the opportunity to develop close friendships in my internship.	4.01	3.58	**
I had the chance in my internship to get to know other people.	4.26	3.86	**
I had the opportunity to meet with others in my internship work.	4.17	3.95	n.s
People I worked with during my internship took a personal interest in seeing me succeed.	4.02	3.95	n.s

People I worked with during my internship were friendly to me.	4.32	4.21	n.s
Interdependence	3.36	2.96	**
The internship required me to accomplish my work before others could complete theirs.	3.28	2.92	*
In my internship, other jobs depended directly on my work.	3.63	3.07	**
In my internship, unless my work got done, other jobs couldn't be completed.	3.27	3.08	n.s
My internship activities were greatly affected by the work of other people in the organization.	3.50	3.16	*
My internship work depended on the work of many different people for its completion.	3.35	2.91	*
My internship work couldn't be done unless others did their work first.	3.12	2.72	*
Feedback from Others	3.60	3.49	n.s
I regularly received a great deal of information from my manager and coworkers about my internship performance.	3.53	3.46	n.s
Other people in the organization, such as managers and coworkers, constantly provided me with information about the effectiveness of my performance during my internship.	3.72	3.51	n.s
I regularly received feedback on my internship work performance from other people in the organization.	3.54	3.49	n.s

<i>Contextual-Related Work Characteristics</i>	3.69	3.70	n.s
Ergonomics	4.15	4.13	n.s
The seating arrangements during the internship were adequate.	4.11	4.08	n.s
In my internship, the work place allowed for all size differences between people in terms of clearance, reach, eye height, leg room, etc.	4.18	4.18	n.s
Low Equipment Use	2.72	2.50	n.s
The internship involved the use of a variety of different equipment (reverse-scored). RECODED	3.11	2.54	*
The internship involved the use of complex equipment or technology (reverse-scored). RECODED	2.97	3.15	n.s
A lot of time was required to learn the equipment used on the internship (reverse-scored). RECODED	3.70	3.60	n.s
Physical Demands	3.84	3.93	n.s
The internship required a great deal of muscular endurance (reverse-scored). RECODED	3.96	4.17	n.s
The internship required a great deal of muscular strength (reverse-scored). RECODED	3.91	4.16	n.s
The internship required a lot of physical effort (reverse-scored). RECODED	3.90	4.00	n.s
The internship involved excessive reaching (reverse-scored). RECODED	3.59	3.39	n.s
Working Conditions	4.23	4.26	n.s
The temperature and humidity at the work place was comfortable during my internship.	4.11	4.03	n.s
The internship had a low risk of accidents.	4.27	4.21	n.s

The internship took place in an environment free from health hazards (e.g., chemicals, fumes, etc.).	4.21	4.38	n.s
The internship occurred in a clean working environment.	4.33	4.43	n.s
Internship Job Satisfaction	3.94	3.81	n.s
Generally speaking, I was very satisfied with my internship.	4.07	3.89	n.s
I was generally satisfied with the kind of work I did at my internship.	4.08	3.67	*
I frequently thought about quitting my internship (reverse-coded). RECODED	3.67	3.86	n.s
Vocational Self-Concept	28.00	27.17	n.s
My internship experience taught me a lot about myself.	3.96	3.80	n.s
I know myself well enough to know what kind of job fits me.	3.97	4.03	n.s
I have a clear idea of my own needs and desires with respect to a career.	4.02	3.96	n.s
I know my own values well enough to make a career decision right now.	4.01	3.72	*
On the basis of my internship, I have a real clear picture of what kind of person I am.	3.92	3.70	†
I'm very aware of my own values and how they will influence my choice of a career.	4.08	3.91	n.s

I feel confident that my career plans match my personality, interests, abilities, and values.	4.04	4.05	n.s
<i>Control Variables*</i>			
Internship Duration (in months)	6.21	3.97	***
Internship Hours Worked per 40-hour Week	27.78	19.78	***
Type of Internship Organization			
For-profit	65%	68%	n.s
Nonprofit	9%	26%	**
Public/governmental	26%	5%	***
Size of Internship Employer (in No. of Employees)			
Fewer than 10	10%	18%	n.s.
10-50	12%	25%	*
51-100	7%	11%	n.s.
101-500	7%	11%	n.s.
501-1000	5%	11%	n.s.
More than 1000	60%	25%	***
Years of College Completed at Start of the Internship	2.86	2.70	n.s.
Academic Major Discipline			
Business	73%	40%	***
STEM	13%	3%	*
Liberal Arts	13%	57%	***
GPA			
Lower than 3.00	7%	13%	n.s.
3.00-3.49	37%	39%	n.s.
3.50 and higher	57%	47%	n.s.
Female	48%	62%	†

Race			
White	75%	68%	n.s.
Black	3%	8%	n.s.
Asian	24%	22%	n.s.
Hawaiian native or Pacific Islander	0%	4%	†
Native American/American Indian	1%	1%	n.s.
International Student	9%	0%	†

† Statistically significant at $p \leq .10$; * at $p \leq .05$; ** at $p \leq .01$; *** at $p \leq .001$

Note: All work characteristic factors, and internship job satisfaction, were measured using a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = "strongly disagree" and 5 = "strongly agree." The Vocational Self-Concept items were measured on a 5-point Likert scale where 1 = "Completely False" and 5 = "Completely True." The combined Vocational Self-Concept construct is additive rather than an average of individual items; as such, the number presented in the mean column for VSC, which is the mean of all respondent's summed VSC scores, can range from a low of 7, to a high of 35.

ADDITIONAL NOTE: In the original Work Design Questionnaire, the contextual items for ergonomics, physical demands, and working conditions were worded such that a higher number response (i.e., 5 as opposed to 1) indicates a higher level of comfort, more adequate conditions, a lower level of physicality, etc. Because an entire contextual characteristics scale was created for this dissertation, I reverse-scored the items in the equipment use subscale such that HIGHER numbers equate to less use of technology in the workplace. While this seems counterintuitive at first, it was done so that the combined scale of all contextual characteristics move in the direction hypothesized concerning unpaid interns (thus, making sense when evaluating Hypothesis 2). Higher numbers in the contextual characteristics domain indicates better ergonomics, less enhanced equipment use, lower physical demands, and better working conditions in the workplace.

* For control variables that are categorical (either 0/1, or three or more categories), the percentage of paid or unpaid respondents in each category is the number listed in the "Mean" column. The statistical significance difference reported for these variables are from Chi-square tests.

Table 5

OLS Regression Analyses - Paid vs. Unpaid Interns and Work Design Characteristics

	<u>MODEL 1</u>	<u>MODEL 2</u>	<u>MODEL 3</u>	<u>MODEL 4</u>
	<i>Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ) Dimensions</i>			
	Task Characteristics (n = 168)	Knowledge Characteristics (n = 168)	Social Characteristics (n = 168)	Contextual Characteristics (n = 168)
<i>Independent Variable</i>				
UNPAID	-0.118 (0.156)	-0.261† (0.142)	-0.327* (0.152)	0.161 (0.151)
<i>Control Variables</i>				
INTRNSHPMNTHS - Duration of internship in months	-0.020 (0.020)	0.009 (0.019)	-0.008 (0.020)	0.022 (0.020)
INTRNSHPHRS - No. of hours per week worked	-0.002 (0.007)	0.016* (0.006)	0.009 (0.007)	-0.003 (0.007)
Type of Internship Organization				
INTRNSHPTYPEPRF (for profit)	--	--	--	--
INTRNSHPTYPENPO (nonprofit)	0.326† (0.173)	0.137 (0.158)	0.426* (0.169)	-0.144 (0.167)
INTRNSHPTYPEPUB (public/governmental)	0.084 (0.175)	0.173 (0.159)	0.205 (0.170)	-0.366* (0.168)
Size of Internship Organization in No. of Employees				
INTRNSHPSIZE10 (fewer than 10)	-0.264	0.046	-0.257	-0.101

