A MODEL OF FUTURE PARTICIPATION OF POLITICAL CAMPAIGN VOLUNTEERS

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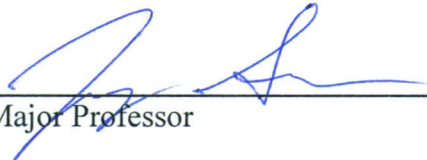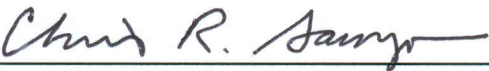
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A Model of Future Participation of Political Campaign Volunteers

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The future participation of political volunteers is examined using the theoretical lenses of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) and stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984). These theories have been applied to the volunteers of non-profits (Dwiggens-Beeler, Spitzberg, & Roesch, 2012; Scott, 2007) and corporations (Donaldson & Preston, 1995), but they have not been used to examine political volunteers. The results of the non-profit research suggest that the identification, commitment, and organizational role of political volunteers should impact a volunteer's willingness to volunteer again. As these variables can be communication-based, the communication satisfaction of the volunteers is also hypothesized as a factor in future participation. Results indicate that these four variables all predict the likelihood of political volunteers to continue their work with a campaign. This result is discussed in terms of theoretical and practical implications, and future directions are suggested.

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Every political campaign hinges on its ability to recruit volunteers, keep them engaged throughout the election, and motivate them to volunteer again. The work of volunteers is the lifeblood of a campaign and serves as its primary source of manpower. Due to the financial constraints placed on campaigns (particularly at the federal level), candidates must rely on a team of volunteers to manage the day-to-day duties of a successful election.

Even with this significant role played by volunteers, few communication scholars have examined how and why volunteers become attached to campaigns, stay involved throughout a full campaign, and continue their volunteer work. Most of the previous work concerning volunteer participation has focused on non-profit organizations and their ability to sustain lasting relationships (i.e. Jamison, 2003). Non-profits are ripe for volunteer research because of their inherent reliance on them, and scholars have thoroughly examined the motivation behind their volunteers.

What scholars have not yet studied is how the concepts identified with non-profits translate to the world of political campaigns, which rely on volunteers as much, if not more. To date, little is known about what motivates volunteers to continue their volunteer participation, particularly in terms of the communicative factors present within the campaign. The role of communication in the future participation of volunteers is examined in this thesis using the framework of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) and stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984). Political campaigns are investigated in terms of their ability to communicate with their volunteers in a satisfactory manner (as determined by the volunteer) and how this communication, combined with the inherent commitment and identification within the volunteer,

predicts future volunteer participation. The impact of a volunteer's perception of role within the campaign is then examined.

Tajfel's (1982) social identity theory (SIT) posits that individuals join certain groups based on their identification with the group's mission or purpose. Social identity is defined as "the part of the individual's self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance to that membership" (Tajfel, 1982, p. 2). Therefore an individual's self-concept is a product of both personal and social identities.

In a similar manner, Freeman's (1984) stakeholder theory defines the relationship between an individual (a *stakeholder*) and an organization based on the vested interest of the individual in the organization and the organization in the individual. A stakeholder both affects, and is affected by, the decisions made by the organization. Stakeholders are important for research because they are indicators of exchange relationships and transactions with organizations.

Based on the tenets of SIT and stakeholder theory, it is reasonable to assume that political campaign volunteers identify with campaigns based on the candidate or the overall policy platform (as predicted by SIT), become invested in the success of the campaign (as stakeholders), and are motivated to remain as campaign participants. Because of the communicative factors inherent in SIT, it is also reasonable that the levels of identification, and subsequent commitment, may be affected by the quality of the communication within the campaign. Four factors are posited as the motivators behind future volunteer participation: communication satisfaction, social identification, organizational commitment, and role perception. SIT is used as a predictor of the initial levels of commitment, which are then affected

by the quality of communication within the campaign. Stakeholder theory is then used to identify how volunteers perceive they are included in the campaign. The relationship between this perception and their levels of commitment, identification, and satisfaction is then examined.

Communication Satisfaction and Volunteer Retention

Defining A Volunteer

The act of volunteering is defined as unpaid work that benefits another group of people outside of a person's immediate family or social circle (Haefliger & Hug, 2009). When studying the act of volunteering, researchers primarily focus on the causes of the specific action of volunteering (Mook, 1996). Few studies have examined volunteers beyond the initial attraction to the organization or cause.

Bernard (1938) was the first to examine volunteering and found that "the contributions of personal efforts which constitute the energies of organization are yielded by individuals because of incentives. The egotistical motives of self-preservation and self-gratification are dominating forces" (p. 139). This view was challenged by subsequent research in which volunteering was found to be motivated by more complex factors than the promise of personal reward (Olson, 1965). To date, "the consensus, so far, is that there must indeed be a number of different motives, altruistic, and egotistic, present in volunteers" (Haefliger & Hug, 2009, p. 5).

The definitions of volunteering range from relatively simple ones, such as "doing unpaid activities as part of a group" (Hall, Lasby, Gummlka, & Tyron, 2006, p. 11), to more complex definitions that incorporate many different facets. These definitions typically encompass four dimensions: free choice, remuneration, structure, and intended beneficiaries (Cnaan, Handy, & Wadsworth, 1996). As subsets of these dimensions, there are categories intended to expand and unfold the definition. These include the free choice dimension in which volunteering is viewed

along a continuum from free will to obligation. In the remuneration dimension volunteering is viewed in terms of compensation with a range from no pay (even working at a financial loss) to a small stipend or reimbursement. Within the structure dimension, volunteering is viewed as either formal or informal.

Handy, Cnaan, Brudney, Ascoli, Meijs, and Ranade (2000) developed a spectrum of volunteering that integrates many of the previous definitions. They placed volunteering along a continuum that ranged from *pure* to *broad* and suggested that the most common idea of pure volunteering involves a net financial loss for the volunteer. This view is challenged by Ellis and Noyes (1990) who suggested that, "it is possible to receive some money and still be considered a volunteer… stipends and reimbursements do not equal the real value of their services" (p. 3).

The realities of research leave scholars with myriad different definitions and volunteer typologies. For the purpose of this study, volunteers will be defined using the most basic definition (Hall, et. al, 2006); political campaign volunteers are unpaid workers involved at any level of a campaign. They can come from any background and serve any function, as long as their time and services are offered at no formal cost to the campaign.

Volunteer Retention

By focusing on motives, organizations can better meet the needs of volunteers and promote future participation. Past research on volunteer motives has identified a few key motivations: contributing to the community; using skill and experiences; and the opportunity to connect with other people (Hall et al., 2006). Caldwell and Andereck (1994) found that motivations tend to fall within one of three categories: material (i.e. tangible benefits), solidarity (i.e. sense of community), or purposive (i.e. serving a purpose greater than one's self). Parker (1997) identified four similar categories: altruistic (purely unselfish), market-based (to gain

future benefits), cause serving (to promote a certain cause), and leisure-based (as a form of

relaxation). Taken together, these conclusions point to the complexity of volunteer motivations.

