"At least I'm useful to the refugees…"

An analysis of workplace motivation among national
humanitarian aid workers in northern Burkina Faso

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Abstract

The purpose of this qualitative case study was to add to the understanding of how national humanitarian workers in northern Burkina Faso experience workplace motivation. The study followed an abductive logic in which the national workers' perceptions served as the empirical grounding of a reflection on workplace motivation and its impacts through Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory. The methods used were interviews with national workers, international workers and external actors. An analysis of the factors causing satisfaction revealed that the motivators were related to the job itself, in accordance with the theory. Inversely, the factors causing dissatisfaction related mainly to external aspects of the job, as proposed by the theory. The exact factors differed from the theory, indicating its context-sensitivity. The findings support Herzberg's concept of the dual dynamic of satisfaction and dissatisfaction. Once critically assessed, the factors revealed that the national workers were generally poorly satisfied and highly dissatisfied, thus poorly motivated. Inversely, international personnel were highly satisfied and poorly dissatisfied, thus highly motivated. High workplace motivation was found to have a positive relationship with performance and well-being, whereas low motivation only led to poorer well-being due to the workers' context. Gender appeared to have an impact on the national staff's work experience.

Key words: Workplace motivation, job satisfaction, Motivation-Hygiene Theory, Herzberg, national humanitarian workers, international humanitarian workers, humanitarian assistance, Burkina Faso

Résumé

L'objectif de cette étude de cas qualitative était d'approfondir la compréhension de la motivation au travail des humanitaires nationaux dans le nord du Burkina Faso. L'étude suivait un raisonnement abductif selon lequel les perceptions des employés locaux servaient de fondation empirique à une réflexion sur la motivation au travail et ses impacts grâce à la Théorie des Deux Facteurs d'Herzberg. Les méthodes employées étaient des entretiens avec du personnel local, du personnel international et des acteurs externes. Une analyse des facteurs causant la satisfaction a révélé que les motivateurs étaient liés au travail-même, en accord avec la théorie. À l'inverse, les facteurs causant l'insatisfaction étaient surtout liés aux aspects externes du travail, comme le propose la théorie. Les facteurs eux-mêmes diffèrent de la théorie, indiquant qu'elle est affectée par le contexte. Les résultats confirment la double dynamique de satisfaction et d'insatisfaction d'Herzberg. Une fois évalués, les facteurs ont révélé que les employés nationaux étaient peu satisfaits et très insatisfaits, donc peu motivés. Au contraire, les employés internationaux étaient très satisfaits et peu insatisfaits, donc très motivés. Une forte motivation au travail est liée à la performance et au bien-être, alors qu'une faible motivation entraîne seulement une réduction du bien-être, dû du contexte. Il semble que le genre ait un impact sur l'expérience au travail des employés nationaux.

Mots-clefs: Motivation au travail, satisfaction au travail, Théorie des Deux-Facteurs, Herzberg, humanitaires nationaux, humanitaires internationaux, aide humanitaire, Burkina Faso

[Word count: 15,000]

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Abbreviations

NGO   Non-governmental organization
UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WASH   Water, hygiene and sanitation

Definitions

International and National Staff

International workers, also called expatriates, are employees deployed outside of their own country. Within the system of the UNHCR and within many organizations alike, long-term international workers are "recruited to serve abroad for functions which require a high level of functional and managerial skills and involve a supervisory responsibility" (UNHCR, 2014c:5). National staff, equally referred to as local staff, are recruited at a national level and are hired to provide national knowledge and experience or serve as support staff (ibid.). As says Roth, "national and international staff are positioned differently in the aid system" (2012:1472).

Formal Trainings

Formal trainings are defined as off-the-job capacity building. They are planned in advance and follow a structured format, as opposed to informal, on-the-job information sharing and collaborative problem solving (Robbins & Judge, 2013:553). Most importantly, formal trainings lead to the emission of a training attestation. Examples of formal training are lectures, seminars, self-study programs and internet courses (ibid.).

Job Enrichment

The process of increasing the motivator factors present in a worker's job is referred to as job enrichment. It is based on the postulate that giving employees more tasks of similar difficulty, what is called 'horizontal loading' or 'job enlargement', does not impact job motivation (at least not in a positive manner) and should be replaced by an increase in responsibility or 'vertical loading' (Herzberg, 1968:93). When jobs are enriched or 'vertically loaded', "employees take on tasks normally performed by their supervisors" (Ramlall, 2004:57).

