

Expectations and Experiences of Young Nonprofit Employees: Toward a Typology

ABSTRACT

Nonprofit organizational performance depends heavily on the work experiences and job satisfaction of the employees. Pressures to be more competitive in a diverse market of social services and health care providers, however, often drift the organizational attention away from the workforce. This exploratory analysis focuses on employees who have been recruited to entry-level positions (jobs for university graduate students that require no or only little prior experience) in German Free Welfare Associations (FWAs). Through qualitative interviews with 28 employees, aged 23 to 35, their expectations, work experiences and consequent levels of job satisfaction have been studied and analyzed. Findings show that their initial expectations of working in FWAs often do not match the reality of the workplace. A typology of young employees is advanced that will enable FWAs to achieve a better fit between the employees' personal needs and the organizational setting.

Keywords: Free welfare associations, Germany, job satisfaction, young employees, nonprofit sector, expectations, work experiences, personal characteristics, performance.

Employees are the most important intangible assets in nonprofit organizations (Hall, et al., 2008; Rodwell and Teo, 2008). Their work experiences and job satisfaction are major influencing factors of organizational performance, which is especially true for labor-intensive social service and health care nonprofits (Akingbola, 2006). Increasing economic pressure, however, forces nonprofits to implement drastic organizational changes to be able to compete in a diverse market of social services and health care (Murray 2010). Those changes often negatively affect their employees.

This, in fact, is the case for free welfare associations (FWAs), who are the main provider of social services and health care in Germany (Zimmer, et al., 2004). In 2008, their combined workforce accounted for at least 80% of the entire nonprofit workforce, with about 1,542,000 paid employees (of which app. 54% are employed part-time); this number is equivalent to app. 4% of the overall German labor force (BAGFW e.V., 2008). Until the 1990s FWAs were completely reliant on government funding and enjoyed a monopoly in the provision of welfare services. However, in past decades FWAs have experienced tremendous changes—particularly since governmental cutbacks in funding introduced new systems of competition (Grunwald, 2001; Zimmer, 2000). FWAs, as consequence, implemented certain management processes and new internal controls, and these changes have had significant impact on working conditions, labor agreements, and tenure (Zimmer and Toepler, 2000). Michael Vilain (2002), for instance, points out that FWAs simply adopted many management tools developed for the for-profit sector instead of adapting them to their own needs, and therefore he finds FWAs to be “muddling through and doing a little bit of social work and a little bit of business administration” (p. 7). Vilain further argues that, in response to the broad changes in funding and the market liberalization, all areas of human resource management in FWAs have been negatively impacted, including - recruitment, retention, job assignments, professional development, and administration. While there is a considerable literature documenting the organizational changes in FWAs and their effects in the last decades (Dahme, Trube, and Wohlfahrt, 2007; Grunwald, 2001; Lange and Hunger, 2003; Segbers, 2007, Zimmer and

Toepler, 2000; Zimmer, et al., 2004), little attention has been paid to the impact on the workforce in FWAs (Dahme and Wohlfahrt, 2007; Vilain, 2002).

This paper is an exploratory analysis focusing on employees who have been recruited to entry-level positions (jobs for university graduate students that require no or only little prior experience) in FWAs. After the changes in governmental funding took effect and FWAs have undergone significant changes, the impact on their employees has not been studied yet. In the past, FWAs have been successful in attracting young employees offering them job security and many valuable benefits, which they are now unable to offer in the current system. Not much is known about why young people are willing to take on jobs in FWAs as they face lower wages, fewer benefits, and increased workloads than prior to the changes. This study fills the gap by examining why young employees take on careers in FWAs, their personal expectations, work experiences and their job satisfaction. The main research questions are therefore: Under the current system, why do young people choose to work in FWAs? Are young employees satisfied with their work environment? Is there an alignment between their initial expectations and their actual work experiences?

Organizational Performance and Job Satisfaction

Being able to perform effectively is now more important than ever for nonprofits. They not only face a decrease in public funding and challenges in increasing the share of private donations, but also are confronted with stiff competition from other health care and social service providers (Murray 2010, Zimmer 2000).

Organizational performance is a useful tool to critically evaluate and enhance the work of nonprofit organizations and also signals quality to the various stakeholders (e.g. boards, donors, government, clients, employees) (Forbes, 1998; Light, 2002a). Simultaneously it may have different meanings depending on who judges it. Robert Herman and David Renz (2008), for instance, regard effectiveness as a socially constructed concept and not as inherently stable. However, even though the concept might be unstable, past research identified some criteria that constitute performance in nonprofit organizations, which can be distinguished in financial and non-financial criteria. Financial dimensions of effectiveness are often easier to measure

(e.g. financial performance, program outcomes) than non-financial criteria; those are often not supportable with hard data (Herman and Renz 2008). Another issue still highly debated in nonprofit research is the question of how exactly nonprofit organizations can achieve better performance and what enables them to do so (Light, 2002a).

Even though, organizational performance is neither clearly defined nor measurable yet (Forbes 1998, P. C. Light 2004), a distinct link between employees' job satisfaction and organizational performance has been identified (Akingbola, 2006; Tortia, 2008). Generally, the concept of job satisfaction indicates to what extent employees are pleased with their work and is a personal evaluation if the job fulfills one's needs and values (Locke 1976). High levels of job satisfaction among nonprofit employees lead to greater organizational performance, whereas job dissatisfaction is the single most reliable predictor of employee turnover, which negatively affects performance (Moynihan and Pandey, 2007; Tortia, 2008).

One of the salient factors influencing job satisfaction for employees is their work environment. For example, quality of relations with co-workers, supervisors, and clients (Borzaga and Depedri, 2005; Ducharme, Knudsen, and Roman, 2008; Ewald, 1997), professional development possibilities (Borgaza and Tortia, 2006), compensation and appropriateness of wages (Glisson and Durick, 1988; Haley-Lock, 2007), wage equity (Leete, 2000), workload (Cole, Panchanadeswaran and Daining, 2004), and perceived fairness in terms of distributive and procedural justice (Lambert, et al., 2005; Tortia, 2008) have been identified as influencing factors for job satisfaction.

If employees are unhappy about their work environment, this negatively influences their job satisfaction and this in turn has detrimental implications for the nonprofit organization. For FWAs, Vilain (2002) finds that poor working conditions impact the level of job satisfaction of the workforce and this has significant negative effects on individual performance, which ultimately leads to a decrease in overall organizational performance. Dissatisfaction with pay and career advancement can also be sufficient enough to reverse the role of mission attachment, which may then lead to turnover intentions (Kim and Lee, 2007). Sabine Geurts and colleagues (1999) found, that employees with feelings of unmet job expectations report sick more often and are

more likely to quit their employment. Several other studies on dissatisfaction and unmet expectations of employees in the nonprofit context present similar findings (Kim and Stoner, 2008; Mor Barak, Nissly, and Levin, 2001; Strolin-Goltzman, et al., 2008).