Penner, Dovidio, Piliavin, and Schroeder (2005) identified a three-level approach to

analyzing volunteering (which they labeled as *pro-social behavior*). At the most basic level, pro-

social behavior is motivated by three underlying mechanisms: learning; social and personal

standards; and arousal and affect. The arousal and affect mechanism predicts volunteering by

identifying the specific goal that volunteering would help obtain—this goal may be altruistic or

egotistical. The affect produced by the behavior (e.g. sadness, guilt, pleasure, etc.) produces ego-

based motivations that either alleviate or pro-long that feeling. Volunteering becomes a learned

behavior through which the volunteer seeks to revive or quash a certain feeling or emotion. This

learning aspect supports previous research in which children who grew up in a volunteering

family were found to be more likely to volunteer as adults (Wilson, 2000). As adults, those

children sought to rekindle positive emotions associated with their childhood by volunteering

again.

In addition to an emotional connection to volunteering, other scholars have examined it in

terms of the benefits received by the volunteer. Cnaan and Goldberg-Glen (1991) examined this

motivation in terms of incentives for the volunteer. Their study used individuals who had been

volunteering for a minimum of six months, and they concluded that individuals "will continue to

volunteer as long as the experience as a whole is rewarding and satisfying to their unique needs"

(p. 281). This result was supported by subsequent studies in which motives and incentives were

found to enhance volunteer satisfaction, and that volunteers are more likely to continue

volunteering if the experience is rewarding. (Clary, Snyder, Ridge, Copeland, Stukas, Haugen, &

Miene, 1998). Part of a rewarding volunteer experience is associated with the tasks given to the

employers, and especially when volunteers got to choose their tasks (Houle, Sagarin, & Kaplin, 2005). The ability for volunteers to control what tasks they perform is seen as a benefit and can influence their future participation.

These results also indicate that future volunteer participation is based on more than the initial attraction to the organization. Volunteers must enjoy being part of that organization, and the organization must work to keep volunteers happy. There are many factors identified here that can be controlled, or at least influenced, by an organization's ability to communicate with their volunteers.

Communication and Future Volunteer Participation

Communication within an organization, and especially in the context of volunteers, involves the receiving of information from management or paid staff, but it also involves the creation and dispersion information among multiple organizational levels (Dwiggins-Beeler, Spitzberg, & Roesch, 2012). Communication is an integrative process of information distribution that can be particularly important for volunteers because the paid workers they encounter "function as speech communities that infuse organizations with specialized vocabularies" (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001, p. 83). Therefore, a successful communication process is vital to a volunteer's understanding of job duties and skills. Volunteers who are unable to interact competently, or feel as though the rest of organization cannot, are likely to feel disconnected from the organization. This lack of communication satisfaction leads to a decline in job satisfaction (Richmond, McCroskey, & Davis, 1982). To avoid dissatisfaction, organizations must work to communicate effectively; "communication is a precursor as well as a dimension of satisfaction and of [an] individual's motivation" (Roesch, Sptizberg, & Dwiggins-Beeler, 2006, p. 8).

This perceived quality of communication by volunteers facilitates each dimension of job satisfaction and organizational success. It is also representative to the volunteer of how each level within the organizational hierarchy communicates (Dwiggins-Beeler et al., 2012). Volunteers may receive information from, and disperse it to, any level of an organization and must feel adequately prepared to do so (Downs & Hazen, 1977). Therefore, a volunteer will ideally have a clear understanding of the communication structure of an organization and believe in the effectiveness of the structure. This supports the first part of a model of volunteering in which communication satisfaction is correlated with increased future volunteer participation.

Previous research has found that communication satisfaction is associated with job satisfaction and organizational success (Richmond et al., 1982). Communication satisfaction has also been correlated with job performance (Dwiggins-Beeler et al., 2012). These traits have then been linked to volunteer retention (Cnaan & Goldberg-Glenn, 1991). Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that communication satisfaction will influence a volunteer's willingness to continue with a campaign. Based on this support, the first hypothesis is posed:

H_1: The communication satisfaction of political campaign volunteers will be positively correlated with future volunteer participation.

The communication processes present in a campaign impact how a volunteer feels towards the campaign staff, and vice versa. In a similar manner, how the volunteer connects to the campaign in terms of its mission and goals are of equal importance. This connection is explored next through and examination of volunteers' identification with, and commitment towards, the campaign.

Volunteer Identification

Social Identity Theory

Social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1982) is centered on the idea of identity through group membership. Tajfel conceptualized this as "the part of the individual's self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership" (p. 2). According to SIT, personal identity and social identity are equal partners working to form an individual's self-concept (Rivenburg, 2000). The groups with which individuals are associated help to form their identity. In the same way that individuals develop self-esteem by seeing themselves as unique compared to the rest of society, individuals also derive self-esteem by making clear distinctions between the groups with which they identify (termed *in-groups*) and those they do not (termed *out-groups*) (Kowalski & Wolfe, 1994). How a group acts within an individual is of equal importance as how an individual acts within the group (Miller & Prentice, 1994). When a group is internalized, a "process of depersonalization occurs and the self is cognitively redefined in terms of the relevant social group" (Hoffner & Rehkoff, 2011, p. 733). Individuals believe that their sense of self is due, in part, to their membership to the organization.

Social identity theory was originally developed as a way of understanding the basis of inter-group hostility and discrimination (Callero, 2007). Certain situations within groups produce cognitive and behavioral patterns designed to maintain, protect, or enhance group identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). This effect has been identified in non-laboratory groups (see Abrams & Hogg, 1990, for review).

The principles of SIT are applicable to organizations because the concept of group membership as a sense of self can be expanded to include organizations as groups (Scott, 2007).

Because a sense of self is a product of multiple group memberships, a true examination of "self"

must examine organizations as interconnected members of the same group (Simon & Trötschel,

2008). This is not to say that SIT disregards the importance of individual uniqueness. Instead, it

allows individual behavior to be seen as a bi-polar continuum that ranges from an interpersonal

pole (behavior determined by character and goals) to a group pole (behavior determined by

group membership) (Penning, 2009). By doing so, the understanding of human behavior can be

expanded by including the complex group interactions and the social environment in which they

occur (Penning, 2009).

Tajfel and Turner (1979) argued that three processes are involved in determining inter-

group relations. The first process, called social categorization, involves the mental classification

of people into groups (e.g., student, Christian, black, or white). This is done as a means of

reducing the cognitive burdens that come from information-gathering and decision-making.

Individuals use mental shortcuts as a means to process the information encountered during daily

life. One such shortcut involves categorizing new information in terms of its relation to old

information (e.g., identifying a person's religion based on previously gathered information

regarding that religion). Complex information provides conflicting assessments of meaning and

importance, and is subject to limited time and cognitive capabilities (Fitousi & Wegner, 2011).

This is relevant to political campaigns because voters are often flooded with complex

information (e.g., policy) and often rely on characterization techniques to quickly associate

group characteristics with individuals (Penning, 2009).

The second step in the process involves individuals employing group memberships as a

source of social identification (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The identity of a group, or of multiple

groups, is adopted as a source of identity. This cognitive adoption leads to a change in behavior

(Penning, 2009). For example, individuals who identify themselves as Democrats begin to behave as they perceive Democrats should act (Penning, 2009). This adoption, and subsequent behavior change, leads to enhanced self-esteem.