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1. Introduction

I have started my job in 2013 as a humanitarian worker but my motivation to work is not as it was in the start… My job is okay, but I don't have the feeling of going anywhere. Since I don't have any other options, really, I'm forced to keep this job so I do my best to keep it… It's hard not to feel discouraged. At least I know I'm useful to the refugees: that's why I go to work in the morning.

- National staff, interview 11

The 'humanitarian assistance wave' came to Burkina Faso in 2012 following a coup d'état in Mali and the insurgence of a separatist group alongside Islamist extremist militia (Arieff, 2013). The political, security and humanitarian crises led to the arrival of about 43,000 refugees in neighbouring Burkina Faso (UNHCR, 2015c). With them came employment, learning and development opportunities to a country that was more than needing them, as it figures among the least developed countries in the world (UNCTAD, 2014). Today, three years after the beginning of this humanitarian adventure, young and ambitious national staff who form the vast majority of the humanitarian workforce often find themselves disappointed and demotivated by their experience. They frequently stated that they work solely to honor their contract, that their actual job is better than nothing and most affirm that they would quit if another opportunity were to arise. This dissatisfaction directly affects the employees' professional as well as personal development and well-being (Herzberg et al., 1959/1993:xxi; Saari & Judge, 2004; Tassell, 2009). This motivation level is in stark contrast with the higher level of satisfaction and optimism observed among, and described by, expatriate humanitarian staff in the field, providing for an interesting disparity to investigate.

Despite representing the backbone of the operations in the field, local employees in emergency assistance have not been the subject of much research so far (Putman et al., 2009:109). Research on workplace motivation and satisfaction in the aid sector has focused mainly on expatriate employees (e.g. Bjerneld et al., 2006; Chang, 2009; Eriksson et al., 2009; Tassell, 2009), neglecting the situation of the local staff. Although there has been some recent progress (e.g. Arvidson, 2004; Putman et al., 2009; Vaughan Smith, 2012), an imbalance remains in the literature. Two factors are responsible for this inequity: the concentration of knowledge production in Western countries (Chan et al., 2011:1-2) and the disproportionate costs of hiring an expatriate worker rather than their local counterpart (Carr et al., 2010). The expenses associated with hiring international staff encourage the organizations to make them as

motivated and performing as possible. However, as stated by Vaughan Smith (2012:68), apart from productivity purposes, aid organizations must be cognizant of the human dynamics of the workplace, particularly regarding their local employees, in order to ensure that they tackle not only Millennium Goal 1a and c, eradicating extreme poverty and hunger, but also Goal 1b, the provision of decent work for all (United Nations, 2000)[1].

1.1 Study Purpose and Research Question

This study is an attempt to both fill this gap in the literature and understand disparities in motivation as observed in the field by investigating the situation of those often taken for granted – national workers. The purpose is to add to the understanding of workplace motivation and to explore how different factors form job satisfaction and dissatisfaction, which in turn have impacts on the relief workers. In order to do so, I attempt to answer the question,

> *How do national staff members experience workplace motivation, and how does this affect their work performance and well-being?*

To provide an answer, the thesis relies on a qualitative case study of the community of humanitarian employees of the town of Djibo, Burkina Faso, a locality heavily impacted by the arrival of numerous young workers from all over the country. The study follows an abductive logic in which the national employees' perceptions serve as the empirical grounding of a reflection on workplace motivation through a classic model of motivational research: Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory.

For the purpose of this study, workplace motivation is defined as the "willingness to exert high levels of effort toward organizational goals, conditioned by the effort's ability to satisfy some individual need" (Robbins, 1996: 211). 'Motivation' is therefore considered as being the overall result of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction as coined by Herzberg and associates (1959/1993) and discussed further. Moreover, this study postulates the existence of a relationship between workplace motivation and the employee's performance and well-being (Deci et al., 2001; Judge et al., 2001; Ramlall, 2004; Ryan & Deci, 2000:76).

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[1] Regarding the Sustainable Development Goals to be adopted in September 2015, the Goals targeting poverty and hunger would respectively be Goals 1 and 2, whereas decent employment would be part of Goal 8 (United Nations, 2015).

1.2 <u>Disposition</u>

The introduction is followed by a synthesis of the current situation of aid in Burkina Faso, most notably in the town of Djibo, and the context of humanitarian relief work. The next section presents the field of research, and the theoretical framework used. The methodology of the study and its reliability are discussed in the fourth section. The next part presents the results and their interpretation in the light of the analytical framework as well as the demographic characteristics. Finally, concluding remarks constitute the sixth section of the thesis.