Taking levels of job satisfaction into account is particularly important for nonprofits because they are not able to use the same rewards systems than for-profit firms. They neither have the economic capacity to motivate employees extrinsically nor does the culture of nonprofits encourage extrinsic rewards to increase productivity and motivational levels (Buelens and Van den Broeck 2007, Handy and Katz, 1998; Preston 1989). Nonprofits, however, rely on other means of motivating and rewarding their workforce; most of them are closely related to the employees' personal characteristics

Personal Characteristics

Nonprofit employees are generally highly motivated, value-driven and attracted by the doing-good nature of nonprofit work (Benz, 2005). They are thus also more likely to accept lower pay due to their attachment to the organizational mission (Brown and Yoshioka, 2003; Handy, et al. 2007; Light, 2002b). Wage sacrifices are perceived by nonprofit employees as labor donations in the production of public goods, especially among employees who feel certain attachment to the mission of the nonprofit and who are intrinsically motivated (Benz, 2005; Borgaza and Tortia, 2006; Preston, 1989). Organizational values and goals are often seen as prime reasons for individuals choosing nonprofit work (Brown and Yoshioka, 2003; Theuvsen, 2004) and achieving these value-driven goals motivates them (Cheverton, 2007).

How exactly they perceive their work situation depends on their personal values and motivations, as well as their expectations from work (George and James, 1997; Major, et al., 1995). The congruence of initial value-based expectations with the actual work situation is hereby crucial as met expectations and value attainment are positively associated to job satisfaction. This in turn is positively related to organizational commitment, and negatively related to the likelihood of turnover intentions (Major, et al., 1995; Moynihan and Pandey, 2007). If employees find that their expectations from and values toward work match the actual

work situation, they are likely to be more satisfied (Akingbola, 2006; Amos and Weathington, 2008). The appropriateness of the match is estimated by the individuals' subjective valuation.

Current research documents distinct differences in job-related expectations among younger and older employees. Young people have the increased tendency of entering the workforce with high expectations. Over time, however, they adapt their expectations according to their workplace reality (Bal, De Lange, Jansen, and Van Der Velde, 2008; De Vos, 2003). Moreover, the relationship between expectations of young adults and their work experience is dynamic. Not only do expectations influence how one experiences the work situation, but working in an organization may also lead to changes in expectations (Roberts, Caspi and Moffitt 2003). Brent Roberts and colleagues (2003) assume that young individuals "change their behavior as they learn the norms associated with their work roles" (p. 582).

Past research also finds other differences between young and older nonprofit employees. On one hand younger nonprofit employees particularly value challenging and interesting work (Light, 2002b), on the other hand, however, they report lower levels of job satisfaction (Borzaga and Depedri, 2005), lower personal accomplishment, more psychological strain and more depersonalization than older employees (Schwartz, Tiamiyu, and Dwyer, 2007). Younger employees are also less psychologically resilient, have lower levels of job mastery (Schwartz, Tiamiyu, and Dwyer, 2007), and tend to be less visionary, competent, and committed as older nonprofit employees (Kunreuther, 2003).

Given these above-mentioned differences, it is not surprising that a significant correlation has been found between age, job dissatisfaction and intention to leave (Acker, 1999; Borzaga and Depedri, 2005; Mor Barack et al., 2001). Young employees are more likely to leave nonprofit work than older employees. This might be due to the fact that they see their careers just starting with many more years on the horizon and are therefore still driven to find the ideal job. Furthermore, they may not have the financial and family obligations as older workers and hence are more likely to risk leaving their job to seek better options and are, thus, less tolerant of poor working conditions. As Hans Oliva and colleagues (1991) in their study

points out, FWAS have difficulties in retaining a young workforce due to inflexible working hours, low wages, and the low image of nonprofit work in the German society.

The increased likelihood of leaving could also be influenced by the employees' personality such as having the wish to find meaningful relationships with colleagues. Carlo Borzaga and Sara Depedri (2005) find that relational aspects of nonprofit work were more important for younger employees than for their older colleagues and that younger colleagues were more likely to leave if they perceived the quality of relations within the workplace to be unsatisfactory. Another possible reason might lie in the notion of a "boundaryless career" among young employees (Arthur and Rousseau, 1994; Haley-Lock, 2008, p. 147). Frequent changes of employers in the search for the correct match with personal and professional objectives are perceived by the young generation as opportunities to advance faster while gaining more experience. In this, young nonprofit employees put less emphasis on the traditional organizational career path of staying within one organization throughout their entire professional life (Haley-Lock, 2008).

Taken as a whole, the literature suggests job satisfaction of young employees is influenced by their individual expectations and work experiences. Work experiences relate to e.g. relationships with co-workers or working conditions as working hours, workload, development possibilities, and compensation levels. Expectations are perceptions employees have toward their future job and work. Both expectations and experiences in turn depend on personal characteristics such as values and motivations. The literature also implies that job satisfaction is likely to occur if there is congruence between the initial expectations and the actual experiences. Figure 1 illustrates those connections and serves as conceptual framework for the paper. To date, previous studies have not focused on the influences of personal characteristics on both, expectations and work experiences to examine the combined effects on job satisfaction in nonprofit organizations, this study addresses this gap.

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Methods

Given the scarcity of literature on young entry-level professionals in German nonprofit organizations, this study uses a pragmatic qualitative approach that utilizes ethnographic techniques to study the research questions (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Patton, 1990).

Data Collection

The sample was purposive in nature while using snowball-sampling techniques¹ (Bryman, 2008). First, professional social workers and human resource managers employed by FWAs in the federal state of Lower Saxony were solicited to provide names of entry-level employees working in FWAs. Those interviewees of the first round were then asked to facilitate contact with former fellow students and/or colleagues. This process was continued until saturation of information was reached (Bowen, 2008; Morse, 1995).

The first author conducted all of the interviews in German primarily by telephone (25), with a few done face-to-face (3). Interviewees were guaranteed anonymity with their data being kept confidential. Length of interviews lasted from 15 to 40 minutes. Following a semi-structured open-ended interview guide, interviewees were first asked on their socio-demographics, about their current job and contract characteristics. Thereafter questions were posed to identify their motivations toward choosing nonprofit employment, their expectations before entering the job market, their current level of job satisfaction and their evaluation of the work environment in FWAs. Interviewees were specifically asked some guiding questions: What meaning do you assign work in general? Why did you decide to search employment in the nonprofit sector? How satisfied are you with your current working conditions? Interviews were digitally recorded and then transcribed. The research team worked collaboratively together in translating the interviews and in analyzing the data. Details of the interview guide are available from the first author.