The third process involves social comparison, in which individuals begin comparing their adopted groups (in-groups) to other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This comparison assists in the development of self-identity and boundaries between the self and others (Penning, 2009). Social identity theory suggests that individuals compare groups in terms of those to which they belong (in-groups) and those with which they have no association (out-groups) (Fiske & Taylor, 1991).

Fiske and Taylor (1991) suggested that the process of comparing groups is subconscious, but does affect the processing of information. Their findings suggest that in-group diversity is perceived to be less because individuals focus on the similarities that unite the group. Similarly, when comparing groups, individuals exaggerate the differences between their in-groups and out-groups (Fiske & Talyor, 1991). Conover, Mingst, and Sigelman (1980) suggested that in times of political uncertainty, individuals feel more pressure to view out-group members as being more aggressive, hostile, and unethical as compared to members of the in-group.

Social Identity Theory and Politics

Turner (1999) found that individuals who perceive their group as a subordinate group engage in strategies designed to enhance their positive social identity. These strategies include overestimating their group's positive qualities and providing unfounded positive comparisons to other groups. Members of the minority political party try to enhance their legitimacy by heavily favoring themselves in elections (Bettencourt, Dorr, Charlton, & Hume, 2001). They also place more emphasis on their good qualities and those of other party members.

This social comparison process has other important political ramifications. Nincic and Russett (1979) found that Americans hold a more favorable view of their political system than that of other nations. Their sense of identity within the American system is thought to be part of this favorable perception. Because their in-group is the American representative democracy, they believe it to be better than other forms of government.

The same principle applies within borders. Berelson, Lazafield, and McPhee (1954) found a strong relationship between social groups and partisanship. Based on the tenets of SIT, the group nature of politics creates a natural divide where individuals of one party exaggerate the differences between parties. The in-group/out-group divide turns politics into an *us versus them* conflict. Political parties favor their members and ideals, while inflating the distinctions between them and other parties. Because of these differentiation techniques, the net result is enhanced partisanship.

This resulting partisanship influences political participation. Based on the principles of SIT, political volunteers are drawn to campaigns because they identify with a certain set of principles and want to assist in furthering them. This association leads to higher rates of political participation in the form of attending events, wearing political buttons, and voting in elections (Greene, 2004). Burke (1969) conceptualized the association of an individual with a certain group as *organizational identification*.

Social identity theory and organizational identification are particularly useful in understanding the motivation behind the continued or future participation of political volunteers. In most elections, the candidates for elected office fall into one of two political parties, Republican or Democrats. As shown, individuals tend to connect with parties and begin to see them as their in-group. This shared connection with a certain political party may be one reason

for volunteering with a political campaign and continuing to volunteer over a period of time. The tenets of SIT lead to the conclusion that the level of organizational identification felt by a volunteer should correlate with the future participation of that volunteer.

SIT and Organizational Commitment

Organizational identification is an antecedent to organizational commitment, which refers to an individual's loyalty to an organization. Mowday, Steers, and Porter (1979) originally conceptualized commitment and defined it as the relative strength of an individual's identification with an organization. Commitment is important in understanding an organizational member's behavior and desire to remain part of the organization (Lavelle et al., 2008). This is because commitment is generally viewed as a positive trait and correlated with organizational success (Demir, Sahin, Teke, Ucer, & Kursun, 2009).

Lavelle et al. (2008) posited that commitment is an important predictor of employee behavior; it is correlated with employee motivation (Naquin & Holton, 2002), job satisfaction (Testa, 2001), performance (Kontoghtorghes & Bryant, 2001), and accomplishment of organizational goals (Becker & Kernan, 2001). It is also negatively correlated with turnover and absenteeism (Riketta, 2002).

Organizational commitment is preceded by the personal characteristics of age (Zangaro, 2001), education (Allen & Myer, 1990), need for achievement (Brown, 2003), workplace experiences of group attitudes, and perceptions of personal investment (Meyer & Herscovitch, 2001). In terms of the organization, levels of commitment are associated with decision-making, autonomy, and distributive and procedural justice (Mueller, Boyer, Price, & Iverson, 1994). Higher commitment has been found in employees with positions requiring autonomy (Mowday

et al., 1979), work schedule flexibility (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005), and wide achievement of tasks (Brown, 2003).

When individuals believe strongly in the goals and mission of the organization, they commit themselves as a member of that organization (Goulet & Frank, 2002). The identification they feel with the organization leads to a commitment and loyalty to it. Therefore, when volunteers identify strongly with a political campaign, they should report higher levels of organizational commitment. It is reasonable to conclude that volunteers with high levels of commitment towards a campaign are more likely to volunteer again.

Based on the tenets of social identity theory (SIT; Tajfel, 1982), the understanding of volunteer motivation is best seen as an expression of a volunteer's sense of self through group membership. Social identity theory posits that individuals develop self-esteem and sense of self through the groups with which they identify. These group memberships help shape who they are and how they view themselves. This sense of connection also causes an exaggerated sense of difference between their in-groups and out-groups, causing them to strongly advocate for their in-groups. This sense of identification then leads to a heightened commitment and loyalty to the group (Mowday et al., 1979).

It is reasonable to conclude that these commitment and identification principles are useful in understanding the motivations of political volunteers. In most elections, the candidates for elected office fall into one of two political parties, Republican or Democrat. As shown, individuals tend to connect with political parties and see them as their in-group (Berelson, et al., 1954). This shared connection with a political party may be one reason for volunteering with a campaign; volunteers work to strengthen their in-group by assisting a candidate from that group. Therefore, identification with, and commitment towards, a campaign should influence a

volunteer's future participation. These principles lead to the second and third hypotheses of this model:

> H_2: The organizational identification of political campaign volunteers will be positively correlated with future volunteer participation.

> H_3: The organizational commitment of political campaign volunteers will be positively correlated with future volunteer participation.

The first three parts of this study (communication satisfaction, organizational identification, and organizational role) are indications of volunteers' connection with a campaign and their evaluation of its processes. The fourth part of the proposed model involves classifying volunteers as stakeholders and examining how their perception of their place within the campaign influences their future participation.

<p align="center">**Volunteers as Stakeholders**</p>

Stakeholder Theory

The concept of future volunteer participation fits well into the lens created by Freeman's (1984) stakeholder theory, which examines the internal and external relationships between individuals (stakeholders) and organizations. Stakeholder theory posits that organizations have relationships with outside individuals or groups that affect and are affected by the organization's decisions (Freeman, 1984). The interests of these stakeholders have intrinsic value and are of equal importance to the interests of the organization (Clarkson, 1995). These interests, and the decisions made by management in regards to these interests, are of primary concern to stakeholder theory.

The theory is a useful guide for understanding the structure and operation of an organization (Donaldson & Preston, 1995). Organizations have to act in certain ways to avoid

growing pressure from stakeholders (Russo & Perrini, 2010). Stakeholder theory works as a "heuristic device" which broadens the vision of organizational management beyond the profit-centered ideal (Tangpong, Li, & Johns, 2010, p. 346).

The best definition of a stakeholder is multifaceted and identifies stakeholders in terms of different components, how they impact organizations, why they are identified, and what form they take (Miles, 2012). Stakeholders are any naturally occurring entity or group with an investment (monetary or otherwise) in the future of an organization (Miles, 2012). They impact the organization by providing benefits, participation, assistance, or support; have the opportunity to benefit from, influence, or harm the organization; and are subject to risk, influence, or loss from the organization. Stakeholders are important for research because they provide exchange relationships and transactions, moral obligations, resources, and a means of survival. The stake a person has in an organization takes the form of a contract, interest, investment, ownership, right, or risk. The stake, though, serves only to accomplish the purpose of the organization (Miles, 2012).