	(0.207)	(0.189)	(0.202)	(0.200)
INTRNSHPSIZE50 (10-50)	-0.160	0.023	-0.123	-0.235
	(0.184)	(0.168)	(0.180)	(0.178)
INTRNSHPSIZE100 (51-100)	-0.374	-0.216	-0.375†	-0.352
	(0.229)	(0.208)	(0.223)	(0.221)
INTRNSHPSIZE500 (101-500)	0.162	0.116	0.046	-0.197
	(0.225)	(0.204)	(0.219)	(0.217)
INTRNSHPSIZE1000 (501-1000)	-0.182	0.282	0.012	-0.244
	(0.232)	(0.211)	(0.226)	(0.224)
INTRNSHPSIZE1000PLUS (more than 1000)	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--
YRSCLGCOMP - No. of years of college study completed at the start of the internship (continuous, 1-5+)	-0.080	0.039	0.015	0.001
	(0.067)	(0.061)	(0.066)	(0.065)
Academic Major Discipline				
MAJORBIZ (business)	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--
MAJORSCI (STEM)	-0.202	0.052	0.127	-0.146
	(0.223)	(0.203)	(0.217)	(0.215)
MAJORLIB (liberal arts and sciences)	0.055	-0.150	0.152	-0.360*
	(0.145)	(0.132)	(0.141)	(0.140)
GPA				
GPALESS30 (lower than 3.00)	0.114	0.134	0.152	0.099
	(0.213)	(0.193)	(0.207)	(0.205)
GPA30349 (between 3.00 and 3.49)	-0.003	0.162	-0.002	-0.053
	(0.136)	(0.124)	(0.132)	(0.131)

GPA35PLUS (3.50 and higher)	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--
FEMALE	0.094	0.207†	0.271*	-0.050
	(0.125)	(0.114)	(0.122)	(0.121)
Race				
RACEWHITE (White)	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--
RACEBLACK (Black)	0.275	0.126	0.217	-0.027
	(0.285)	(0.259)	(0.278)	(0.275)
RACEASIAN (Asian)	0.234	0.348**	0.207	-0.164
	(0.147)	(0.134)	(0.143)	(0.142)
RACEISLANDER (Hawaiian native/Pacific Islander)	0.331	0.091	0.239	0.420
	(0.478)	(0.435)	(0.466)	(0.461)
RACENATIVEAMER (Native American/American Indian)	0.495	0.031	-0.338	0.063
	(0.523)	(0.476)	(0.510)	(0.505)
INTLSTUDENT (1 = international student)	-0.269	-0.259	-0.085	-0.080
	(0.284)	(0.259)	(0.277)	(0.274)
Constant	4.250***	2.814***	3.212***	3.998***
F-value	0.812	2.147**	1.584†	0.977
R ²	0.105	0.236	0.186	0.123
Adjusted R ²	-0.024	0.126	0.068	-0.003

† Statistically significant at $p \leq .10$; * at $p \leq .05$; ** at $p \leq .01$; *** at $p \leq .001$. Unstandardized estimates and standard errors are shown. Standard errors appear in parenthesis.

Table 6

**OLS Regression Analyses - Paid vs. Unpaid Interns and Internship
Job Satisfaction and Vocational Self-Concept**

	<u>MODEL 5</u>	<u>MODEL 6</u>
	Internship Job Satisfaction (<i>n</i> = 168)	Vocational Self- Concept (<i>n</i> = 168)
<hr/>		
<i>Independent Variable</i>		
UNPAID	-0.158 (0.229)	-1.408 (0.958)
<i>Control Variables</i>		
INTRNSHPMNTHS - Duration of internship in months	-0.002 (0.030)	0.036 (0.126)
INTRNSHPHRS - No. of hours per week worked	0.000 (0.010)	0.008 (0.042)
Type of Internship Organization		
INTRNSHPTYPEPRF (for profit)	-- --	-- --
INTRNSHPTYPENPO (nonprofit)	0.381 (0.254)	2.295* (1.064)
INTRNSHPTYPEPUB (public/governmental)	0.138 (0.256)	-0.232 (1.072)

Size of Internship Organization in No. of Employees		
INTRNSHPSIZE10 (fewer than 10)	-0.701*	-1.978
	(0.305)	(1.274)
INTRNSHPSIZE50 (10-50)	-0.301	-0.795
	(0.271)	(1.133)
INTRNSHPSIZE100 (51-100)	-0.184	-1.760
	(0.337)	(1.407)
INTRNSHPSIZE500 (101-500)	-0.048	-0.131
	(0.330)	(1.380)
INTRNSHPSIZE1000 (501-1000)	0.411	-0.680
	(0.340)	(1.423)
INTRNSHPSIZE1000PLUS (more than 1000)	--	--
	--	--
YRSCLGCOMP - No. of years of college study completed at the start of the internship (continuous, 1-5+)	-0.068	-0.260
	(0.099)	(0.413)
Academic Major Discipline		
MAJORBIZ (business)	--	--
	--	--
MAJORSCI (STEM)	0.087	-0.731
	(0.328)	(1.370)
MAJORLIB (liberal arts and sciences)	-0.156	0.744
	(0.213)	(0.889)
GPA		
GPALESS30 (lower than 3.00)	0.695*	0.356
	(0.312)	(1.306)

GPA30349 (between 3.00 and 3.49)	0.113 (0.200)	-0.664 (0.835)
GPA35PLUS (3.50 and higher)	-- --	-- --
FEMALE	0.251 (0.184)	-0.145 (0.768)
Race		
RACEWHITE (White)	-- --	-- --
RACEBLACK (Black)	0.803† (0.418)	0.307 (1.750)
RACEASIAN (Asian)	0.455* (0.216)	0.794 (0.903)
RACEISLANDER (Hawaiian native/Pacific Islander)	0.621 (0.702)	3.739 (2.937)
RACENATIVEAMER (Native American/American Indian)	0.071 (0.768)	-5.415† (3.212)
INTLSTUDENT (1 = international student)	0.043 (0.418)	-1.141 (1.746)
Constant	3.841***	28.843***
F-value	1.260	0.809
R ²	0.153	0.104
Adjusted R ²	0.032	-0.025

† Statistically significant at $p \leq .10$; * at $p \leq .05$; ** at $p \leq .01$; *** at $p \leq .001$.

Unstandardized estimates and standard errors are shown. Standard errors appear in parenthesis.

Table 7

**OLS Regression Analyses of the Effect of Pay Status and Work Design
on Internship Job Satisfaction and Vocational Self-Concept**

	<u>MODEL 5</u> <i>(repeated)</i> Internship Job Satisfaction (n = 168)	<u>MODEL 7</u> <i>(repeated)</i> Internship Job Satisfaction (n = 168)	<u>MODEL 6</u> <i>(repeated)</i> Vocational Self- Concept (n = 168)	<u>MODEL 8</u> <i>(repeated)</i> Vocational Self- Concept (n = 168)
<i>Independent Variables</i>				
UNPAID	-0.158 (0.229)	0.060 (0.169)	-1.408 (0.958)	-0.338 (0.786)
TASKCHAR (continuous, 1-5)		0.215† (0.123)		0.841 (0.571)
KNOWCHAR (continuous, 1-5)		0.399*** (0.119)		1.031† (0.551)
SOCLCHAR (continuous, 1-5)		0.544*** (0.127)		2.590*** (0.592)
CNTXCHAR (continuous, 1-5)		0.554*** (0.096)		0.905* (0.445)
<i>Control Variables</i>				
INTRNSHPMNTHS - Duration of internship in months	-0.002 (0.030)	-0.009 (0.022)	0.036 (0.126)	0.043 (0.103)
INTRNSHPHRS - No. of hours per week worked	0.000 (0.010)	-0.009 (0.007)	0.008 (0.042)	-0.026 (0.035)

Type of Internship Organization				
INTRNSHPTYPEPRF (for profit)	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--
INTRNSHPTYPENPO (nonprofit)	0.381	0.104	2.295*	0.906
	(0.254)	(0.188)	(1.064)	(0.876)
INTRNSHPTYPEPUB (public/governmental)	0.138	0.142	-0.232	-0.681
	(0.256)	(0.189)	(1.072)	(0.877)
Size of Internship Organization in No. of Employees				
INTRNSHPSIZE10 (fewer than 10)	-0.701*	-0.467*	-1.978	-1.046
	(0.305)	(0.223)	(1.274)	(1.035)
INTRNSHPSIZE50 (10-50)	-0.301	-0.079	-0.795	-0.153
	(0.271)	(0.198)	(1.133)	(0.918)
INTRNSHPSIZE100 (51-100)	-0.184	0.382	-1.760	0.069
	(0.337)	(0.248)	(1.407)	(1.154)
INTRNSHPSIZE500 (101-500)	-0.048	-0.045	-0.131	-0.326
	(0.330)	(0.240)	(1.380)	(1.115)
INTRNSHPSIZE1000 (501-1000)	0.411	0.466†	-0.680	-0.630
	(0.340)	(0.250)	(1.423)	(1.161)
INTRNSHPSIZE1000PLUS (more than 1000)	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--
YRSCLGCOMP - No. of years of college study completed at the start of the internship (continuous, 1-5+)	-0.068	-0.074	-0.260	-0.271
	(0.099)	(0.072)	(0.413)	(0.337)
Academic Major Discipline				
MAJORBIZ (business)	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--
MAJORSCI (STEM)	0.087	0.122	-0.731	-0.811