¹ The applied snowball sampling technique could potentially account for a skewed sample. Young employees might only have shown interest in an interview, while being extremely dissatisfied with their current job. We are aware of this fact and emphasize that future research should adopt a probabilistic sampling approach in order to account for a self-selection of potential interviewees.

Data Analysis

Data were analyzed using qualitative methods (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Patton, 1990). In the first step of the analysis, while utilizing analytic induction and constant comparison strategies, common themes regarding values, work experiences, job satisfaction, and expectations toward nonprofit work were detected in the interview transcripts. These themes were identified by going back and forth between the interview transcripts and the emerging theoretical understandings (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). After coding these themes, the interviews were searched for instances of the same or similar phenomena. This process was repeated until all findings were coded. With these codes, the research questions were addressed. All members of the research team worked sequentially and then collaboratively on this stage of research to maintain the credibility criteria of the study. The findings discussed below are supported by direct quotations from the interviewed employees; however, these quotations are not exhaustive of their contributions in each category.

Sample Characteristics

All 28 interviewees hold professional degrees and are in entry-level positions in FWAs. The interviewees represented all six peak associations² and worked in 26 different FWAs spread across 7 federal states of Germany. Fifteen were front line service employees, whereas 13 worked in management such as human resources and finance, or administrative positions such as fundraising, marketing, and public relations. The female share of the interviewed employees was 60%, the interviewees had an average age of nearly 29, ranging from 23 to 35 years. The average length of employment in the nonprofit sector was 2.5 years. This sample in general reflects the nature of the workforce of FWAs in Germany, which is largely composed of social or welfare workers (Burmester, 2005) with employment ranging from part-time and full time paid

² FWAs are organized in six centralized 'peak associations of free welfare work' (*Spitzenverbände der freien Wohlfahrtspflege*). These six entities serve as umbrella organizations for their members, and are either religiously affiliated (Caritas, Diakonie, Jewish Welfare), politically affiliated (Worker Welfare – social democratic, The Parity - non-partisan), or affiliated with the Red Cross (Zimmer and Toepler, 2000).

workers to volunteers (Vilain, 2002). Table 1 summarizes further work-related characteristics of the interviewed young employees.

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Findings

This research seeks to bring into focus emerging issues, rather than confirm or challenge specific theoretical concepts or practices. It proposes several points of relevance in understanding the influence of work experiences on job satisfaction of young employees in German FWAs and raises questions for further study. The findings presented follow the form and logic of the conceptual framework in Figure 1.

Personal Characteristics

Job and sector choice depend on personal values (Judge and Bretz, 1991; Von Rosenstiel, 2006), motivations (Lee and Wilkins, 2011), and life experiences (Kunreuther, 2003), as well as what people think best fits their individual values that underlie the significance given to extrinsic or intrinsic rewards, and relational needs (Borzaga and Depedri, 2005; Lee and Wilkins, 2011). The interviewees reflected their career choices and expectations toward nonprofit work along those categories.

Personal values.—The data suggest that the decision to work in the nonprofit sector is strengthened by individuals' personal values and the expected match with the workplace. As one employee explains, "I [...] choose very consciously a free welfare organization. Whereby work tasks suit me and comply with my values. Those are fulfilled with my job at the Red Cross" (G21, 48-53)³. The most prevalent values mentioned were of ideological, altruistic, and religious nature. Employees interpreted work in FWAs as their need to change existing circumstances in society, as one employee explains her ideological view, "work fills out a major part of my life, I would say, and I want to see that I can change things, that I play a part in those developments" (G6, 86-88). Other interviewees gave priority to rather altruistic values. Hereby, the "doing-

³ All quotes have been translated into English. Interview transcriptions in German available upon request.

good” motive was prevalent: “I believe it is inherent in me... I just want to work with people and help them. That was my intention” (G4, 36-37).

The two largest peak associations of FWAs, Caritas and Diakonie, are both religious. Their religious values are reflected in their mission and work ethics. Not surprisingly, five employees emphasized their faith as motivating their choice of employment with religiously affiliated FWAs. They expected to find their set of personal values to be reflected in those organizations. For them, the motivation of doing something valuable for society is wedded to their religious beliefs as the following quote illustrates: “First, as a younger woman, I knew I wanted to work with children and learn and experience doing something worthwhile. Secondly, - what I would add here – is my Christian attitude. I knew I wanted to work for the church and the church related nonprofits” (G13, 64-68).

Interestingly, the opposite is also true. One social worker explicitly stated that she was purposefully selecting organizations that were *not* religious while searching for a job. She referred to the narrow preconditions necessary to get employment in religiously affiliated FWAs, such as baptismal record and being active in the church associated with the FWA (Betzelt, 2001). For her, although she was baptized and a member of the church, she thought it was essential “not to feign” (G24, 107) religious values in order to get employment and to remain honest to her own values. However, she admits not giving up her church membership in order “not to decrease her chances for future employment” (G24, 116-118); her current employer is a non-religious FWA.

Individual motivations.—The findings also indicate that employees in FWAs are intrinsically motivated and less attracted by extrinsic rewards, which is similar to the findings in the literature (Benz, 2005; Handy, et al. 2007; Mirvis and Hackett, 1983; Preston, 1989). As work occupies a large part of their day, young employees hoped that work would endow their life with meaning. One employee working in marketing explains, “I am not willing to say ‘I am just going to work to make money and that I don’t really care what I do’. I need to see that I accomplish something and that this benefits more than just me, and that others also benefit from my work” (G6, 88-89).

While being intrinsically motivated, money played a minor role for many young employees when they were searching for a job after graduation. Work in FWAs is regarded as more important than the aspect of making money. It was declared to be an end in itself, for example this quote: “The type of work I do is more important to me [...], and the money is really less important” (G15, 155-157), is indicative of the majority of responses.

Life experiences.—Life experiences often play a role in determining sector choice (Kunreuther, 2003), especially for social workers (Ewald, 1997), and contribute toward the development of job expectations. Some respondents emphasized the influence of having had a family member or close relative that worked in the nonprofit sector. Relatives served as role models that effected the job decisions among young employees, as this young woman indicates, “during my school days I lived with my family a few years in Africa, Rwanda and Cameroon. That was before my professional life, but played a major role in my career choice” (G19, 4-6).

Without being explicitly asked, six employees mentioned that they had previous volunteering experiences. Those experiences influenced career choices toward work in FWAs as expressed by this social worker, “I have to add that I was active in youth work as volunteer since my 14th or 15th year of age. [...] Since I've known this area so well, it was clear that this was an interesting field of work for me” (G24, 130-138).

Two male interviewees indicated that their community service experience was a crucial factor that influenced their vocational choice, as one expressed, “it all started with my community service, because I've noticed that social work for and with people lies in my personality. I had the feeling I can easily empathize with the situation of other people” (G23, 35-37).