2. Background

In order to be able to access the workplace motivation of people, it is necessary to understand the wider picture: the background they are working in. The setting of the study is therefore presented through a description of the current situation in Burkina Faso, following which the mechanics of the humanitarian system are explained.

2.1 <u>The Situation in Burkina Faso</u>

Burkina Faso is a medium-sized landlocked country of West Africa. It was ranked 181st out of 187 countries as of 2013 in terms of human development index (HDI) (UNDP, 2013:144-147). The state is recognized for its long-lasting and almost uninterrupted calmness and peacefulness (Oumarou, 2014:30). However, the country's northern neighbor, Mali, has had a more tumultuous post-colonial path, marked with several Tuareg rebellions scattered over the country's 55 years of independence (Hall, 2011:65-66). These periodical uprisings have been followed by influxes of refugees into the surrounding countries, as was the case in 2012. Burkina Faso then welcomed about 43,000 refugees, soon divided into three camps, Goudebou, Mentao, Saagniogniogo, and one urban settlement, Bobo-Dioulasso (UNHCR, 2014b:2).

The arrival of the refugees in 2012 overwhelmed the Burkinabe government which did not have sufficient resources to handle the crisis and requested the intervention of the United Nations High-Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (Conchiglia, 2012). Under the leadership of the UNHCR, numerous humanitarian organizations began to assist the refugees in a myriad of domains such as the provision of food, building of shelters, health care, and education (UNHCR, 2014a). This created sudden and substantial employment opportunities in Burkina

Faso, a country that suffers from high unemployment, especially among its populous youth – in 2010, youth between the ages of 16 and 35 corresponded to 61% of the active population and represented 82% of its unemployed workforce (Calvès & Schoumaker, 2004; ILO, 2014:10, 20). The emergency assistance sector therefore appealed to numerous jobseekers, most of them youth from the capital, in what could be called a 'humanitarian rush'. With salaries slightly more generous than those of the civil servants, this sector attracted and continues to attract workers despite the rather difficult conditions in terms of, among others, stress and weather.

Of all three 'humanitarian hubs' in Burkina Faso, Ouagadougou, Dori and Djibo[2], the latter is the one where the humanitarian rush is most noticeable, with a significant improvement in the economic and social situation of this locality (Secretary General of the region of Djibo, interview 23) situated in an underprivileged region (MDM, 2014). However, Djibo is also the third and least important hub at a national level: while strategic decisions are usually made in Ouagadougou, the capital, field decisions are often taken in Dori, the second hub and biggest town in the Sahel. The organizations' branches in Djibo are therefore typically smaller and have less responsibility, which in turn affects the composition and the tasks of the staff. This creates a very peculiar situation where an intense humanitarian rush is met by fairly limited employment, leading to interesting outcomes regarding the employees' motivation. For this reason, Djibo was selected as the setting of the current study.

As of January 2015, the 'humanitarian team' in Djibo was composed of thirteen organizations (UNHCR, 2013[3]), local as well as international, governmental as well as non-governmental, none of them unionized. Apart from a few 'in-betweens' their personnel is generally divided into two groups with contrasting characteristics: the old and the young (Appendix II provides examples of this distinction). Older staff are typically men in their 40s to 60s, are or have been expatriates, have a long experience in humanitarian aid (10 years and more) and in most cases a relevant education such as masters in aid management, conflict and emergencies, or water, hygiene and sanitation (WASH). They form part of the leadership of their respective organization and are highly motivated. Humanitarian assistance is their vocation and their career. On the other hand, younger staff have a completely different and surprisingly uniform

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[2] Since the locality of Djibo is absent from the literature, the information provided in this section is mostly based on field observations and interviews.
[3] The combination of partner organizations presented in this profile of the camp of Mentao, near Djibo, has evolved over the last two years, nevertheless the division of the tasks and thus the number of partners have remained almost unchanged.

profile. Generally in their mid-20s to early 30s, they are nationals who took part in the 'humanitarian rush'. If they have studied, it is often at a Bachelor's level in a field that is hardly if ever linked to their current job. They have positions as *executants*, as one of them said, and often have a mediocre level of motivation, however they are eager to learn and to gain experience. Humanitarian relief began as a job like any other and so it remains for some of them; however others get to think that they could make their career in this field.