	(0.328)	(0.239)	(1.370)	(1.112)
MAJORLIB (liberal arts and sciences)	-0.156	0.008	0.744	0.785
	(0.213)	(0.160)	(0.889)	(0.745)
GPA				
GPALESS30 (lower than 3.00)	0.695*	0.480*	0.356	-0.362
	(0.312)	(0.227)	(1.306)	(1.052)
GPA30349 (between 3.00 and 3.49)	0.113	0.080	-0.664	-0.775
	(0.200)	(0.145)	(0.835)	(0.676)
GPA35PLUS (3.50 and higher)	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--
FEMALE	0.251	0.029	-0.145	-1.094†
	(0.184)	(0.136)	(0.768)	(0.631)
Race				
RACEWHITE (White)	--	--	--	--
	--	--	--	--
RACEBLACK (Black)	0.803†	0.591†	0.307	-0.590
	(0.418)	(0.303)	(1.750)	(1.409)
RACEASIAN (Asian)	0.455*	0.244	0.794	-0.149
	(0.216)	(0.160)	(0.903)	(0.744)
RACEISLANDER (Hawaiian native/Pacific Islander)	0.621	0.151	3.739	2.367
	(0.702)	(0.510)	(2.937)	(2.368)
RACENATIVEAMER (Native American/American Indian)	0.071	0.100	-5.415†	-5.046†
	(0.768)	(0.562)	(3.212)	(2.612)
INTLSTUDENT (1 = international student)	0.043	0.295	-1.141	-0.355
	(0.418)	(0.304)	(1.746)	(1.410)

Constant	3.841***	-2.158**	28.843***	10.426***
F-value	1.260	7.533***	0.809	4.437***
R ²	0.153	0.570	0.104	0.439
Adjusted R ²	0.032	0.494	-0.025	0.340

† Statistically significant at $p \leq .10$; * at $p \leq .05$; ** at $p \leq .01$; *** at $p \leq .001$.

Unstandardized estimates and standard errors are shown. Standard errors appear in parenthesis.

Table 8

**Pay Status as a Moderator of the Relationship between Work
Design Characteristics, and Internship Job Satisfaction and Vocational Self-Concept**

	<u>MODEL 9</u>	<u>MODEL 10</u>
	Internship Job Satisfaction (<i>n</i> = 168)	Vocational Self- Concept (<i>n</i> = 168)
<i>Independent Variables</i>		
UNPAID	0.041 (0.085)	-0.175 (0.401)
TASKCHAR (continuous, 1-5)	0.125 (0.87)	0.482 (0.410)
KNOWCHAR (continuous, 1-5)	0.288*** (0.083)	0.693† (0.389)
SOCLCHAR (continuous, 1-5)	0.414*** (0.091)	1.928*** (0.429)
CNTXCHAR (continuous, 1-5)	0.375*** (0.067)	0.649* (0.312)
<i>Interaction Terms</i>		
UNPAID_x_TASKCHAR	0.217* (0.088)	0.747† (0.413)
UNPAID_x_KNOWCHAR	-0.113 (0.087)	-0.671 (0.406)

UNPAID_x_SOCLCHAR	-0.062 (0.092)	-0.043 (0.432)
UNPAID_x_CNTXCHAR	-0.039 (0.068)	0.203 (0.318)
Constant	3.962***	27.886***
F-value	7.170***	4.135***
R ²	0.591	0.454
Adjusted R ²	0.508	0.345

† Statistically significant at $p \leq .10$; * at $p \leq .05$; ** at $p \leq .01$; *** at $p \leq .001$.

Standardized estimates and standard errors are shown. Standard errors appear in parenthesis.

Table 9

**Work Design Subscales as Predictors of Internship Job Satisfaction
and Vocational Self-Concept**

	Internship Job Satisfaction (<i>n</i> = 168)	Vocational Self- Concept (<i>n</i> = 168)
<i>Task-Related Subscales</i>		
Task Identity	n.s.	n.s.
Task Significance	*	***
Autonomy	***	***
Feedback from Job	n.s.	n.s.
UNPAID	n.s.	n.s.
<i>Knowledge-Related Subscales</i>		
Job Complexity	n.s.	n.s.
Advanced Thinking and Skills	***	***
UNPAID	n.s.	n.s.
<i>Social-Related Subscales</i>		
Social Support	***	***
Interdependence	n.s.	*
Feedback from Others	†	***
UNPAID	n.s.	n.s.

Contextual-Related Subscales

Ergonomics	**	***
Equipment Use	n.s.	n.s.
Physical Demands	†	**
Working Conditions	*	*
UNPAID	n.s.	†

† Statistically significant at $p \leq .10$; * at $p \leq .05$; ** at $p \leq .01$; *** at $p \leq .001$. Standardized estimates are shown.

This table includes the results from eight separate OLS regressions, which are explained in the text. Each block of related work characteristics (task subscales, knowledge subscales, social subscales, and contextual subscales) were regressed onto the outcome variables of satisfaction or VSC. All regression models were statistically significant in terms of their overall model F -statistic. For each block of subscales for each dependent variable, the coefficient for volunteer interns (the UNPAID variable), is also listed for information purposes.

Figure 1

Hypothesized Model of the Effect of Pay Status on Internship Work Design, Job Satisfaction, and Vocational Self-Concept

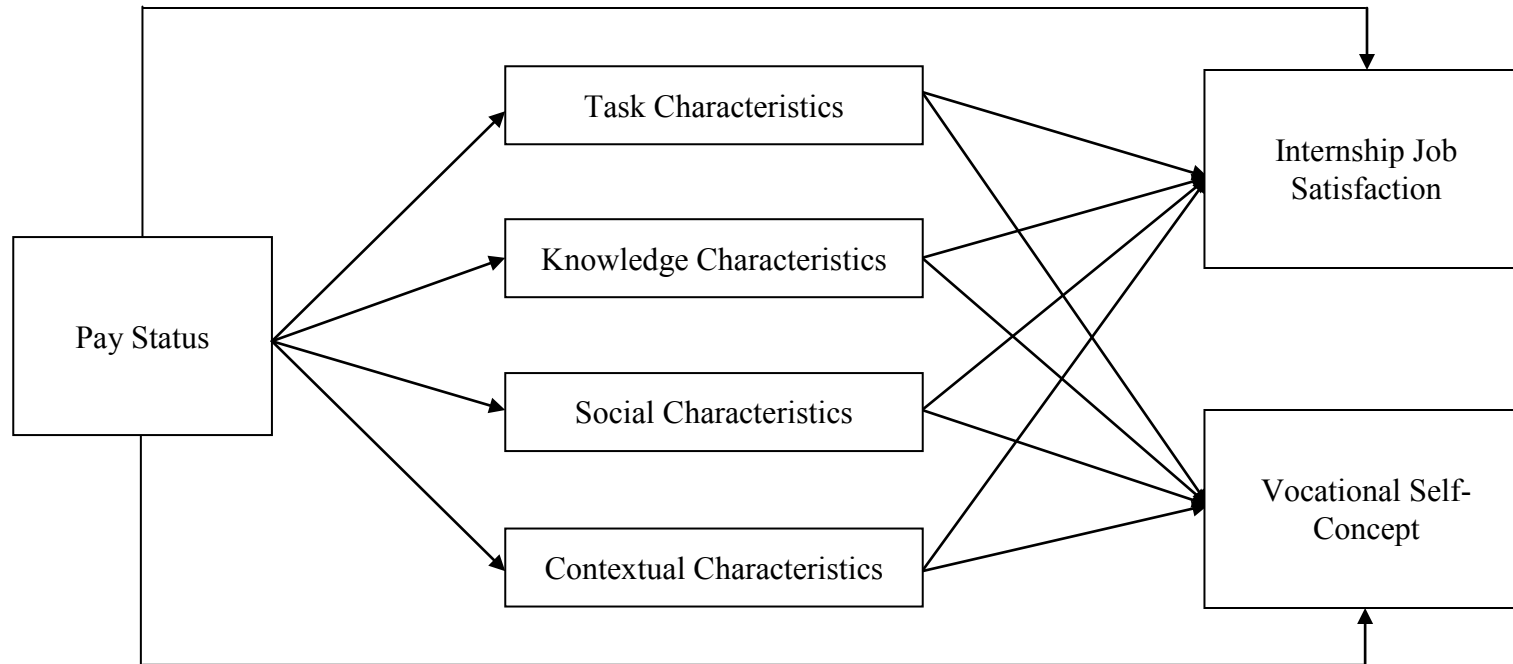


Figure 2

Moderating Effect of Pay Status on the Relationship between Task Characteristics Level and Internship Job Satisfaction