In terms of the present research, stakeholders will be defined using the original definition given by Freeman (1984): "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives" (p. 46). The breadth of this definition has been the source of some controversy, but "the broad concept of stakeholder management must be better defined in order to serve the narrower interests of legitimate stakeholders" (Mitchell, Agle, Wood, 1997, p. 882). With the focus of the present research being on a stakeholder with an equally broad label of "volunteer," this definition is ambiguous enough to cover the many roles that volunteers can take in a political campaign.

Stakeholder theory consists of three main branches: descriptive, instrumental, and normative. In the descriptive approach, the relationships of stakeholders are illustrated through how they exist in organizations (Jones, 1995). Donaldson and Preston (1995) concluded that stakeholder theory describes the organization as a "constellation of cooperative and competitive interests possessing intrinsic value" (p. 66). This descriptive approach to organizational stakeholders serves more as a means of identifying stakeholders instead of a prescriptive approach to managing them.

The instrumental approach asserts that certain behaviors lead to certain outcomes (Lewis, 2007). Stakeholder theory establishes a framework for analyzing and understanding the network of relationships within an organization; the procedures of managing the relationship between the organization and stakeholders affect the strategic goals of the organization (Donaldson & Preston, 1995). Jones' (1995) example of an instrumental approach concluded that if organizations are able to form a mutual trust with their stakeholders, they could gain a competitive advantage over those that do not. This precise, instructional nature separates the instrumental approach; it provides claims that are "relatively straightforward and methodically tractable, as long as one employs conventional financial measure of [organizational] performance" (Jones & Wicks, 1999, p. 208).

The normative approach assumes that stakeholders have a significant and substantial interest in the performance of the organization (Freeman, 1984). Stakeholders can be identified by these interests and therefore have intrinsic value to the organization (Donaldson & Preston, 1995). Stakeholders, therefore, are warranted noteworthy attention for their own sake instead of merely what they contribute to the organization.

The taxonomy posited by Donaldson and Preston (1995) encourages attention to normative questions, yet most empirical work based on stakeholder theory has focused on instrumental considerations. Numerous empirical studies using both approaches have been conducted to examine the relationship between stakeholder management and the performance of organizations. A review of these studies indicates that the success of an organization is directly correlated with the contentment of the stakeholders. This level of contentment, in turn, is a product of the stakeholder's perception of their role within an organization (Garner & Horton, in press). Feeling included within an organization leads to feelings of acceptance, which leads to satisfaction and commitment. When organizational members feel excluded, they are less productive and more likely to leave the organization due to a perceived power imbalance (Mor Barak, Levin, Nissly, & Lane, 2006).

The present study will employ an instrumental approach. This approach was chosen because of the possible practical applications to real-world campaigns. An instrumental approach allows for the application of the results to real-world scenarios. This application gives the instrumental approach an instructional nature. This instructional nature allows the results to be more easily translated to the everyday life of running a political campaign.

Stakeholders and Organizational Role

Viewing volunteers as stakeholders entails a greater level of commitment from both the campaign as well as the volunteer. Stakeholders play a greater role in the function and mission of the campaign, and this role serves mutual needs. Volunteers need the campaign in order to fulfill their intrinsic want to both volunteer and affect government, and campaigns need volunteers to accomplish their mission of winning an election. Therefore, as stakeholders, volunteers should both identify with, and be committed to, the campaign.

When volunteering with a campaign, an individual may be asked to work in one of many different roles. Some may work closely with campaign staff, or even the candidate, while others may be asked to work more peripheral roles based on their experience and/or availability. This is similar to non-profits in which volunteers may work repeatedly in the same division or on the same program, while others may work throughout the organization (Grube & Piliavin, 2000).

Due to the varied roles volunteers take, their experience of inclusion in the processes of the organization differs. (Waters & Bortree, 2010). Especially in political campaigns, where volunteers come from all walks of life, the staff may treat each volunteer differently. Volunteers who are asked for their advice and included in organizational decision making are more likely to feel central to the role and mission of the organization (Mor Barak, Cherin, & Berkman, 1998). If the organization maintains effective communication regarding important decisions and announcements, volunteers are more likely to feel included (Waters & Bortree, 2010). This inclusion, therefore, is based on the levels of decision-making, information distribution, and participation as perceived by the volunteer (Waters & Bortree, 2010).

When volunteers perceive their role to be central to that of the campaign, they will be more likely to volunteer for the campaign again. The reliance on decision-making and information distribution makes communication between the organization and volunteers vital to the perception of organizational role (Waters & Bortree, 2010). As seen, if volunteers are satisfied with the level of communication, then they are more likely to feel connected to an organization or campaign (Cheney, 1983). If this is coupled with a feeling of importance in terms of their position within a campaign, then volunteers should be willing to continue with a campaign.

Since volunteer are indeed stakeholders, their sense of inclusion within the campaign should predict their willingness to continue volunteering. When individuals feel as though they are an important part of the decision-making process, they are more likely to be committed to that organization (Waters & Bortree, 2010). If volunteers' perception of their role is based on feelings of inclusion, and this feeling of inclusion leads to commitment, and their levels of commitment and identification affect their willingness to remain a volunteer (parts two and three of this model), then it is a reasonable conclusion that the perception of role also influences future participation. Based on this reasoning, the fourth hypothesis is posed:

H_4: The perception of organizational role by political campaign volunteers will be

positively correlated with future volunteer participation.

Methods

Participants and Procedure

The participants in this study ($N = 23$) were recruited through the author's connections with political organizations and businesses. They were contacted via mass email and faxes, as well as through personal emails and phone calls. The participants were all known political volunteers who were contacted based on their volunteer history. The age of the participants were: 28.1% 18-32; 28.1% 33-50; and 43% 50+. They reported their political affiliations to be 80.7% Republican, 12% Democrat, 1.8% Libertarian, 1.8% Independent, and 1.8% other. Volunteer history was recorded using the number of elections the participants volunteer for in a typical election year: 75.4% reported1-2 campaigns, 12.3% reported 3-4 campaigns, and 12.3% reported more than 5 campaigns. The last campaign volunteered for was: 65% General Election 2012, 26.3% Primary Election 2012, 3.5% General Election 2010, 1.8% General Election 2008, and 5.3% before 2008.

Participants were asked to complete an online survey. No compensation was given, nor was the goal of the study revealed. The survey began with demographic information and questions regarding the participant's political involvement. The participants were then asked to think of the either the current campaign for which they were volunteering, or if not applicable, the last political campaign for which they volunteered. They were then asked to complete the measures with that campaign in mind.