At the moment, as the crisis in Mali has been progressively resolving itself refugees have begun to return to their country of origin (UNHCR, 2014d). It is now estimated that the camp of Mentao, located on the outskirts of Djibo, hosts approximately 13,000 Malians, after having been the home of up to 16,500 refugees (UNHCR, 2015c). Recent turmoil in northern Mali has raised doubts regarding the timing and the rhythm of the return of the refugees, nevertheless the signature in January 2015 of a tripartite agreement providing a legal framework to facilitate the refugees' repatriation confirms that their return to the homeland is imminent (Burkina Faso, Republic of Mali, UNHCR, 2015).

2.2 The Organization of Emergency Assistance

In the realm of refugee assistance, when a host country asks the support of the UNHCR, as the Burkinabe government did, said assistance is organized under the leadership of the UNHCR (UNHCR, 2007). This leadership is both hierarchical, as the UNHCR is in charge of the coordination of relief efforts, and financial, since it is the main funder of the vast majority of its partner organizations in the field (id.; UNHCR, 2015b). The selection of these organizations on the basis of an application process is the responsibility of the UNHCR. This selection process is biannual, as is the funding of the UNHCR itself: instead of relying on an annual budget voted by the United Nations as do agencies of greater importance, the UNHCR receives only subsidies covering administrative costs and is otherwise entirely dependent upon country donations (UNHCR, 2015a). These are especially influenced by the worldwide economic situation which has caused a reduction and a tighter control over the aid budget in recent years (ibid.).

The strategic planning of the assistance is therefore semester-based and the allocation of the funds to the UNHCR's partners, rather limited. As a result, organizations cannot plan their projects and budget much further than six months in advance, which in turn impacts the staff's

contracts, limiting most of them to a half year, with probable renewal, and contributes to high turnover rates (Loquercio et al., 2006:1). The mobility of the workers in terms of projects, branches and organizations is therefore high. This pattern however does not concern much the expatriate employees who benefit from longer contracts and a lower mobility. They represent a small proportion of the humanitarian workforce – a tenth or below within the non-governmental organizations (NGOs) – and are over-represented in strategic leadership positions, for instance focal point managers, heads of mission, and field officers, although the situation varies among the different organizations (McWha, 2011:32; Roth, 2012:1461, 1462). The distinction among the workers was notably discussed in a report on the UNHCR's organization culture stating that the power differential between international and national staff contributes to an institutionalized segregation that provides "some uncomfortable parallels with colonialism" – even though not all international workers are Western (Wigley, 2005:62). Nonetheless, it is worth highlighting that within humanitarian organizations as a whole, inequity stems from the structure and the culture of the organizations – or even the whole humanitarian system – and is 'the fault' of neither the expatriate nor the local staff personally, although they partake in the inequity (id.:62-63).

3. Theoretical framework

Workplace motivation is a key theme of organizational research and has been studied thoroughly throughout the 20th century (van Knippenberg, 2000). The theories on this topic are recognized to be both valid and useful and continue to evolve up to this day, providing a corpus of models used by researchers, managers and employees (Miner, 2003). The area of knowledge is first delineated through a review of the literature, following which Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory is presented.

3.1 Exploring the Field

In the mid-19th century, Maslow published his seminal work on the hierarchy of needs (1943), setting the stage for a burst of interest in job motivation (Skiba & Rosenberg, 2011:1). During the following decades, various management models were elaborated with the objective of explaining workplace motivation, such as Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory, Adams' Equity Theory, Vroom's Expectancy Theory, and Hackman and Oldham's Job Characteristics

Model (ibid.). More recent models have been developed, many on the basis of the aforementioned theories. Some authors have tried to improve the accuracy and the precision of those classic theories, for instance the Job Characteristics Model (Clegg & Spencer, 2007) and the Motivation-Hygiene Theory (Kalleberg, 1977), yet have only made the models unnecessarily complex (Smerek & Peterson, 2007:248). Other theories were more successful, the principal being Self-Determination Theory that proposed to differentiate motivation types and gathered great amounts of empirical support (Gagné & Deci, 2005). Nevertheless, the classic theories from the 1960s and the 1970s still convey much attention in the literature and are still taught to students, thus confirming their staying power (for Herzberg's Theory: Bassett-Jones & Lloyd, 2005; Sachau, 2007; etc.).