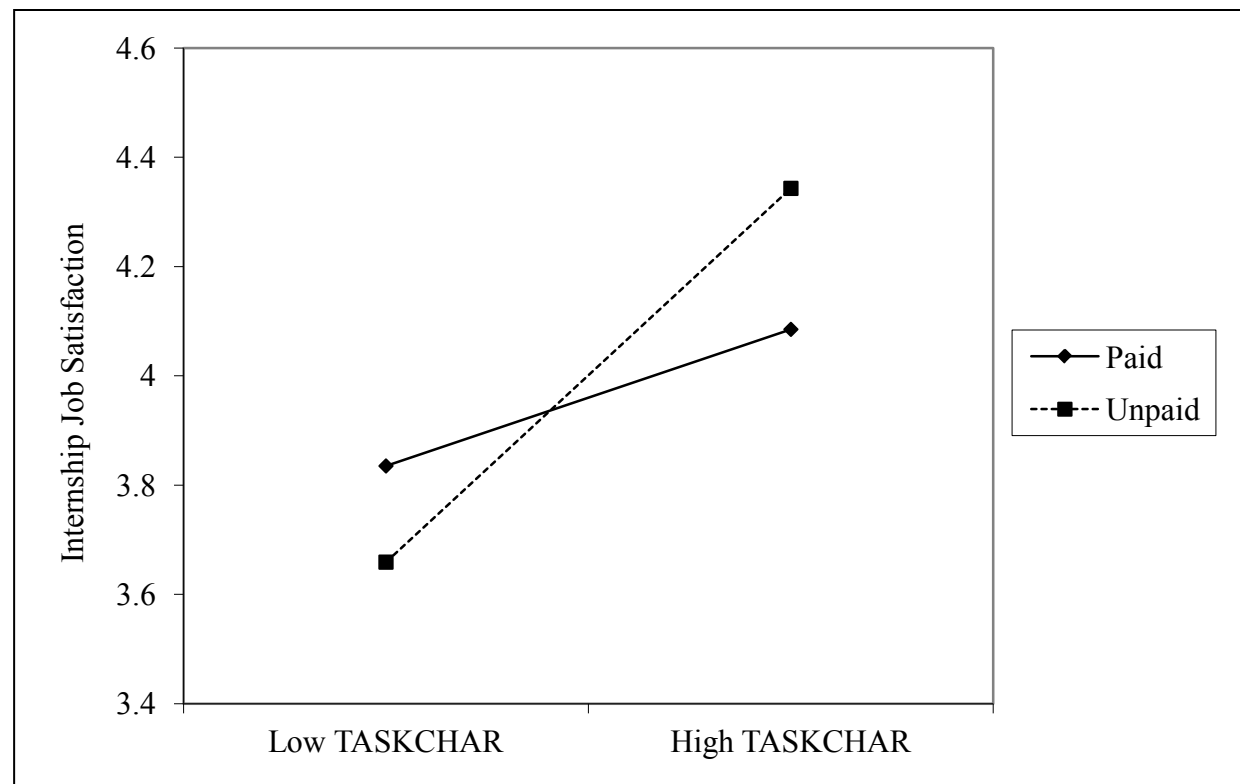


Figure 3

Moderating Effect of Pay Status on the Relationship between Task Characteristics Level and Vocational Self-Concept

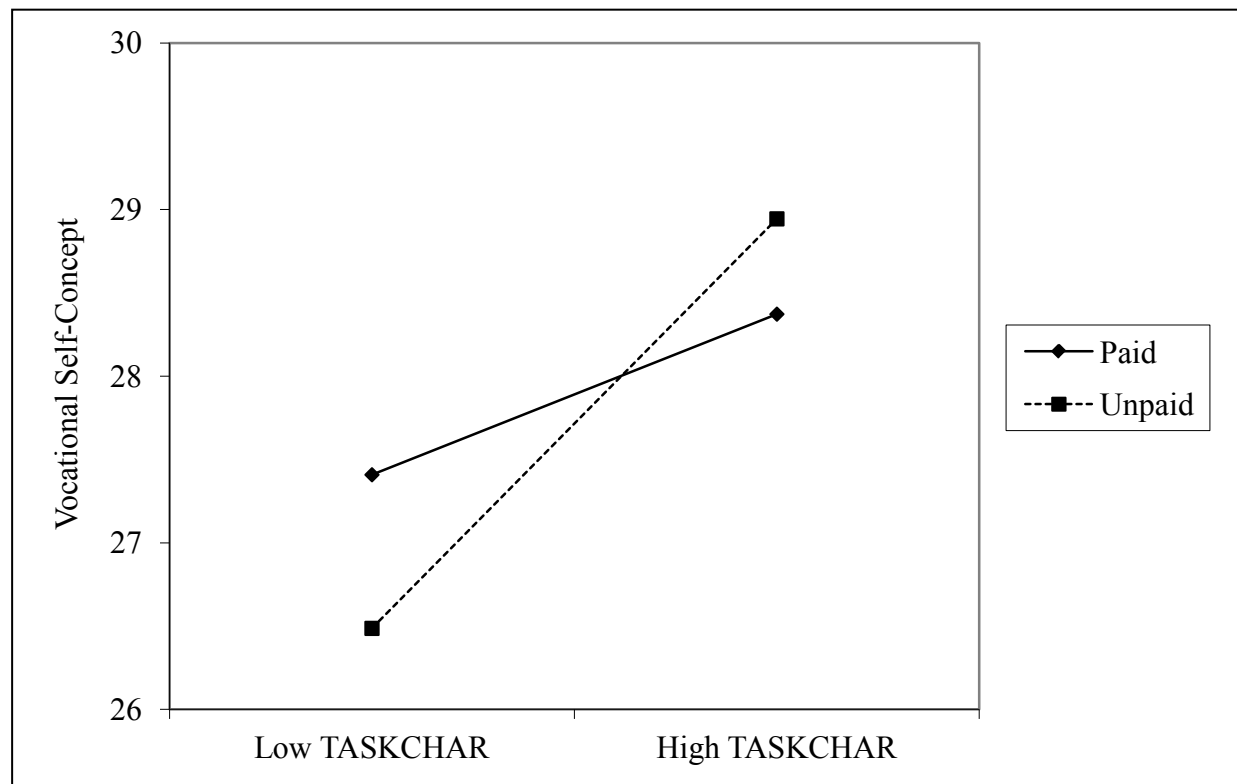


Figure 4

Box Plot of Cluster Analysis Results – Cluster #1: For Profit, Volunteer Interns Only