Measurement

Future volunteer participation. Volunteer retention was measured using Garner and Garner's (2011) 8-item measure. It consisted of a Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). This measure was developed using responses gathered by asking volunteer managers "how one could best measure volunteer retention" (Garner & Garner, 2011, p. 819). These responses indicated "the volunteer's future plans for [the specific] organization and for volunteering in general and what he or she would tell other people were among the most important considerations for retention" (Garner & Garner, 2011, p. 819). The questions were modified to be applicable to political campaigns. Sample questions included "I will recommend that others volunteer for this organization" revised to read "I will recommend that others volunteer for this campaign;" "I am more motivated to volunteer because of my recent volunteer experience at this organization" revised to read "I am more motivated to volunteer with future campaigns because of my recent volunteer experience with this campaign;" and "I care about the organization for which I volunteer" revised to read "I care about the campaign for which I volunteer." Means, standard deviations, reliabilities, and correlations for all variables are shown in Table 1. In this study, the measure indicated a reliability of ($\alpha = .88$).

Volunteers' communication satisfaction. Communication satisfaction was measured using Downs and Hazen's (1977) Communication Satisfaction Questionnaire (CSQ). The CSQ focuses on employee attitudes and judgments. It consists of 40 items with a Likert-type response format ranging from 1 (*very satisfied*) to 5 (*very dissatisfied*). This scale was modified to be more applicable to political campaigns and shortened to account for the unique organizational structure of political campaigns. Participants were asked to identify their level of satisfaction with different communication aspects within the campaign. Sample items include "Information regarding my contributions to the campaign," "Recognition of my efforts," and "Extent to which the campaign staff knew and understood the problems faced by volunteers."

The CSQ has a test-retest reliability of 0.94 (Downs & Hazen, 1977), and subsequent research supports its construct and concurrent validity (Rubin, Palmgreen, & Sypher, 1994). Some scholars have taken issue with its content validity (e.g. Gray & Laidlaw, 2004). Zwijze-Koning and de Jong (2007) addressed this concern and concluded, "The CSQ is an appropriate instrument for determining what employees consider important communication issues within their organization" (p. 278). In this study, the measure indicated a reliability of ($\alpha = .92$).

Volunteers' organizational identification. Data regarding organizational identification was collected using Cheney's (1982) Organizational Identification Questionnaire (OIQ). The OIQ involves 25 items scored on a 7-point Likert-type scale with endpoints ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The scale was modified to be applicable to political campaign volunteers. Sample revised questions include, "I am proud to be an employee of _____" revised to read "I am proud to volunteer for the campaign;" and "I have warm

feelings toward _____ as a place to work" revised to read "I have warm feelings toward the

campaign as a place to volunteer." The OIQ has shown a reliability coefficient of 0.95 (Cheney,

1983). In this study, the measure indicated a reliability of ($\alpha = .97$).

Criticisms of the OIQ. Miller, Allen, Casey, and Johnson (2000) questioned the validity

and reliability of the OIQ and went as far as calling for a "moratorium on the use of OIQ as a

measure of organization identification" (p. 648). They based this call on their conclusion that

"the OIQ primarily assesses the *affective nature of commitment*, or the degree to which

employees have positive, neutral, or negative feelings toward [an] organization" (p. 648). Their

analysis found that although the OIQ has several items that are consistent with traditional

conceptualizations of organization identification (Simon, 1976), there are not enough to make the

scale valid. They found that the 12 primary items (items with a factor loading of .60 or higher)

only measure affective commitment instead of traditional identification. Because of this, they

concluded the OIQ is "likely to generate spurious correlations when used in conjunction with

commitment measures" (p. 648).

Although the criticisms offered are well-founded, they are not applicable to this study.

Because this study employed the elements of social identity (Mael & Tetrick, 1992) as well as an

outside measure of commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1984), the issues cited above did not cause any

issues. Social identification uses Kelman's (1961) conceptualization of identification as

attraction or desire for affiliation, and the OIQ questions used are a measure of the affective

nature of commitment. Scott (2007) used the affective nature of identification for a similar study.

Volunteers' organizational commitment. Organizational commitment was assessed

using the Moral Imperative Dimension and Affective Commitment scale items of the Model of

Organizational Commitment (Meyer & Allen, 1991). Meyer and Herscovitch (2001) argued that

commitment is "a force that binds an individual to a course of action or relevance to one or more targets" (p. 301). Individuals experience this in the form of three dimensions: affective, normative, and continuance, which reflect emotional ties and perceived net cost in relation to an organization (Allen & Meyer, 1990). For the purpose of this study, the dimensions of affective and normative were examined using the Moral Imperative Dimension and Affective Commitment questions from the original scale. The Affective Commitment questions have previously shown reliability coefficients ranging from 0.74 to 0.89. The Moral Imperative Dimension Questions have shown reliability coefficients ranging from 0.69 to 0.79 (Xu & Bassham, 2010).

Both sets of questions consist of 5-point Likert-type questions with endpoints of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The questions were modified to be more applicable to political campaigns. Sample questions include: "I was loyal to this campaign because my values were largely its values" (Moral Imperative) and "I really felt as if this campaign's problems were my own" (Affective Commitment). In this study, the measure indicated a reliability of ($\alpha = .88$).

Volunteers' perception of role. The volunteer's perception of their role within the campaign was measured using Garner and Horton's (in press) measure of organizational role. The measure is a picture of six concentric circles numbered 1-6 from the outside in; six is within the center circle, five is one circle removed from the center, four is two circles removed from the center, and so-on. Directions explain that the circles represent perceptions of one's task within the organization.

> *Look at the picture below. The center (#6) represents those people who do tasks that are absolutely critical to the campaign. The outside of the circle (#1) represents those people who do tasks that are important, but are less connected to the organization's core staff. Where would you place what you did there?*

This scale has been used in previous research to measure core-periphery task perceptions (Garner & Horton, in press).

Results

The hypotheses were tested using Pearson product-moment correlations. Each of the four hypotheses was supported. For hypothesis one, a marked relationship was detected between the communication satisfaction of political campaign volunteers and future volunteer participation (r = .85, p < .01). Hypothesis two, that the organizational identification of political campaign volunteers will be positively correlated with future volunteer participation, was also supported (r =. 85, p < .01). Hypothesis three, that the organizational commitment of political campaign volunteers will be positively correlated with future volunteer participation, received support (r = .88, p < .01). Hypothesis four, that the perception or organizational role by political campaign volunteers will be positively correlated with future volunteer participation, also received support (r = .47, p < .05).

Table 1
A correlation matrix and the mean, standard deviation, and reliability coefficients for all variables used.

	M	S.D.	α	1.	2.	3.	4.
1. Communication Satisfaction	3.75	0.70	0.97				
2. Organizational Identification	4.08	0.57	0.92	0.63**			
3. Organizational Commitment	4.07	0.65	0.83	0.60**	0.90**		
4. Organizational Role	3.32	1.53	0.91	0.47**	0.53**	0.49**	
5. Future Participation	4.25	0.82	0.81	0.85**	0.85**	0.88**	0.47*

*Correlation is significant at the *p* < .05 level (2-tailed)
**Correlation is significant at the *p* < .01 level (2-tailed)

Discussion

The future participation of volunteers is vital to the success of any political campaign. Due to the nature of the American political system, campaigns must rely heavily on the work of volunteers. Therefore, it is important for volunteers to remain committed to the campaign over a long period of time. One question that researchers have not yet answered concerns the role communication plays in predicting the future participation of these campaign volunteers. Hypothesis one stated that communication satisfaction would be positively correlated with future volunteer participation.