Throughout the history of workspace motivation research, numerous researchers have used different definitions, employed distinct methods and chosen various settings for their studies. Conceptual disagreements include the very nature of motivation, its universality and its impacts on performance (Gagné & Deci, 2005; Tassell, 2009). In terms of ontological choices, studies are generally set in a functionalist paradigm where motivation is understood as a management tool used to increase productivity. From this premise stems the selection of deductive quantitative research designs (Cronbach, 1975) and methods such as wide scale surveys and quantitative data analysis (Korman et al., 1977; Latham & Pinder, 2005). Cronbach (1975) along with other researchers (Korman & Tanofsky, 1975; Warr, 1976) suggested already in the mid-1970s to take a step back from scientific methods and favor instead inductive approaches that give a greater consideration to subjective experience. This advice was not followed much among job motivation researchers who still focus on questionnaires, 'reliable' measures of motivation and outcome predicting indices (e.g. Gillet & Schwabe, 1975; Karasek et al., 1998; Morgeson & Humphrey, 2006; Rentsch & Steel, 1992). Herzberg's inductive approach and combination of an adapted form of the critical event method and quantification of the results through content analysis is already a step towards applying Cronbach's ideas (Herzberg et al., 1959/1993:35-39). However, workplace motivation with an interpretivist approach, in which the focus is on the workers and their perceptions, remains under-researched.

Herzberg's theory dates its origins back to the 1950s in the United States with an initial sample composed of engineers and accountants. Replications and further research were conducted throughout a very diverse population, for instance women, manufacturing supervisors, nurses,

teachers, and agricultural administrators (Herzberg, 1968). The theory was equally studied in various countries, notably Japan, Zambia, South Africa, and Egypt (Herzberg et al., 1993:xvi-xvii; Khalifa & Truong, 2010). Nonetheless, the Motivation-Hygiene Theory has not yet been studied in the context of West Africa. Also, the sector of aid has rather infrequently been the setting of motivational research and when it has been, focus was placed on the expatriate employees (Bjerneld et al., 2006; Chang, 2009; Eriksson et al., 2009; Tassell, 2009). The motivation of national staff remains under-researched, although there has been some recent progress (Arvidson, 2004; Putman et al., 2009; Vaughan Smith, 2012).

All in all, motivational literature is extremely rich however it rarely if ever approaches its subject of analysis from a constructivist perspective and seldom focuses on the sector of aid, let alone the situation of the national workers. Moreover, Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory overlooks the context of West Africa. Hence the current study contributes to fill these gaps in research.

3.2 The Motivation-Hygiene Theory

Frederick Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory is among the most influential models of job motivation (Ramlall, 2004:56-57). His theory stems from a study he conducted along with two collaborators[4] in the late 1950s in order to understand *what do workers want from their jobs* (Herzberg et al., 1959/1993). His primary understanding of workplace motivation is three-fold: he considers that many *factors* influence the *attitudes* (motivation) of the workers, which in turn cause *effects* – the F-A-E triad. In his original work, he asked 200 engineers and accountants to describe sequences of their professional lives during which they felt either exceptionally good or exceptionally bad. The motivation levels were fixed from the start, exceptionally good or bad, yet the answers provided an insight into the set of factors and effects associated with good and bad sequences.

From their content analysis of the factors behind workplace motivation, Herzberg and his associates discovered that themes differed between stories of good and bad sequences: for example, the latter involved bad company policies, but the former did not involve good

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[4] The study was conducted by Frederick Herzberg (Research Director), Bernard Mausner (Research Psychologist) and Barbara Snyderman (Research Associate). Nevertheless, since Herzberg led the study and built his entire career on the theory stemming from it, writing several articles and giving hundreds of seminars worldwide (Herzberg et al., 1959/1993: xiv), the theory is systematically portrayed as his in the literature. The name "Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory" is thus employed throughout the current study.

company policies. Inversely, the stories of good sequences involved achievement, but the stories of bad ones did not involve failure (Sachau, 2007:379). The researchers therefore affirmed that the factors behind motivation were to be divided into two categories, the motivators and the hygienes (or dissatisfiers)[5].

The motivators account for job satisfaction and comprise of achievement, recognition, character of the job itself, responsibility, advancement and possibility of growth. He later added client relationship to this list, when applicable. Altogether the motivators are linked to self-actualization, "the supreme goal of man to fulfill himself as a creative, unique individual according to his own innate potentialities and within the limits of reality" (Herzberg et al., 1959/1993:114). Satisfaction with the motivators leads to feelings of pride, freedom, and flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). It is noteworthy that some of these motivating factors can also affect job dissatisfaction, namely (lack of) achievement and recognition, however in a much reduced manner.