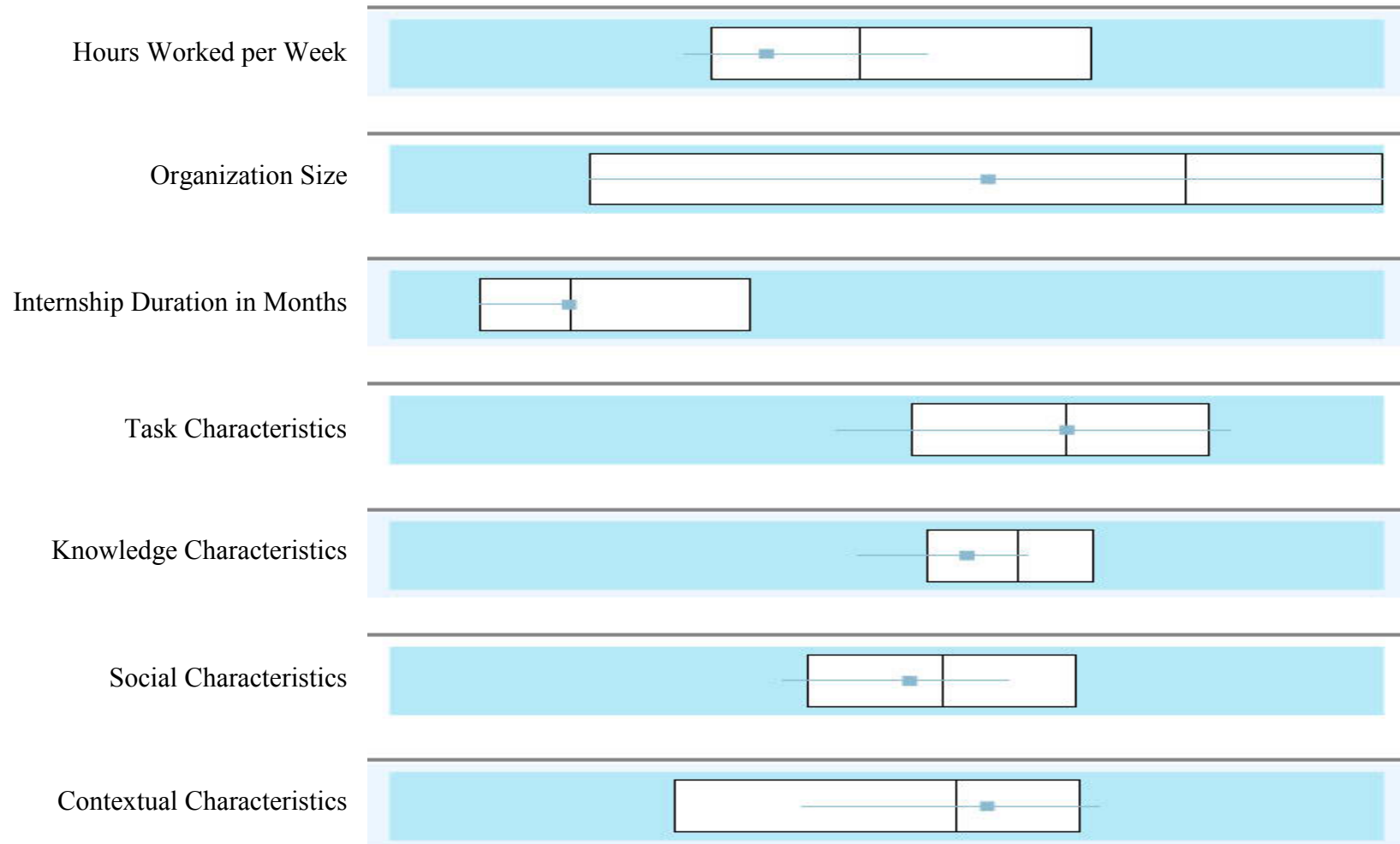


Figure 5

Box Plot of Cluster Analysis Results – Cluster #2: Public, Paid and Volunteer Interns

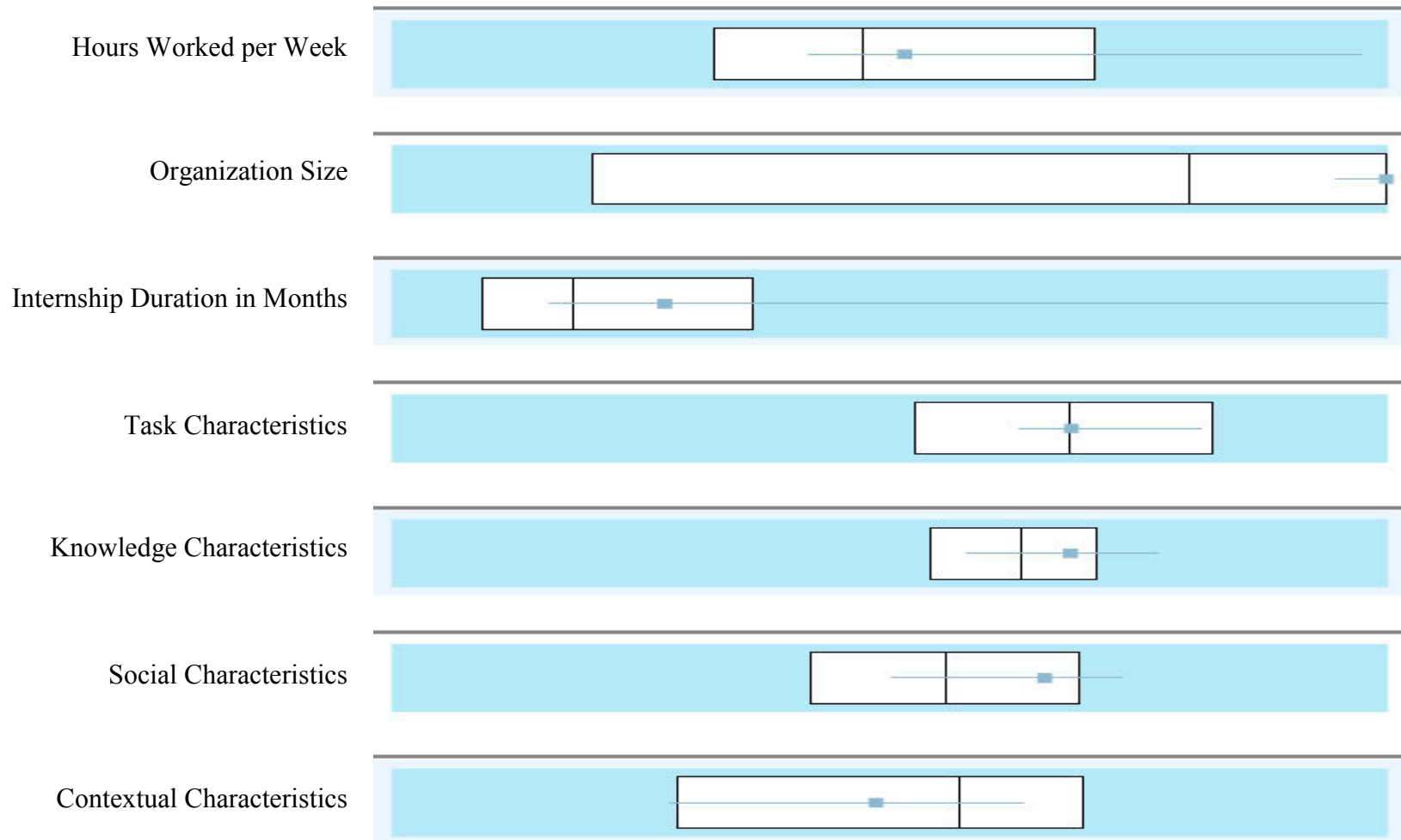


Figure 6

Box Plot of Cluster Analysis Results – Cluster #3: Nonprofit, Paid and Volunteer Interns