Personal values, motivations and various life experiences are factors that influence job choice and young nonprofit employees in this study indicated they were not willing to sacrifice them in their choice of employment.

Expectations of and Experiences in the Work Environment

The work environment is in itself broad and covers a variety of matters as relationships with co-workers, compensation levels, opportunities to growth, and working conditions as working hours and workload. Depending on the employees' own evaluation of their work experiences, the specific work environment in FWAs can influence their job satisfaction (Vilain, 2002).

Relationships with co-workers.—Employees wish to develop meaningful relationships with colleagues while working in the nonprofit sector. The interviewees assumed that all nonprofit employees would share a certain philosophy in life; future colleagues were expected to be like-minded, and to possess similar values. One interviewee noted, “I expected that one would work with a certain kind of people who sees life just a little bit differently” (G9, 48). Those interviewees who highly valued religious aspects expected to find colleagues who share the same set of values, who show “support and courtesy intrinsic in those who were religiously driven” (G17, 78) and – possess a “critical Catholic attitude” (G10, 138) toward work in FWAs.

The attitude of finding likeminded co-workers was found throughout the interviews, even though the sample consisted of various professions. For example, one employee with a degree in business management said: “I expected that the staff were characterized by a particular philosophy; they put their heart and soul in their work, and that they also are firm believers in the mission of their work. I was hoping they work because they enjoy it. These were my expectations, [...] employees in FWAs and non-profit organizations work with similar convictions, they can easily collaborate or work together in teams” (G23, 65-68, 74-77).

The quality of the relationships in the work setting was important for the employees, especially while spending a significant part of the day with them, as this social worker explained, “sometimes I have the feeling ... you spend more time with your colleagues, than with your friends. Friends you choose, but colleagues you don't. I believe sometimes it is not so terribly important [...] what you do, but where you are and you have to feel comfortable. The working atmosphere with colleagues has to feel comfortable and fit” (G3, 177-182).

Mostly, these above mentioned expectations lived up to the reality of the respondents work experiences. Even though, individual employees did not determine their team

composition, some found support for each other, and worked collectively toward reaching the organizational goals. One young woman explained, “I work very closely together with a colleague; on a personal level, the collaboration is very good, but not on the content level. She is not the most appropriate staff member in this area, which leads to errors on her part. Due to the fact that we are on good terms with each other, we talk and try to do better” (G22, 183-188). However, some of the interviewees expressed negative opinions about their co-workers. Their experiences with them were contrary to their initial expectations, as this business management graduate explained, “the idea that the employees are working selflessly for the welfare of children is not given here. Everybody looks after himself first. That was the expectation, which was most disappointing” (G23, 85-87).

Relations at the workplace influence employees’ perception of the working climate in FWAs. Depending on the specific situation, this could lead to a positive or negative effect on employees.

Working conditions.—The interviewees expected their work to be meaningful and valuable, but also expressed the desire to enjoy their work and have fun doing it. One woman working in youth welfare services described, “so my motive and goal was always that I need meaning in the work and that it is principally more important to me than the money I earn at the end, because you simply spend far too much time at work and therefore it has to be enjoyable” (G5, 101-104). Most often the young employees were hoping for work environments that would enable them some freedom to realize their full potential. One fundraiser noted, “well, I expected that I can be creative and that I do have a certain amount of freedom, that I am not bound by rules. Such an environment was important for me” (G14, 98-103). And seven of the interviewees concurred that they expected to find a wide variety of tasks within their FWA. The quality of the tasks was important, in that they had to be meaningful as one interviewee explained, “my expectations of the job were that I wanted to have interesting, meaningful and challenging tasks. Therefore working for a FWA is an obvious choice because you find a variety of areas to work in. That was actually my main interest in the FWA job after graduation” (G8, 71-74).

However, those expectations only partly aligned with the reality in FWAs. Freedom and creativity are often restricted by working hours, high workloads or intangible work outcomes. Despite the variety of potential tasks in welfare work, young employees often have to fulfill lots of administrative and repetitive tasks.

Working hours: Evaluations of working hours varied according to the jobs that the respondents hold. Some interviewees, foremost employed in part-time jobs, regarded their working hours as highly flexible, as this social worker stated, “so with those [working hours] I'm super happy, I can allot my time completely flexible. Twice a week I have group, that is, the kids are in school in the morning anyway. That is, I have to be at work at eleven or twelve [...]. But I can define, when, where or how I allot my parents conferences. Or, for example, I have a horse and go riding in the morning. Not many are able to do so” (G3, 212-217). More full-time employees than part-time employees however experienced their working hours to be inflexible, as this full-time employee stated, “currently, there is a core time from 8.30 am till 3.30 pm and a fixed lunch break from 12.30 till 1.00 pm. If at 12.24 an important person from a member organization is calling and you cannot choke off the talk after six minutes, then you have forfeited your lunch break” (G22, 141-144). While having fixed allotted times for lunch break and core times, employees found that their nonprofit work, which often requires spontaneous actions—is not appropriately structured. Employees in part-time positions generally were more likely to be satisfied with working hours.

In addition, full-time workers working in FWAs that rely heavily on volunteers reported a high share of their working hours in the evenings (as they work with volunteers who come in after working hours). Although such hours are an intrinsic part of their jobs and were initially acceptable, over time when young workers faced family responsibility it became difficult. When they advocated for a more family- and leisure-friendly work schedule, they were unsuccessful. One young father of two children reported, “because of the structure of my organization and its use of volunteers, I am often very dependent on them. This makes my hours a very very difficult, especially as I have a family. They do not care if you have four work-related evening events per week and an upcoming work weekend too. Often I'm frustrated, I'm contracted for

38.5 hours, and I do live with and for my work, but it has to be appropriate. I earn my money here. I certainly do not count every hour, but what is just has to be just” (G2, 128-136).

Workload: Economic restrictions and increased administrative workloads were a consequence of the implementation of new systems of management and funding in FWAs following the financial cutbacks by the government (Dahme and Wohlfahrt, 2007). Often, employees have to integrate new tasks into their existing workload by working over time and by limiting previous activities (Dahme and Wohlfahrt, 2007; Mergner, 2007). And one female social worker explained, “it happens to me very often that I receive a lot of telephone calls and do not have the time to work on the various things that come in over the phone and then when it's the end of the work day, I put the receiver to the side and I have to do some of those things urgently. So I do overwork several times a week” (G24, 213-216). Overall workloads were sensed as becoming untenable, this put additional stress and pressures as the social worker continues her explanation, “however, the work schedule is very tight, i.e. one is constantly exposed to very high pressure. You always have to do a lot of things incredibly fast and much depends on that, I think that is a bad work condition that burns you out on the long run” (G24, 188-191).