Previous research established that the quality of communication within an organization significantly impacts workers' perceived connection to the organization. Richmond et al. (1982) found that the communication style of management and its perceived effectiveness predicted the job satisfaction of employees. The idea that organizations must provide a satisfactory work environment in order to retain their workers was supported by subsequent research. Dwiggins-Beeler et al. (2012) found that the quality and effectiveness of the communication within an organization has a measured effect on the climate perceived by workers and volunteers. Their results indicated that volunteers may be drawn to an organization based on a desire to help, but the climate created by the organization affects whether they will stay; communication is a significant portion of this climate.

This study builds on previous organizational research by extending it to the empirically uncharted waters of political campaigns. Past research into communication satisfaction has been focused on corporations (Dwiggins-Beeler et al., 2012) and non-profits (see Boezeman & Ellemers, 2008). Political campaigns, due to their unique reliance on volunteers, merit a similar examination, and the results found in this study indicate that the same principles apply.

The results of the first hypothesis indicate that that 72% of the variance in volunteers' motivation to participate in the future can be account for by their communication satisfaction, i.e., the quality, quantity, and efficiency of the information given to them during their time as a volunteer. When volunteers perceive their campaign as one in which information is freely shared and disseminated, and that they are given the necessary information to complete their volunteer tasks, they are more likely to remain as a volunteer with the campaign. These findings are important because the difference between political volunteers and those of non-profit organizations has not been scientifically established. It is unknown to organizational communication scholars what, if any, the differences are between these types of volunteers.

The association between communication satisfaction and the future participation of political volunteers found here is similar to findings in the context of non-profit volunteers. As in non-profits (e.g. Dwiggins-Beeler et al., 2012), political volunteers base their future participation partly on how their satisfaction of the communication process within the campaign. This expands the notion that communication satisfaction is a core characteristic of fulfilled employees, either paid or otherwise.

The association between communication satisfaction and future participation found here supports the conclusion of Dwiggins-Beeler, et al. (2012) that communication is a precursor of motivation. The effectiveness of the information flow within a campaign is a necessary condition of prolonged and repeated volunteering. Without this effectiveness, volunteers lack a fundamental ingredient of a job satisfaction (Richmond et al., 1982).

Concerning the second hypothesis, which stated that organizational identification would be positively correlated with future volunteer participation, results indicate that 72% of the variance in future volunteerism can be accounted for by volunteers' identification with a

campaign. Social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) posits that individuals connect their personal and social identities through their group membership. The groups with which an individual participates help to define and maintain their individual sense of self (Tajfel, 1982). By belonging to certain groups, individuals reinforce their self-esteem and better develop their perception of their self-worth (Rivenburg, 2000). Within organizations, the identification felt by an individual to the organization materializes as attitudes, beliefs, and intentions (Cheney, 1983). This materialization results in individuals basing their actions on the perceived benefit for the organization (Simon, 1997). Therefore, the correlation found here between organizational identification and future volunteer participation is theoretically sound. Volunteers who reported high levels of identification with their respective campaign were more likely to report intended future volunteer participation.

The strongest findings in this study related to the third hypothesis concerning volunteers' organizational commitment, or loyalty (Mowday et al., 1979), and its correlation with future volunteer participation. A marked relationship was detected, such that 77% of the variance in future volunteerism was accounted for by the individual's organizational commitment. Commitment to an organization is conceptualized as a positive appraisal of a work environment (Demir et al, 2009) and has been linked with employee motivation (Naquin & Holton, 2002), job satisfaction (Testa, 2001), and accomplishment of goals (Becker & Kernan, 2001). The results found here suggest that organizational commitment plays a significant role in the future participation of campaign volunteers. Volunteers who believe strongly in the goals and mission of the campaign, and are committed to the future of it, are likely to remain with, or return to, the campaign in the future.

This result fits well within the theoretical model of social identity theory and its noted connection with commitment. The self-reported levels of commitment mirror the reported levels of identification as predicted by Mowday et al. (1979), who originally defined commitment as the relative strength of an individual's identification with an organization. Thus, it was expected that if identification was related to future volunteer participation, commitment would also be related. Results confirmed that expectation.

The identification and commitment of volunteers influence them to remain loyal to the campaign. By remaining loyal, volunteers become closer to the campaign and increase their stake in its outcome. Stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984) posits that organizations and their members maintain an interdependent relationship through which both entities prosper through a positive organizational environment. According to this perspective, volunteers are considered stakeholders based on their mutual interest in the future and prosperity of the organization. In the political campaign, volunteers work toward the election of a particular candidate (organizational benefit). The election of this candidate then leads to both perceived and actual improvement in the community (individual benefit). Volunteers are therefore considered stakeholders due to this shared interest in the outcome or the campaign.

Because political campaigns rely heavily on the work of volunteers, they play a more integral part than those of a typical nonprofit volunteer. Hypothesis four posited that the volunteers' perception of organizational was positively correlated with future volunteer participation. Results indicated a moderate but substantial relationship, such that 22% of the variance in future volunteerism was accounted for by individuals' perception of their roles in the campaign. As shown, previous studies have linked intrinsic and extrinsic motivations as the driving force behind volunteer work (Hall et al, 2006). Based on the tenets of stakeholder theory

(Freeman, 1984), those who perceive their role within an organization as being central have stronger motivations to help the organization. Therefore, the closer to the center that volunteers report their role to be, the more likely they will be to continue their volunteer work.

These results also support the theoretical notion that the success of an organization is directly related to the contentment of its stakeholders (Garner & Horton, in press) and those stakeholders who feel included in an organization report higher levels of commitment. The volunteers who reported roles closer to the center also reported a high likelihood of future volunteer participation, indicating that their central role was associated with a commitment to the organization and a willingness to prolong their attachment with it.

Theoretical Implications

Stakeholder theory (Freeman, 1984) states that organizations are made up of different parties that each has a vested interest in it, and organizations must work to keep these stakeholders satisfied. Deetz (1995) identified six primary stakeholders: investors, workers, consumers, suppliers, the host community, and the greater society and the world community. The results of this paper add volunteers as a seventh stakeholder, at least in the context of political campaigns. Due to their primary importance to a campaign, and the importance of their perceived role, volunteers share as much vested interest as the other six stakeholder types. All future research using stakeholder theory or stakeholders should include volunteers as a point of examination.

In a similar manner, this paper also extends our knowledge of social identity theory (Tajfel, 1982) by extending it to the context of political participation. Past research using the theory has only looked at either corporate or non-profit organizations. Political organizations provide a new frame of reference for the theory. These organizations have a unique structure and

a very specific set of beliefs and principles. Social identity theory helps to predict how

individuals will connect with campaigns, but campaigns also give SIT a unique structure through

which the idea of identification can be examined. By incorporating political organizations, this

theory can be more fruitful and heuristic.

The extension of both SIT and stakeholder theory is important in developing the theories

individually, but there are greater implications when the theories are taken together.

Organizational commitment showed the strongest correlation with future participation ($r = .88$),

and organizational role showed the weakest ($r = .47$). A Hotelling's t-test indicates that these

correlations are significantly different ($t(20) = 3.94, p < .05$), which means that organizational

commitment is a stronger predictor of volunteers' future participation than is organizational role.

Using SIT and stakeholder theory together, this implies that the felt connection of the group

member to the group is more predictive than the group member's perceived place in the group.