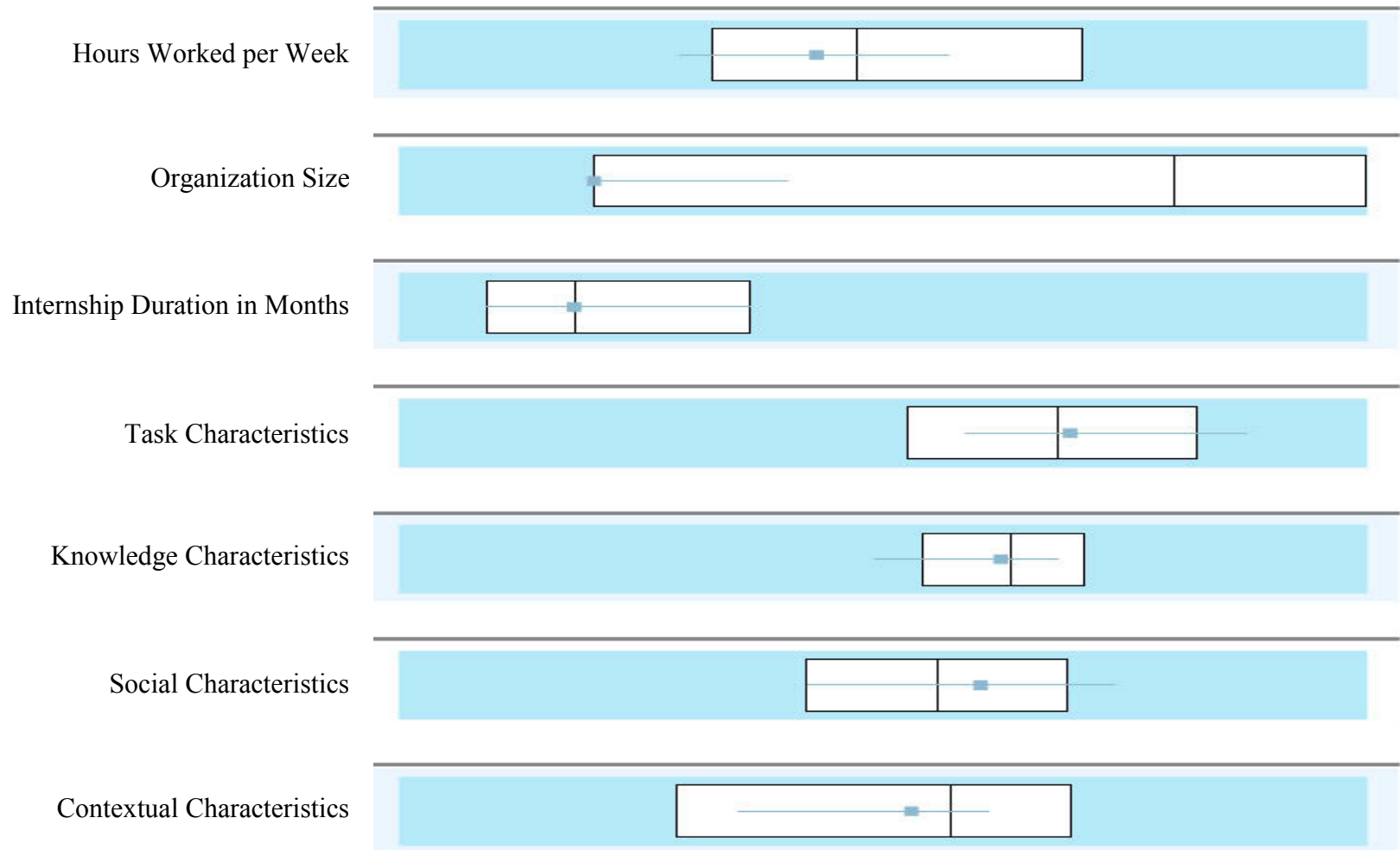
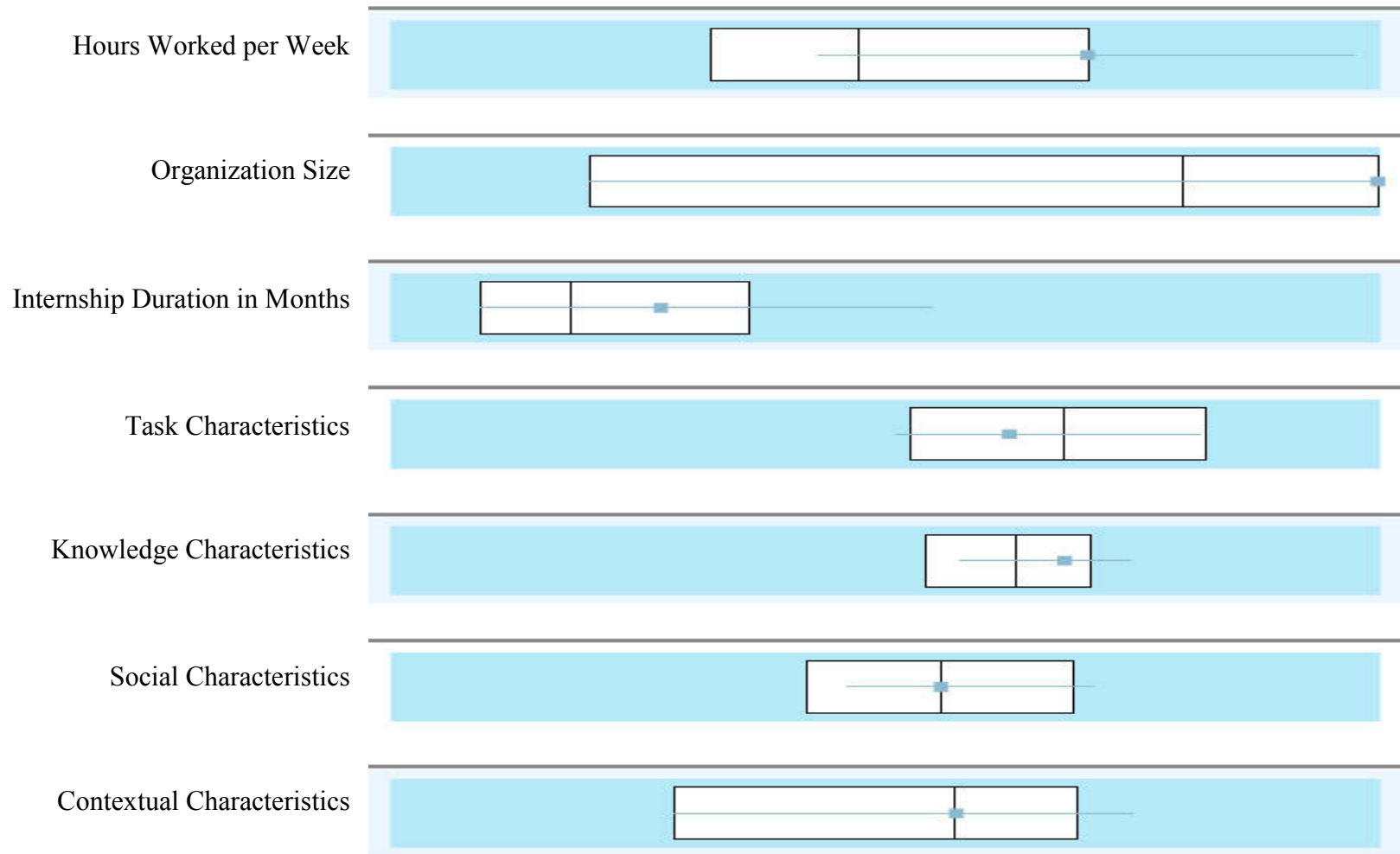


Figure 7

Box Plot of Cluster Analysis Results – Cluster #4: For profit, Paid Interns Only



APPENDIX A – Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ) Items

Includes items from the Work Design Questionnaire (WDQ), Morgeson & Humphrey (2006), which have been adapted to apply to the situation of college intern respondents.

Task Characteristics

Task Identity

1. The internship involved completing a piece of work that has an obvious beginning and end.
2. The internship was arranged so that I can do an entire piece of work from beginning to end.
3. The internship provided me the chance to completely finish the pieces of work I began.
4. The internship allowed me to complete work I started.

Task Significance

1. The results of my internship work are likely to significantly affect other people within and/or outside the organization.
2. The internship itself was very significant and important in the broader scheme of the organization.

Autonomy

1. The internship allowed me to decide on the order in which things were done on the internship.
2. The internship allowed me to plan how I do my work.
3. The internship gave me a chance to use my personal initiative or judgment in carrying out the work.
4. The internship allowed me to make a lot of decisions on my own.
5. The internship allowed me to make decisions about what methods I use to complete my work.
6. The internship gave me considerable opportunity for independence and freedom in how I do the work.

Feedback from Job (Internship)

1. The work activities themselves provided direct and clear information about the effectiveness (e.g., quality and quantity) of my internship performance.
2. The internship itself provided feedback on my performance.
3. The internship itself provided me with information about my performance.

Knowledge Characteristics

Internship Complexity

1. The internship required that I only do one task or activity at a time (reverse-scored).
2. The tasks on the internship were simple and uncomplicated (reverse-scored).
3. The internship comprised relatively uncomplicated tasks (reverse-scored).
4. The internship involved performing relatively simple tasks (reverse-scored).

Information Processing

1. The internship required me to monitor a great deal of information.
2. The internship required that I engage in a large amount of thinking.
3. The internship required me to keep track of more than one thing at a time.
4. The internship required me to analyze a lot of information.

Problem Solving

1. The internship involved solving problems that have no obvious correct answer.
2. The internship required me to be creative.
3. The internship often involved dealing with problems that I have not met before.
4. The internship required unique ideas or solutions to problems.

Skill Variety

1. The internship required me to utilize a variety of different skills in order to complete the work.
2. The internship required me to use a number of complex or high-level skills.
3. The internship required the use of a number of skills.

Specialization

1. The internship was highly specialized in terms of purpose, tasks, or activities.
2. The internship required very specialized knowledge and skills.
3. The internship required a depth of knowledge and expertise.

Social Characteristics

Social Support

1. I had the opportunity to develop close friendships in my internship.
2. I had the chance in my internship to get to know other people.
3. I had the opportunity to meet with others in my work.
4. My supervisor was concerned about the welfare of the interns that worked for him or her.
5. People I worked with took a personal interest in seeing me succeed.

6. People I worked with were friendly to me.

Interdependence

1. The internship required me to accomplish my work before others could complete theirs.
2. Other jobs depended directly on my work.
3. Unless my job got done, other internships couldn't be completed.
4. My internship activities were greatly affected by the work of other people.
5. My job depended on the work of many different people for its completion.
6. My job couldn't be done unless others did their work.

Feedback from Others

1. I regularly received a great deal of information from my manager and coworkers about my internship performance.
2. Other people in the organization, such as managers and coworkers, constantly provided me with information about the effectiveness (e.g., quality and quantity) of my internship performance.
3. I regularly received feedback on my performance from other people in my organization (such as my manager or coworkers).