Work outcome: With an increasingly competitive landscape FWAs have responded by becoming more businesslike and developing new management systems to make them successful. New tasks in administration, project acquisition, and the development of quality management systems are undertaken by FWAs, which often do not permit young employees to do work as they initially anticipated. The employees could no longer serve clients with the appropriate respect and time they had expected (Mergner, 2007; Neumann, 2004). This sentiment was felt by most of the respondents and is captured in this quote: “However, there are moments where I would like to do something meaningful for my clients, but this is not always possible. We must struggle with a lot of bureaucracy and constraints, because we are tied to certain rules due to the project-related funding. Therefore, I do ask myself, why this is necessary. For the efforts to be successful it takes a long time and the energy is, so to speak, of our efforts is evaporated. These are moments when I find it difficult to work” (G28, 107-112).

Young employees expected their efforts and works' outcome to be more tangible, and make a difference, but recognized that reality in FWAs is often different, and the outcomes are disappointing. One female social worker explained, "and when it comes to the opportunity to change something, especially in the area of youth welfare, I think it is very often frustrating. You work very long with these children and young people and then you hear that they didn't make it" (G13, 134-137).

Economic considerations.—FWAs, in order to be competitive with other social services and health care providers, implemented certain cost cutting measures and introduced new systems of management (Zimmer and Hallmann, 2002). The young employees, however, did not expect these economic restrictions to have an impact on their work, as one employee remarked, "especially in comparison with [...] a company, I had the expectation to work with less pressure, that you don't have to provide profit-making efficiency or to sell a product, that you can have more [...] long-term goals on which you can work on without having any pressure behind it" (G7, 83-86). Only after having started to work in FWAs, they realized the necessity of economic considerations, as another social worker elaborated on her experiences, "I realized at some point that the work has to be very economical. [...] At first, I have to admit, I was very shocked, but my supervisor just said it today, we are a service provider just like any other. This is very surprising for me" (G4, 103-113).

As another cost cutting measure affecting young employees are that they are often contracted part-time and foremost on temporary contracts by FWAs (Rückert-John, 2000; Dahme and Wohlfahrt, 2007). Temporary contracts are often linked to specific projects (usually with a duration between one and three years) for which FWAs have to win grants while competing with other providers. Even though FWAs can apply for extensions of those projects, confirmation is usually given on a short notice (Zimmer and Hallmann, 2002). This could impact affected employees, in that they may be constantly considering other employment possibilities. However, despite the possibility of FWAs not winning grants, the interviewees indicated that they did not expect their jobs to be highly insecure, even though they are on a temporary basis. One social worker comments, "I just would never have been thought that job insecurity is that

extreme” (G5, 138-140). And, many younger employees were willing to cope with some level of insecurity:

“This is a high insecurity, but my feelings always told me that I will be able to continue. But every year three months before the contract expires it is indeed unnerving when it has to be decided if my contract gets prolonged [...] I do have the feeling that my contract gets extended with EU funding. However, I believe that within the next years the time will come when it gets too burdening and too insecure to be in the status of seeking work every year. This is difficult in the whole free welfare organization or social work in general, that most of the things are funded project-related” (G21, 28-35, 179-183).

In contrast, employees with open-ended contracts are assured that their employer will find other projects for them after the current project has ended.

Furthermore, the coexistence of employees on differing employee contracts on a team—as it is often the case in FWAs (Burmester, 2005; Vilain, 2002)—has negative impacts on the quality of teamwork, which is explained here: “I think, for example, it is clearly noticeable in the summer when the tendering for contracts is done- everyone thinks about - will I stay? What if my project does not come through? Which other project will I work on? What will the permanent employees do and where does this leave me? [...] I must say, at that time the atmosphere was totally tense in the team” (G5, 437-440). FWAs seem not to be strategically thinking of whom to keep and to develop further according to the interviewees. Another employee shared her concerns in the following way: “Indeed contracts expire. [...] And an extension only happens just before the contract expires, [...] it was the same for me. And it is then carefully considered, if the organization can afford it or not. This is so frustrating. And then you feel unappreciated or unrecognized. [...] That's why we have such a high turnover” (G4, 120-134).

The current environment in which FWAs operate seems to be demanding on the organization and its employees; the interviewees recognized this as the consequence of economic constraints. FWAs allowing contracts of young employees to expire, risk increasing turnover rates, and as one interviewee points out: “Good people have to know in advance [if their contract is extended] in order to be able to keep working ” (G19, 144). The risks endured

by part time and contract employees due to the environmental factors negatively affect working conditions for employees and increase turnover rates, this bears social and economic costs by negatively influencing organizational performance in the long run.

Compensation in FWAs.—It is widely known that compensation in the nonprofit sector is lower compared to the for-profit sector (Handy and Katz, 1998; Handy et al., 2007; Mirvis and Hackett, 1983). Usually nonprofit employees are aware of this, as this social worker noted, “you know before you start studying social work, that you won’t get the payments as for other jobs. Therefore, I approached work very naively to get an overview of what to expect” (G4, 20.23). Interviewees admitted that although they were aware of the low wages being paid in FWAs, they had no idea what wages they would need in order to sustain their lives. One employee working in disability support services says, “at the beginning of the [social work] program, when I had already chosen my profession, at that time money, honestly, did not play an important role. Back then I had no idea, what one earns and what one needs” (G1, 69-74). Young employees thinking about their future—especially related to family planning—were concerned that their current compensation levels will not be able to provide them with the necessary means to support a future family.

“I do not want to drag myself about with a salary of 1000 euros my whole life. Now, I have to state clearly, I'm not entirely altruistic. [...] Nonprofit work is definitely a pleasure; it attracts me, you can make a difference [...] However, I don't have children yet. I am going to turn 30 soon [...]. The common considerations are coming up... my husband also has his ideas. Of course, if my husband did not have a pretty well paid job, it would be very very difficult [to work in the nonprofit sector], it requires much patience and energy - and of course I see that we are underpaid - absolutely. If I ever had children - in the near future - then the concern is relevant - and I think justified” (G9, 89-92, 101-106).

Even though the interviewees stated their willingness to supply labor for the good cause, low pay seems only acceptable as long as the personal situation of the employees allows. In general, they indicated that they were well aware that compensation is too low considering their levels of responsibility, the importance of their work, educational requirement, and the amount of physical strain and emotional stress they face in their jobs. One woman working in public relations noted, “everyone has too much work and gets too little money for what has to

be achieved. I can see that by myself like other colleagues. Basically an overload exists. Many sacrifices are being done while working here with a conviction of doing good” (G19, 99-102).