That is, the behavior of individuals within an organization is less influenced by what they do for

the organization than by their connection to it.

This conclusion weakens the results of Houle, et al. (2005) who found that the tasks

given to a volunteer impacts the experience of the volunteer. The experience of the volunteer is

an important predictor of future behavior, but these results denote that it is tempered how

committed the volunteer is to the organization. The role of the volunteer is still an important part

of the overall experience, but not as strong a predictor as commitment.

Given the strong correlations among independent variables, it may be possible to think of

SIT and stakeholder theory together as conceptualizations of organizational affiliation.

Identifying with, and committing to, an organization is a strong indicator of an individual

becoming a stakeholder, but being a stakeholder first (either through obligation, financial investment, or otherwise) does not necessarily indicate a sense of identification or commitment.

Therefore, the most important theoretical conclusion is that the use of either SIT or stakeholder theory as the foundation of the understanding of organization behavior is still sound, but when taken together, the theories allow for a more complete understanding of the organizational connection process. Regardless of how or why an individual joins an organization, these theories allow the development of an organization/member relationship to be further expanded.

Practical Implications

The theoretical implications and connections found in this research are interesting, but the practical implications extend these conclusions beyond academia. Anecdotal experiences point towards political campaigns as being wrought with volunteer turnover and lack of interest. Campaigns rely heavily on the work of volunteers, so the importance of their work cannot be overstated. It is of vital importance to any candidate or campaign manager that volunteers are utilized to their fullest extent.

It can be concluded from these results that increasing the identification and commitment felt by campaign volunteers may increase their likelihood of volunteering in the future. Past research has found that identification can be increased through the manipulation of symbols and rituals related to the organization's mission (Pondy, Frost, Morgan, & Dandridge, 1983). In political terms, this translates into an inter-campaign PR operation in which the candidate and staff reinforce their relationship to the core values of party of which the candidate is affiliated. By strengthening this connection, volunteers come to identify more with the campaign because they perceive it as an extension of their beliefs.

Organizations can also reinforce their distinctiveness and how they compare to other organizations. This exudes a sense of pride and makes inter-organizational differences more salient (Ashforth & Mael, 1989). This is particularly important in primary elections in which there are competing campaigns that share the same core political values. When campaigns risk losing volunteers to other campaigns, they must make clear distinctions between their campaign apparatus and that of the competitors. This includes reinforcing the reliance on the volunteers ensuring that the volunteers are treated fairly.

The best thing campaign staff can do to maximize the commitment and identification of their volunteers is to understand the origins and implications of these connections. As the cited research has noted, most identification and organization are products of the volunteer's connection with the organization, not any direct actions taken by the organization; volunteers identify with campaigns based on their sense of self and how they socially categorize themselves (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Therefore, campaigns can best capitalize on these traits by recruiting volunteers from places most similar to their campaign. These places include party-affiliated clubs within the district (e.g. Republican Women, Young Democrats), non-profit organizations that advocate similar policies (e.g. pro-life organizations), and religious institutions with similar mind-sets as the party affiliation. By recruiting volunteers from these institutions, campaigns are more likely to find individuals already devoted to their policies and, therefore, more likely to identify and commit to the campaign.

The understanding campaigns must have regarding identification and commitment must also apply to organizational role. Although campaigns have no official responsibility to their volunteers, they must rely heavily on their work. Thus, attention should be paid to ensuring their

well-being, which is affected by their perception of inclusion or exclusion within the

organizational structure (Mor Barak et al. 2006).

To counter any ill will resulting from perceived exclusion, campaigns should make an

effort to give volunteers the impression (founded or not) that their role is central to the mission

of the campaign The most common strategy for accomplishing this is through titles. Volunteers,

especially younger ones, should be given a specific title (e.g., Grassroots Coordinator) and even

business cards. By doing so, they are in a perceived elevated position and more centered within

the organizational structure. Similarly, campaigns should hold periodic "strategy sessions" in

which volunteers are given the opportunity to provide input and feedback. This also grants

volunteers decision-making power and an increased sense of structure centrality.

Regardless of how volunteers are recruited or how they are utilized in a campaign, the

most important practical implication of this study remains the importance of quality

communication. The quality of the communication structure within a campaign is the variable

presented here that campaigns can most effectively manage. By ensuring that the flow of

information between staff and volunteers is timely, accurate, and efficient, the satisfaction of

volunteers can be maximized.

Limitations and Future Directions

Limitations

This study was conducted immediately following the 2012 election cycle. The

participants were located using the author's connections with political organizations and

businesses. In the process of soliciting participants, over 5000 individuals were contacted via

email and fax. Even with this wide casting, the total number of useable completed surveys

remained low ($N = 23$). The primary reason identified for this lack of participation is likely

election fatigue. The individuals contacted for this study were primarily Republican-leaning voters due to relationships of the author. The conclusion of the 2012 election cycle meant the end of almost two years of politics. The contentious Republican primary began in earnest in June of 2011 and lasted with fruition until May of 2012. This was immediately followed by a competitive general presidential election.

The result of this period of intense activity meant that the election cycle was arduous for those intimately involved in the process. This was compounded by the loss of the Republican candidate in the Presidential election and is thought to have led to severe fatigue in the weeks following Election Day. This fatigue is the likely culprit for the lack of participation in this study. Future research could sample political volunteers at other points during the election cycle to increase participation. Similarly, these studies should be extended to include longitudinal designs so as to measure how expectations for future participation evolve over the duration of a political campaign.

The other major limitation in this study also comes from the pool of participants. With the exponential growth of partisanship within politics, it was more difficult than expected to obtain participants other than those of a Republican affiliation. The effect of this partisanship on the data is not known. Future research should identify the connection between political parties and future volunteer participation. With its possible implications in the world of political campaigns, research should be directed towards examining participation with all factors (e.g., age, sex, party affiliation) considered.

Future Directions

This study has extended the principles of social identity theory and stakeholder theory beyond their traditional contexts. Future researchers should look to further our understanding of

the variables examined here by viewing them in terms of a process. In this study, identification and commitment were measured immediately following the volunteer experience. In future research, it these variables should be examined at different points in the volunteer process in order to understand how they originate and evolve throughout the election. This will give new insight into the connection between volunteers and campaigns, and how this connection can be reinforced.

This same principle can be applied to organizational role and communication satisfaction. Both of these variables involve the perception of the volunteer, and this perception is likely to evolve over time. It would be interesting to examine how these perceptions ebb and flow throughout an election and what campaigns can do to manage them. Like most life experiences, campaigns and campaign volunteers will go through ups and downs during which their relationship will change, either for better or worse. It is important to understand this process.

In the same way that campaigns can influence the future participation of volunteers, it is a reasonable conclusion that volunteers can also influence the future participation of other volunteers. Based on the ideas of in-groups and out-groups, volunteers may develop internal cliques, and a group comparison process between volunteer sub-groups may take place. Future researchers should aim towards understanding the group dimensions involved in these volunteer sub-groups. For example, especially in large political campaigns, there may be groups of volunteers who are working for a specific issue (e.g., pro-women's health). This group of volunteers may identify differently from another group whose primary reason for volunteering is less specific. This is something that should be examined in future volunteer research.