Contextual Characteristics

Ergonomics

1. The seating arrangements on the internship were adequate (e.g., ample opportunities to sit, comfortable chairs, good posture support)
2. The work place allowed for all size differences between people in terms of clearance, reach, eye height, leg room, etc.
3. The internship involved excessive reaching (reverse scored).

Physical Demands

1. The internship required a great deal of muscular endurance (reverse scored).
2. The internship required a great deal of muscular strength (reverse scored).
3. The internship required a lot of physical effort (reverse scored).

Work Conditions

1. The internship work place was free from excessive noise.
2. The climate at the work place was comfortable in terms of temperature and humidity.
3. The internship had a low risk of accident.
4. The internship took place in an environment free from health hazards (e.g., chemicals, fumes, etc.).
5. The internship occurred in a clean environment.

Equipment Use

1. The internship involved the use of a variety of different equipment.
2. The internship involved the use of complex equipment or technology.
3. A lot of time was required to learn the equipment used on the internship.

APPENDIX B – Vocational Rating Scale (VRS) Items

Includes selected items from the shortened version of the VRS, published by Weng and McElroy (2010). Items are on a 5-point Likert scale from 1 = “Completely False” to 5 = “Completely True,” and responses are summed together to create a VSC score, which is subsequently used in analysis. Higher scores indicate a higher degree of crystallization of vocational self-concept.

1. My internship experience taught me a lot about myself.
2. I know myself well enough to know what kind of job fits me.
3. I have a clear idea of my own needs and desires with respect to a career.
4. I know my own values well enough to make a career decision right now.
5. On the basis of my internship, I have a real clear picture of what kind of person I am.
6. I’m very aware of my own values and how they will influence my choice of a career.
7. I feel confident that my career plans match my personality, interests, abilities, and values.

APPENDIX C – Survey Participation Invitation Letter

The following message was emailed to potential student respondents:

Dear Student:

As part of a research project on internships, I would like to invite you to participate in a short Internet survey that asks about any internship experiences you might have. My goal is to gain a better understanding of how various internship characteristics matter for student experiences and outcomes.

To say thanks for your help, after completing the survey you will be able to receive a \$5 Amazon.com electronic gift card. If you complete the survey, in addition to the Amazon.com gift card, you will also be given the opportunity to be entered into a drawing where you can win a grand prize \$500 Apple Store gift certificate, good for any purchases at a brick-and-mortar Apple Store, or online at iTunes, iBookstore, the app store, or any other Apple retailer. To access the online survey please click the link below, or copy and paste the link into your web browser:

http://rutgerssmlr.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_bynmaL2wRhu4L1H

This survey takes an average of 10-15 minutes to complete, and your participation is entirely voluntary. If you begin the survey, you may quit at any time should you not wish to continue. Your responses are completely anonymous – this means that there is no way I can link your responses back to any identifiable information about you. In the event that this study is published in an academic journal or presented at an academic conference, all results will be aggregated so that no anonymous individual response can be identified.

There are no personal risks or dangers to you by you completing this questionnaire. Other than the \$5 Amazon.com gift card and the chance to win a \$500 grand prize gift certificate, there are no personal benefits to you for completing this questionnaire. However, your responses will help the research community better understand internships.

If you have any questions about this study, you may contact me by telephone at (386) 453-3887 or by email at: serogers@eden.rutgers.edu. You may also contact this project's faculty advisor and co-PI, Dr. Adrienne E. Eaton, at eaton@work.rutgers.edu or (732) 932-8561. Both Sean Rogers and Dr. Eaton may be contacted via the following mailing address: Rutgers School of Management and Labor Relations, 50 Labor Center Way, New Brunswick, NJ 08901.

If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at:

Rutgers University IRB for the Protection of Human Subjects
Office of Research and Sponsored Programs
3 Rutgers Plaza

New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559
Tel: 848-932-0150
Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

Sincerely and thanks,

Sean Rogers
Ph.D. Candidate
School of Management and Labor Relations
Rutgers University

APPENDIX D – Internet-Based Survey Administered to College Student Interns

The following questionnaire was administered to respondents electronically (via the Internet), using the Qualtrics survey software platform. Skip logic was in place on the online survey, which is not reflected here:

Title of Research: Internships Work Characteristics, Satisfaction, and Career Development

Principal Investigators: Sean E. Rogers, Ph.D. Candidate, School of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University, and Dr. Adrienne E. Eaton, Professor and Chair, Department of Labor Studies and Employment Relations, School of Management and Labor Relations, Rutgers University.

Research Description: You are being asked to participate in a research project to investigate the attitudes and perceptions interns have about their internship experiences. Participation in the survey will ask you to answer a set of questions that takes, on average, between 10-15 minutes to complete. All students who complete this survey will receive a \$5 Amazon.com gift card, and will be entered into a grand prize drawing to win one \$500 gift certificate to the Apple Store (which can be used to purchase any product at any Apple Store, on iTunes, or at the App Store or iBookstore). Participating in this research will not cost you anything except the time spent completing the online survey.

Risks and Benefits: There are no foreseeable risks to your participation in this study. There are also no direct benefits to your participating in this project. However, this research is expected to yield knowledge about internship work design and its effect on interns, which may prove useful for organizations who conduct internships, and to researchers studying workplace topics.

Voluntary Participation: Participation in this study is totally voluntary; you do not have to complete this survey if you do not want to. Also, once you begin, you are free to stop taking the survey at any time. You cannot enter yourself into the grand prize drawing, nor will you receive the \$5 Amazon.com gift card, unless you complete the survey.

Protection of Privacy and the Confidentiality of Data: This research is anonymous. You will not be asked to provide your name or any personally-identifying information at any time during the survey. Some demographic information will be collected - such as your year in school (junior, senior, etc.) and your major - but these will not be used to identify you individually in any way. All such data will be combined with other information to conduct broad-level analysis on interns and internships.

The research team and the Institutional Review Board (a committee that reviews research studies in order to protect research participants) at Rutgers University are the only parties that will be allowed to see the data, except as may be required by law. If a report of this study is published, or the results are presented at a professional conference, only group

results will be stated. All study data will be kept securely for an infinite period of time to allow the researcher to publish results of the study.

Contact Information:

Any questions concerning this research project can be directed to the faculty advisor for this study, Dr. Adrienne E. Eaton, at 848-932-8561 (or by email at eaton@work.rutgers.edu). If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact the IRB Administrator at Rutgers University at: Rutgers University Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects Office of Research and Sponsored Programs at 3 Rutgers Plaza, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8559, Tel: 732-932-0150 x 2104, Email: humansubjects@orsp.rutgers.edu

Clicking the "NEXT" button below indicates that you agree to participate in this study. If you do NOT wish to participate please close your internet browser now.

INTERNSHIP STATUS

Q2 Please indicate your internship experience. CHECK ALL THAT APPLY.

- ☐ I have previously completed an internship. (1)
- ☐ I am currently doing an internship. (2)
- ☐ I have never done an internship, and am not doing one now. (3)

INTERNSHIP DETAILS

Q3 Please answer all of the following questions based on the most recent internship you have already PREVIOUSLY COMPLETED, and not your current internship.

Q4 Was your internship paid or unpaid?

- ☐ Paid (1)
- ☐ Unpaid (2)

Q7 How much did you get paid PER HOUR, before any income taxes or deductions, in U.S. dollars? In other words, what was your hourly wage?

Q8 How long did your internship last?

- ☐ 1 month (1)
- ☐ 2 months (2)
- ☐ 3 months (3)
- ☐ 4-6 months (4)
- ☐ 7-9 months (5)
- ☐ 10-12 months (6)
- ☐ More than one year (7)

Q9 How many hours per week did you work on your internship?

- ☐ 1-5 hours (1)
- ☐ 6-10 hours (2)
- ☐ 11-15 hours (3)
- ☐ 16-20 hours (4)
- ☐ 21-30 hours (5)
- ☐ 31-40 hours (6)
- ☐ More than 40 hours (7)

Q10 What type of organization did you complete your internship at?

- ☐ For-profit organization (1)
- ☐ Non-profit organization (2)
- ☐ Public organization/government agency (3)

Q11 What industry best describes the type of internship you completed?