Those feelings were exacerbated when interviewees compared themselves with people working in other professions that have similar amount of responsibilities and emotional burdens. Levels of compensation then are considered to be unfair, as indicated by this interviewee, “so generally I would say, if you look at the population, if you see what we do for a job and the amount of money we get for it, everyone else gets premiums for emotional burdens and night shifts. Basically, I think we are definitely and absolutely underpaid” (G3, 88-90). The amount of earned income has a significant influence on employees’ attitude to work, “it is an absurdly small salary [...] and this utterly demotivates me” (G15, 157-162). Even though work content was initially regarded as more important than income levels, young employees in FWAs rely on a decent salary to satisfy their personal needs. Those needs are likely to change over time and then, young employees are dissatisfied with their compensation as they cannot meet their changing personal needs.

In 2005, most FWAs implemented a new collective agreement as a consequence of the changes in government funding. The collective agreement is rather inflexible and income is only to be increased according to the length of tenure with the FWA and is mostly independent of an individual’s performance (Dahme, Trube, and Wohlfahrt, 2007; Zimmer and Freise, 2003). The evaluation of compensation levels within the tariff system was mostly negative, because the new agreement affected primarily employees who entered the FWAs after 2005 -, which was the case for the majority of the interviewed employees. One female social worker speaks of the impact of the new agreement, “especially since the conversion to the [new collective agreement] TVÖD, if you want to switch employers, one starts all over again, like an entry level job. Contracts involve length of employment [as means of salary increase] and do not consider age or experience level, as did previous agreements. Now it is only according to seniority on the job” (G5, 383-388).

Current collective agreements not only offer compensation levels that are on the lower end for jobs which require an academic degree, but young employees also are grouped into

wage groups of a lower educational level (e.g. social workers are paid only as much as kindergarten teachers). One social worker described this as follows, “with my organization, the only jobs that exist are those in which you are paid as kindergarten teachers, although I am a social worker. This means less wage and I find that disappointing. I just feel that there is less and less money [...] I think the quality of my professional work is thus questioned. [...] It is also really difficult to get good people who work for so little money” (G4, 51-56).

Two of the six peak associations Caritas (Catholic) and Diakonie (Protestant) had a choice of not accepting the new collective agreement as they enjoyed, the ‘right of self-determination’, under which they are allowed to negotiate collective agreements with their employees independent of the other peak associations (Segbers, 2007). Their independent agreements undercut the collective agreement and increased weekly working hours (Dahme, Trube and Wohlfahrt 2007). Most of the religiously affiliated FWAs made use of the long working hours at the expense of their employees, and the trend to curtail wages is still noticeable within the religious FWAs associated with both Caritas and Diakonie (CSR News 2011, NOZ 2011).

The interviewed employees employed by these religiously affiliated FWAs were frustrated, as is visible in the quote by one social worker: " I regard payment according to tariffs as impudence! We are aligned with the public collective agreement and have an organization-based tariff agreement, but I also know that I would have been at least rated higher two wage groups during the project work if the estimated salary would have been enforced, and not the organization-based agreement. Whereby the TVÖD [new collective agreement] pays social workers the lowest possible salary for academics. The TVÖD is bad enough but worse is that our organization-based agreement falls even below“ (G24, 169-176).

Having no prospect of higher wage levels or significant increases in compensation while being employed in FWAs, some interviewees question the likelihood of staying long term: “Right now, I am okay working here, I can buy myself something to eat, but ... of course, you have to seriously consider the long run, how the future will look like. Anyway, I cannot sit on a

TVÖD 10 [new collective agreement] position for the next 50 years. That's what you have to think about" (G7, 227-230).

Employees, at the start were willing to accept wage levels offered by the collective agreement, but doubted that they would be able to do so on the long run. Furthermore, collective agreements were not felt to be fair given the academic and professional nature of their education. Feelings of unfair pay effect work motivation (Tortia 2008); while being paid according to collective agreements or independent agreements, and this frustrated many of the young employees in FWAs.

Opportunity for growth.—Confirming the findings in the literature, younger employees in FWAs tend to pursue career-enhancing moves by changing employers (Haley-Lock 2008). Such changes are explained by a health care manager, "I think you have a certain goal in life that you wish to achieve, perhaps within a few years. And therefore it is often not helpful to stay only with one organization, but to experience several employers and thereby determining, [...] in what area you fit in the best" (G8, 145-149). Stagnation in professional life is seen as negative, *young employees prefer more flexible and varied careers*. They desire to grow and learn while making sustainable progress in their careers (Light, 2002b; Haley-Lock, 2008). And indeed, they expect to switch their jobs within areas of welfare work over the course of their career, as explained by one interviewee: "I only started working four years ago, but one recognizes that you don't want to do the same things over and over again. But here, you have incredible many possibilities, either within the organization or in other areas in the sector – addiction treatment, elderly help or adult education. Everything is possible" (G3, 148-152).

However, the reality faced in FWAs was often different to their initial expectations. The majority of interviewees reported a lack of training and support on behalf of the FWAs to experience the variety they were seeking. Furthermore, they did not feel they had real opportunities to grow in their area of welfare work, as this social worker explained, "this is an issue within the organization. [...] There are no routes for professional development. Yes, it is a smaller provider and there is not really a middle management level, or a group leader or whatever. So simply the lack of potential is frustrating" (G1, 248-252). Other reasons for

insufficient development possibilities often lie within the organizational management.

Interviewees indicated that FWAs are restricted in terms of monetary resources to fund trainings and have other priorities of allocating their funds.

“[Asked about possibilities for further education] I would give my association a failing grade. At the beginning of the year I asked for training that I would have liked to do during the year. And, they told me that the funds are empty, the funds for further education and training. They cannot spend more money. I was so angry. How badly do they manage their resources, that funds are empty at the beginning of the year? [...] I question the competency of our CEO and of the management. But that happens frequently, many colleagues tell me that the only way it is possible to do further trainings is, when you pay with you own money for it” (G15, 236-241).

A lot of proactive effort and resources are required on behalf of the employees to achieve the level of professional development the young employees were looking for.

Professional development seems often to be missing in FWAs, as this interviewee indicates:

“There is no training. If you want it, you have to request them at several different places in the organization, and you only rarely get them granted. That’s not great at all” (G14, 154-156). With the prospect of insufficient possibilities for professional development, which seems to be ad hoc and not strategically embedded in FWAs, young employees were increasingly dissatisfied.

Job Satisfaction

Many of the interviewees evaluated their work experiences by reference to the actual work environment in FWAs and in relation to their expectations on what the job should provide them. Levels of job satisfaction are considered to be the result of this evaluative process. The analysis of the interviews suggests that the young employees experienced differences between their initial expectations and the actual work environment. For instance, some interviewees reported that their altruistic values were not reflected by the FWAs and clients did not appreciate their effort. The job is then found to be frustrating and their well-meant intentions of helping the needy are soon discouraged.

“So I approached work very optimistically and thought, now I can do something, help someone, support someone. I have just realized no child or adolescent client I work with is really inclined to do something with me or to accept me or to learn from me. So, not everyone was happy about me showing up and wanting to help.