Conclusion

The impetus behind this research was the lack of empirical data concerning political campaigns and their volunteers. It is no secret that campaigns rely heavily on volunteers to complete even the most vital tasks, and the lack of empirical work examining their roles must be rectified. This study was designed to expose how communication satisfaction, organization identification, organizational commitment, and perceived organizational role impact the intention to volunteer again in the future.

The study was conducted using real-world political volunteers who had participated in a political campaign over the past election cycle. Due to election fatigue and other factors, the sample size was uncomfortably low, yet the data showed statistically significant results. This alone is enough to warrant continued research into this area and further exploration of political volunteer retention.

The results reflected past research into non-profit and corporate organizations. Communication satisfaction, identification, commitment, and role all significantly predicted future volunteer participation. These variables were shown to have a strong effect on the intentions of the participants to continue their work with the campaign. Therefore, neither the theoretical nor practical understanding of the political volunteer experience is complete without the consideration of these factors.

These findings are important for both researchers and political professionals. It is valuable to understand the driving forces behind our volunteers, and this research sheds light on ways in which campaigns can better connect with their workers. Researchers and professionals now have a basis on which campaign management decisions can be made that is scientifically sound.

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Appendix: Questionnaire

Multiple Choice Questions

1. What is your age?
    a. 18-32
    b. 33-50
    c. 50+
2. With which political party do you identify the most?
    a. Republican
    b. Democrat
    c. Libertarian
    d. Independent
    e. Other
3. In a typical election year, how many campaigns do you volunteer with?
    a. 1-2
    b. 3-4
    c. 5+

Please think of the last campaign you volunteered for and answer the following questions.

1. When was the last campaign you volunteered for?
    a. General Election 2012
    b. Primary Election 2012
    c. General Election 2010
    d. Primary Election 2010
    e. General Election 2008
    f. Primary Election 2008

2. What is the name of the candidate you volunteered for?
    a. _____

3. What political party was the candidate a member of?
    a. Democrat
    b. Republican
    c. Libertarian
    d. Independent
    e. Other

4. How many hours per week did you spend volunteering for the campaign?
    a. 0-2
    b. 3-5
    c. 6-10
    d. 10+

5. Do you consider the campaign to have been successful?

      a. Yes
      b. No

Organizational Identification Scale
Cheney (1982)

1. In general, the people associated with the campaign were working toward the same goal.

2. I am proud to have been a volunteer of the campaign.

3. The campaign's image in the community represents me well.

4. I often describe myself to others by saying "I volunteered for the campaign."

5. I tried to make on-the-job decisions by considering the consequences of my actions for the campaign.

6. We at the campaign are different from other campaigns.

7. I am glad I chose to volunteer for this campaign rather than another campaign.

8. I talk up the campaign to my friends as a great place to volunteer.

9. In general, I viewed the campaign's problems as my problems.

10. I was willing to put in a great deal of effort beyond that normally expected to help the campaign be successful.

11. I became irritated when I heard others criticize the campaign.

12. I have warm feelings toward the campaign as a place to volunteer.

13. I would volunteer with the campaign again.

14. I felt that the campaign cared about me.

15. The record of the campaign is an example of what dedicated people can achieve.

16. I had a lot in common with other volunteers in the campaign.

17. I found it difficult to agree with the campaign's policies on important matters relating to me.

18. My association with the campaign was only a small part of who I am.

19. I told others about how the campaign was doing.

20. I found that my values and the values of the campaign were very similar.

21. I felt very little loyalty to the campaign.

22. I would describe the campaign as being a large "family" in which most members felt a sense of belonging.

23. I found it easy to identify myself with the campaign.

24. I really cared about the fate of the campaign.

Organizational Commitment Scale (Meyer & Allen, 1997).

Moral Imperative Dimension

1. I was loyal to this campaign because my values were largely its values.

2. This campaign had a mission that I believed in and was committed to.

3. I felt it was "morally correct" to dedicate myself to this campaign.

Affective Commitment Scale Items

1. I would be very happy to volunteer with this campaign again.

2. I enjoyed discussing my campaign with people outside of it.

3. I really felt as if this campaign's problems were my own.

4. I think that I could easily become as attached to another campaign as I was to this one.

5. I did not feel like "part of the family" at this campaign.

6. I did not feel "emotionally attached" to this campaign.

7. This campaign had a great deal of personal meaning for me.

8. I did not feel a strong sense of belonging to my campaign.

Downs-Hazen Communication Satisfaction Questionnaire

1. How satisfied were you with your volunteer experience? (check 1)
   - I. Very satisfied   - 5. Somewhat dissatisfied
   - 2. Satisfied   - 6. Dissatisfied
   - 3. Somewhat satisfied   - 7. Very dissatisfied
   - 4. Indifferent

2. From the beginning to the end of your volunteer experience, what happened to your level of satisfaction? (check 1)
   - 1. Went up   - 2. Stayed the same   - 3. Went down

A. Listed below are several kinds of information often associated with a person's volunteer experience. Please indicate how satisfied you were with the amount and/or quality of each kind of information by circling the appropriate number at the right.

Very dissatisfied   Very satisfied
1   2   3   4   5   6   7

_____ 1.   Information about my contributions to the campaign

_____ 2.   Personal news
_____ 3.   Information about campaign policies and goals
_____ 4.   Information about how my role compared with that of other volunteers
_____ 5.   Information about how my volunteer efforts were evaluated
_____ 6.   Recognition of my efforts
_____ 7.   Information about my duties as a volunteer
_____ 8.   Information about changes to the campaign
_____ 9.   Reports on how my problems were addressed
_____ 10. Information about the campaign's financial standing
_____ 11. Information about accomplishments and/or failures of the campaign

B. Please indicate how satisfied you were with the following

_____ 1.   Extent to which the campaign staff knew and understood the problems faced by volunteers
_____ 2.   Extent to which the campaign's communication motivated and stimulated an enthusiasm for meeting its goals
_____ 3.   Extent to which the campaign staff listened and paid attention to me
_____ 4.   Extent to which the people in the campaign had great ability as communicators
_____ 5.   Extent to which the campaign staff offered guidance for solving job related problems
_____ 6.   Extent to which the campaign's communication made me identify with it or feel a vital part of it
_____ 7.   Extent to which the campaign's communications were interesting and helpful
_____ 8.   Extent to which the campaign staff trusted me
_____ 9.   Extent to which I received in time the information needed to do my job
_____ 10. Extent to which the grapevine was active in the campaign
_____ 11. Extent to which the campaign staff was open to ideas
_____ 12. Extent to which horizontal communication with other campaign volunteers was accurate and free flowing
_____ 13. Extent to which communication practices were adaptable to emergencies
_____ 14. Extent to which our meetings were well organized
_____ 15. Extent to which the amount of supervision given me was about right
_____ 16. Extent to which written directives and reports were clear and concise
_____ 17. Extent to which the attitudes toward communication in the campaign were basically healthy
_____ 18. Extent to which informal communication was active and accurate
_____ 19. Extent to which the amount of communication in the campaign was about right

Measurement of Perceived Organizational Role
(Garner & Garner, 2011)

Look at the picture below. The center (#6) represents those people who do tasks that are absolutely critical to the campaign. The outside of the circle (#1) represents those who do tasks that are important, but are less connected to the organization's mission. Where would you place what you did for the campaign?