- ☐ Accounting (1)
- ☐ Agriculture/Farming/Agribusiness (2)
- ☐ Arts & Entertainment (3)
- ☐ Biotechnology (4)
- ☐ Communications (advertisement, journalism, PR, publishing, or TV and radio) (5)
- ☐ Consulting (6)
- ☐ Consumer Products (7)
- ☐ Defense/Military (8)
- ☐ Education (all levels) (9)
- ☐ Energy/Utilities (10)
- ☐ Environment/Green Jobs (11)
- ☐ Finance/Banking (12)
- ☐ Government - Federal (13)
- ☐ Government - State (14)
- ☐ Government - Local (15)

- ☐ Healthcare (16)
- ☐ Hospitality (17)
- ☐ Human Resources (18)
- ☐ Insurance (19)
- ☐ Legal Services (20)
- ☐ Manufacturing (21)
- ☐ Pharmaceutical (22)
- ☐ Real Estate (23)
- ☐ Retail/Merchandising (24)
- ☐ Social/Human Services (25)
- ☐ Technology (26)
- ☐ Telecommunications (27)
- ☐ Transportation (28)

Q13 When you began your internship, how many years of college had you already completed?

- ☐ 1 full year (1)
- ☐ 2 full years (2)
- ☐ 3 full years (3)
- ☐ 4 full years (4)
- ☐ 5 or more full years (5)

INTERNSHIP WORK DESIGN, SATISFACTION, AND VSC

Q6 The following set of questions refer to your impressions about the internship you've already completed.

Q14 Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)
The internship involved completing a piece of work that had an obvious beginning and end. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

The internship was arranged so that I could do an entire piece of work from start to finish. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship provided me the chance to completely finish the pieces of work I began. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship allowed me to complete work I started. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The results of my internship work were likely to significantly affect other people within and/or outside the organization. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship itself was very significant and important in the broader scheme of the organization. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>allowed me to decide on the order in which my work was done. (7)</p>					
<p>The internship allowed me to plan how I did my work. (8)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>The internship gave me a chance to use my personal initiative and judgment in carrying out the work. (9)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>The internship allowed me to make a lot of decisions on my own. (10)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>The internship allowed me to make decisions about what methods I used to complete my work. (11)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>The internship gave me considerable opportunities for independence and freedom</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>in how I did the work. (12)</p> <p>The work activities themselves provided direct and clear information about the effectiveness (for example, quality and quantity) of my internship performance. (13)</p> <p>The internship itself provided me feedback on my performance. (14)</p> <p>The internship itself provided me with information about my performance. (15)</p> <p>The internship required that I only do one task or activity at a time. (16)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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The tasks on the internship were simple and uncomplicated. (17)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship comprised relatively uncomplicated tasks. (18)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship involved performing relatively simple tasks. (19)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required me to monitor a great deal of information. (20)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship requires that I engage in a large amount of thinking. (21)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required me to keep track of more than one thing at a time. (22)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required me to analyze a lot of information. (23)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship involved solving problems that	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

have no obvious correct answer. (24)					
The internship required me to be creative. (25)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship often involved dealing with problems that I have not encountered before anywhere. (26)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required unique ideas or solutions to problems. (27)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required me to utilize a variety of different skills in order to complete the work. (28)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required me to use a number of complex and high-level skills. (29)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required the use of a number of skills. (30)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship was highly specialized in terms of purpose, tasks, or activities.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

(31) The internship required very specialized knowledge and skills. (32)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required a depth of knowledge and expertise. (33)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I had the opportunity to develop close friendships in my internship. (34)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I had the chance in my internship to get to know other people. (35)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I had the opportunity to meet with others in my internship work. (36)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My supervisor was concerned about the welfare of the interns that worked for him or her. (37)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People I worked with took a personal interest in seeing me succeed. (38)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
People I worked with were friendly	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

to me. (39)					
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Q15 Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)
The internship required me to accomplish my work before others could complete theirs. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other jobs depended directly on my work. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Unless my job got done, other internships couldn't be completed. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My internship activities were greatly affected by the work of other people in the organization. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My job depended on the work of many different people for its completion. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

My job couldn't be done unless others did their work first. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I regularly received a great deal of information from my manager and coworkers about my internship performance. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Other people in the organization, such as managers and coworkers, constantly provided me with information about the effectiveness of my performance. (8)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I regularly received feedback on my performance from other people in the organization. (9)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The seating arrangements on the internship were	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

adequate (e.g., ample opportunities to sit, comfortable chairs, good posture support). (10)					
The work place allowed for all size differences between people in terms of clearance, reach, eye height, leg room, etc. (11)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship involved excessive reaching. (12)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required a great deal of muscular endurance. (13)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required a great deal of muscular strength. (14)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship required a lot of physical effort. (15)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship work place was free from excessive noise. (16)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The climate at the work place	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

was comfortable in terms of temperature and humidity. (17)					
The internship had a low risk of accident. (18)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship took place in an environment free from health hazards (e.g., chemicals, fumes, etc.). (19)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship occurred in a clean environment. (20)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship involved the use of a variety of different equipment. (21)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The internship involved the use of complex equipment. (22)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A lot of time was required to learn the equipment used on the internship. (23)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q16 Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements, which refer to the internship you have been answering about in the previous questions.

	Strongly Disagree (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Agree nor Disagree (3)	Agree (4)	Strongly Agree (5)
Generally speaking, I was very satisfied with my internship. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I was generally satisfied with the kind of work I did at my internship. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I frequently thought about quitting my internship before finishing it. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q17 The statements below ask you to describe yourself in relation to the world of work. Please respond to each of the items as if you were describing yourself to yourself. Please rate each of the statements in terms of how true is is for you AS A RESULT OF THE INTERNSHIP EXPERIENCE YOU HAVE BEEN REFERRING TO ABOVE.

	Completely False (1)	Mostly False (2)	Partly False and Partly True (3)	Mostly True (4)	Completely True (5)
My internship experience taught me a lot about myself. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I know myself well enough to know what kind of job fits me. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I have a clear idea of my own needs and desires with respect to a career. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I know my own values well enough to make a career decision right now. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
On the basis of my internship, I have a real clear picture of what kind of person I am. (5)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm very aware of my own values and how they will influence my choice of a career. (6)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel confident that my career plans match my personality, interests, abilities, and values. (7)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

INTERN DEMOGRAPHICS

Q18 What is (are) your current college major(s)?

Q21 What is your current cumulative grade point average (GPA)?

Q22 What is your Gender?

- ☐ Male (1)
- ☐ Female (2)

Q19 What is your Ethnicity?

- ☐ Hispanic/Latino (1)
- ☐ Not Hispanic or Latino (2)

Q20 What is your Race?

- ☐ White (1)
- ☐ Black or African-American (2)
- ☐ Asian (3)
- ☐ American Indian or Alaska Native (4)
- ☐ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander (5)

Q23 Are there any comments you would like to share concerning your experiences as an intern?

Curriculum Vitae

SEAN EDMUND ROGERS

I. Education

- 2008-2013 Doctor of Philosophy in Industrial Relations and Human Resources
Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey
New Brunswick, NJ
- 2006-2008 Master of Education in Human Resource Development
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Urbana, IL
- 2001-2002 Master of Business Administration
Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University
Daytona Beach, FL
- 1996-2001 Bachelor of Science in Aviation Business Administration
Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University
Daytona Beach, FL

II. Academic and Professional Work Experience

- Current Assistant Professor, Department of Management
New Mexico State University, College of Business
Las Cruces, NM
- 2012-2013 Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Organizational Studies
University of New Mexico, Anderson School of Management
Albuquerque, NM
- 2008-2012 Graduate Research and Teaching Assistant
Rutgers University, School of Management and Labor Relations
New Brunswick, NJ
- 2010-2011 Fellow, Consortium Research Fellows Program
U.S. Army Research Institute for the Behavioral and Social Sciences
Aberdeen Proving Ground, MD
- 2000-2008 Transportation Management Coordinator and Cargo Handler
US Army Reserve
- 2007-2008 Senior Financial Analyst – Labor Analysis
US Airways
Tempe, AZ

- 2005-2007 Senior Analyst – Strategic Pricing
US Airways
Tempe, AZ

- 2004-2005 Senior Analyst – Network Planning
ATA Airlines
Indianapolis, IN

- 2004 Industrial Engineering Planner (management trainee program)
UPS
San Diego, CA

- 2003 Air Movements Planner (active duty military deployment)
US Army
Camp Arifjan, Kuwait

- 2002 Graduate Research Assistant, NASA Small Aircraft Transportation
Embry-Riddle Aeronautical University
Daytona Beach, FL

- 2001 Schedule Planning Intern
AirTran Airways
Orlando, FL

III. Publications

Rogers, S. E., Rogers, C. M., & Boyd, K. (2013). Challenges and opportunities in healthcare volunteer management: Insights from volunteer administrators. *Hospital Topics*, 91: 43-51.

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