All the energy and optimism I arrived with slowed a bit. Yes, I was disappointed and I set back my own expectations for success, to... because you start to develop a way, to function... I simply demanded less from the young people. I just had to adapt, then it went quite well" (G14, 127).

Other disappointments arose while the interviewees compared organizational values with their own. There was a distinct lack of congruence in values and employees were forced to alter their expectations to fit the reality of the FWAs in order to keep up their own motivations to work. One male management graduate explained, "I had to back off my expectations, because otherwise I would have gone home from work in a bad mood every day or to given up totally. But I am still having hope. The biggest disappointment was that the ideology of helping is not as widely spread [in the organization] as I was hoping for" (G23, 128-131). This adaption of expectations to reality exemplifies the reciprocal relationship between personal characteristics and work experiences. Young employees might adapt their behavior and hence change parts of their expectations and even personal values as they learn about and experience their work (Roberts, Caspi and Moffitt 2003). This adaptation is one way of coping with mismatched values. If, however, no adaption takes place, consequential decreases in work motivation and individual performance are likely to occur (Amos and Weathington, 2008).

The work environment in FWAs depends heavily on narrow economic calculations that are necessary to successfully compete with other providers in the market of social service and health care delivery. Young employees in turn faced high workloads and long working hours, and this was contrary to the expectation of making a difference, realizing their potential or having fun while working. For instance, one employee working as project manager stated: "Rarely in my life I felt so powerless and there were certainly moments when I did not know how to handle it" (G28, 227-228).

Compensation levels while working in FWAs were expected to be low, but the employees did not expect them to be too low to fulfill their personal needs. Even though nonprofit employees are foremost intrinsically motivated, extrinsic motivation seems to play a significant role, especially as they grow older. Intrinsic motivation does not always outweigh low pay as evaluation of compensation levels changes over time along with changes in personal

needs and values according to the individual situations (Frey, 1997). This youth welfare service employee said, “when I worked for the low salary, equivalent to that of a kindergarten teacher, I was very upset. I just had this feeling in me. I didn’t want any more. I have to admit, since I got promoted [...] and work on social worker salary, I work more motivated (G4, 55-58). The importance of fair monetary compensation on employees’ job satisfaction should not be underestimated even for altruistically motivated individuals. The simple reliance on intrinsic motivation of their workforce might be harmful for FWAs, even though monetary rewards are not the main motivational factor for their employees.

Job satisfaction is expected to be high, if young employees find an alignment between their actual work experiences and their initial expectations. Contrarily, misalignments will cause conflicts and are potentially harmful for organizational performance. This in turn may bring employees to search for a better fit in other nonprofit organizations or the broader job market (Kim and Lee, 2007; Geurts, Schaufeli, and Rutte, 1999).

Discussion

Managing human resources in FWAs successfully requires maintaining employees who contribute their efforts toward mission achievement. Young employees bring a variety of job related expectations with them to the workplace, and often those expectations do not align with their work experiences. A mismatched alignment between expectations and work experiences influences job satisfaction negatively, and as job satisfaction impacts organizational performance it is important to address the complexity of such expectations.

While having heterogeneous backgrounds and various reasons for pursuing jobs in the German nonprofit sector, on one hand, some employees for instance were driven by the wish for self-fulfillment and wanted to do meaningful work, others wished to make a difference and wanted to do something good. The former approach can be considered to be more individualistic and self-centered whereby the later is rather outward related and other-focused. Having either a more individual or collective nature, this continuum is classified as personal orientations. On the other hand, some employees expected rather tangible rewards from their work as decent compensation, possibilities for career advancement, or concrete and traceable

work outcomes, while others hoped to find more intangible rewards as having valuable relationships, doing something worthwhile, and opportunities to be creative at work. Those expectations of what the job should provide young employees and what they wish to get out of their work are defined as reward motivation. Combining, then, personal orientation and reward motivation, two continua emerge along which young employees can be classified. Figure 2 presents this emerging typology as four ideal types: the idealist, the activist, the careerist, and the do-gooder.

- INSERT FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE -

Do-Gooders

The do-gooders are probably the most stereotypical nonprofit employees. Their personal orientation is dominated by the wish to help and to do something meaningful while working. They are highly driven by personal values of different kind (e.g. idealistic, religious, altruistic). Tangible rewards in form of monetary compensation or possibilities for professional growth do not play a prevalent role. For those young employees, doing something good is satisfying in itself, regardless of the ultimate outcome, as indicated here: “It's important for me that I'm doing something worthwhile. What was also crucial for my career choice was that I am working not only to maximize profits in the economy, but that I can campaign and be of use for society” (G28, 57-60). Do-gooders are also highly attracted by the nonprofits sector itself and could not imagine working in other sectors as noted by this fundraiser, “I would like to stay in the nonprofit sector. Well, I prefer to abandon some money. I can imagine managing a nonprofit organization; it does not need to be a huge one. I want to stay in the nonprofit sector, I'm just attached to the field” (G14, 189-191). For them, the nonprofit sector has some distinct characteristics that distinguish it from other sectors.

Current challenges of increasing competition in health care and social service provision and changes public funding demand more effective mission achievement strategies at lower costs from FWAs. In the past years, FWAs showed the tendency to adopt business-like models, without adapting them to their own needs. Consequently, employees in FWAs face increased workloads and have less time to serve the individual clients (Mergner, 2007; Neumann, 2004).

The collective personal orientation and intangible reward motivation of do-gooders do not seem to fit current trends in German FWAs. Do-gooders are therefore likely to find misalignment between their expectations and the actual work environment.

Careerists

Employees in this category tend to be more egoistic compared to the do-gooders. For instance, they might be driven by the wish to be successful in life and to move up the career ladder. Besides the need to advance in professional life, a certain degree of financial security is important for them. They want to earn at least as much money that enables them to sustain their needs and to lead a decent life. A mix between intrinsic and extrinsic rewards is necessary to motivate them best, with a tendency toward the later. Those employees differ from the do-gooders primarily in how they view work in the nonprofit sector. The fact that the employer is a FWA is of little importance. Those employees tend to take jobs that best fit their professional background and intended career goals, the nature of the sector, however, is neglectable. A management graduate explained his attitude, "there are no straightforward reasons [for choosing work in FWAs] because I did not prefer a sector. I made it conditional on the content of the assignment with the best offer. [With the current employer] the challenge was the greatest and therefore I have accepted the offer. Personally, this sector has not played a role for me, however, is a nice 'add-on', because it is always nicer to work for the 'good guys', as for the 'evil'"(G20, 55-60). Careerists would not flinch from changing employers or leaving the nonprofit sector while pursuing their professional career.

Given the current trends in the German nonprofit sector, careerists are most likely to find alignment between their expectations and work experiences, if their employing FWAs offer decent compensation and opportunities for growth.

Activists

Contrary to the careerist, activists are more focused on the common good than on their personal progress. They value the kind of work they do for society. The work content and social outcome is more important to them than the concrete sector. Under certain circumstances, employees in this category would work for organizations operating in the public or the for-

profit sector, as indicated here: “I cannot really image myself working in the for-profit sector, but I would not exclude it in the first place, because I think to some extent profit-oriented. [...] I can imagine it,] on the condition that my core values will be addressed, but when it comes to exploiting people, then this is not an option” (G17 197-204).

Since security, in terms of a decent pay and an open-ended contract, is important for activists, they value what FWAs have to offer (e.g. regular working hours and fixed compensation levels). This is also true for those who did not intentionally plan to work in the nonprofit sector as mentioned by this female employee, “my concern was not so much the type of sector, for-profit or nonprofit, because it was more about the mission and future development opportunities in life. Now I would say that [working in a FWA] has big advantages. These include regular working hours, fixed payment levels regulated by the collective agreement, which is an important security” (G16, 76-80).

Activists are high in collective personal orientation and prefer tangible rewards. To a certain extent, they are committed to the nonprofit sector, but would not shy away from working in other sectors, if working conditions were acceptable. Security is important for them. They are likely to find alignment between their expectations, if FWAs can offer open-ended contracts and decent working conditions. However, given the current trends in FWAs, it is likely that activists only rarely find what they are looking for.

Idealists

Idealists are intrinsically motivated and their wish of contributing to the common good is prevalent. Also, idealists value having a pleasant work atmosphere and good relations to their colleagues. Monetary rewards and professional advancement play a minor role, since idealists are more likely to be searching for self-fulfillment and are dominated by the wish to realize their full potential. However, even though, they love what they do, they would not do it for every price, as this social worker noted, “as interesting as the field of work is, as high are my own aspirations that my job and my personal life are balancing out. [...] An interesting area of work does not help me, when I come home after work everyday and I am stressed and annoyed and therefore would not like my work any more” (G24, 312-314, 320-322). A balance between

professional and private life, not so much related to monetary compensation, but rather to having a good work-life-balance is important to them. Idealists are also more likely to leave FWAs if they experience relations at the workplace as being negative.

Depending on their concrete set of reward motivations, idealists might find alignment between their expectations and their work experiences, if the employing FWAs provide opportunities for creativity, a certain amount of freedom, and self-fulfillment. Less administrative jobs are potentially more likely to satisfy those criteria.

It is important to note, that this classification has to be understood solely from an individual's perspective. Moreover, each of the cells constitutes an extreme. Most young employees do not fit the descriptions perfectly and many fall in-between those categories. Overlaps might exist between the types, therefore the boundaries should not be understood as being exclusive. The boundaries rather sketch a continuum, meaning that some employees in different quadrants have things in common. For instance, this employee refers to her personal motivation as being influenced by tangible *and* intangible reward motivations, "I think, employees' motivation and willingness to do good work, is the basis for good social work. As sad as it may sound, but this is it ... people function this way that is my experience. I mean, when I get praise and the salary is as well a form of compensation for the work, then you are more motivated and then you really want to work" (G4, 174-181).

Key drivers of the typology are personal orientations (who you are) and reward motivations (what you want). But both continuums can be subject to changes and shifts between categories might happen over time. For instance, changes in personal needs could lead to a new evaluation of compensation levels, which would be the case if young employees wish to start a family. Also shifts between collective and individual personal orientations might occur, e.g. if changes in the work environment influence the employees negatively as it was mentioned by this employee, "currently there is debate whether we will be moved to another city. [...] That would be a situation, in which I would opt out and would be willing to leave the organization. [...] This is just one of several points, because if the work climate would suddenly change, I would make the same decision" (G24, 302-322). Those shifts might have influences on

the job satisfaction if the FWA is not able to satisfy the needs and expectations of the employees any longer.

Conclusion

The typology deepens our understanding of who young nonprofit employees are (personal orientation) and what they want to get out of nonprofit work (reward motivations). It also draws attention toward the importance of an alignment between their expectations and the organization in order to work efficient and effective. As competition between FWAs and other providers of social services and health care increases, FWAs must develop a clear strategy that capitalizes on the personal orientations and reward motivations that employees bring to their work for improving performance through their workforce.

A future line of research might focus on finding those strategies that facilitate the best fit between employees' expectations and the work environment and could start with the following questions: In which situations (e.g. life-cycle perspective, project types, job characteristics) do which FWAs (e.g. areas of welfare work) need which type of employees (careerist, activist, idealist, do-gooder) to perform best? To what extent do different types of employees impact organizational effectiveness? The answers to those questions will allow FWAs to address new challenges from increasing competition and future policy changes. And ultimately, this enables FWAs to increase their performance on their way toward mission achievement.

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Table 1 Characteristics of the interviewees

Profession	Social Work	Health Care / Political Sciences	Business Management / Linguistics	Theology / Social Economics / Social Sciences / Education
	14	4	6	4
Type of FWA	Caritas	Diakonie	The Parity	Red Cross / Workers Welfare / Jewish Welfare
	10	5	10	3
Federal State	Lower Saxony	Baden-Württemberg	Northrhine-Westfalia	Hesse / Berlin / Rhineland-Pfalz
	17	6	2	3
Area of Welfare (of front line employees)	Youth Association	Stationary Youth Welfare Services	Ambulatory Youth Welfare Service / Integration and Migration Assistance	Elderly Care / Disability Support Services
	5	2	6	2
Contract Characteristics	Full-time	part-time	Open-ended	temporary
	21	7	16	12

Figure 1 Conceptual Framework

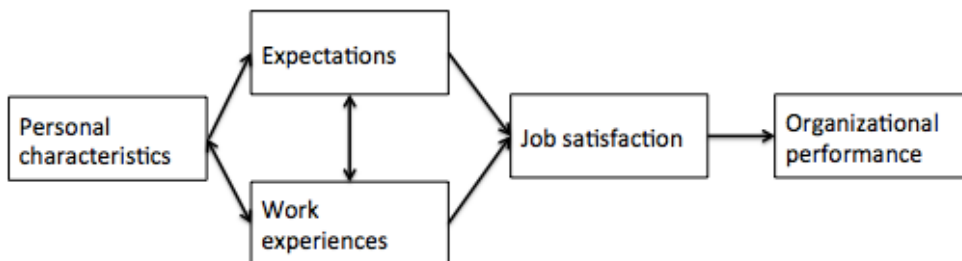


Figure 2 Classification of young nonprofit employees in Germany

		Personal Orientation	
		collective	individual
Reward Motivation	attractive	<u>ACTIVIST</u>	<u>CAREERIST</u>
	intrinsic	<u>DO-GOODER</u>	<u>IDEALIST</u>