Contrariwise, the dissatisfiers are tied to dissatisfaction and include company policy and administration, salary, relationships with supervisors and colleagues, working conditions, job security, and several others. They consist of the context of the job rather than the job itself and their sole impact is to increase or decrease job dissatisfaction. They are very infrequently found to impact satisfaction, as they solely allow the worker to avoid unpleasant situations and provide contentment at best.

In summary, as Herzberg and his colleagues write (1959/1993:114-115):

> It should be understood that both kinds of factors meet the needs of the employee ; but it is primarily the 'motivators' that serve to bring about the kind of job satisfaction and […] the kind of improvement in performance that industry is seeking from its workforce. […] The fulfillment of the needs of the second group does not motivate the individual to high levels of job satisfaction and […] to extra performance on the job. All we can expect from satisfying the needs for hygiene is the prevention of dissatisfaction and poor job performance.

The unveiling of this dual set of factors led Herzberg to conclude that workplace motivation was not to be conceived as a continuum but rather as the conjunction of two scales which could also be called 'intrinsic motivation' and 'extrinsic motivation' (Sachau, 2007:381). Those two

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[5] The name comes from Herzberg's previous experience in public health and from the realization that good medical hygiene removes health hazards yet it does not make people healthy. Hygiene acts as a preventive rather than a curative. The terms 'hygienes' and 'dissatisfiers' are employed interchangeably within the current study.

scales, satisfaction and dissatisfaction, are represented by figure I. From this scheme it can be understood that in most cases low motivators do not tend to cause dissatisfaction just as high hygienes do not lead to satisfaction. For instance, employees seldom present their high salary or their flexible schedule as factors causing work satisfaction. What makes them go to work every day is generally not their job's side advantages but rather the work itself. In other words, Herzberg affirms that the workers' high or low satisfaction is due to intrinsic characteristics of the job – the motivators – whereas the workers' high or low dissatisfaction is tied to extrinsic elements – the dissatisfiers, as represented in Appendix I. This conceptualization of workplace motivation in which it relies on two dynamics is Herzberg's main contribution to both the academic and the managerial worlds.

Figure I - Herzberg's Dual Scale of Factors
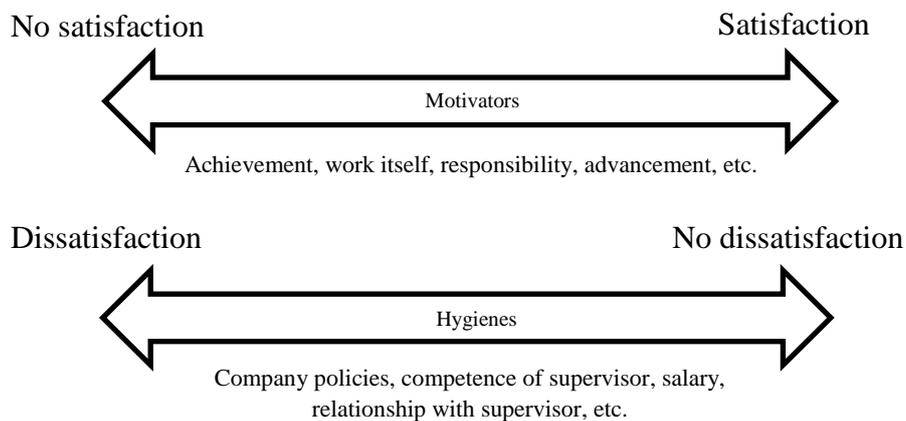
(The author, based on Herzberg et al., 1959/1993)

On the subject of the effects of workplace motivation, Herzberg's interviews yielded results that indicate a link between attitudes (motivation) and behavioral effects. The effects relate to performance, turnover rates, perception of the company, mental health, interpersonal relations and attitudinal impacts. However, Herzberg's findings do not constitute direct evidence of a significant causal link between the motivation level and the aforementioned effects: they simply point in that direction.

The main implication of Herzberg's theory is that for greater improvement in workplace motivation, emphasis should be put on a positive (increasing motivators) rather than negative (removing dissatisfiers) approach. Whereas eliminating dissatisfiers can bring about peace at the workplace, it is the improvement of the motivators that proves to cause the greatest

impacts. For instance, employees should be given more latitude in their path towards reaching the work objectives set by management. Jobs should therefore be restructured in order to allow for increased responsibility, opportunities of advancement, challenge and so on (Ramlall, 2004:57). This process is referred to as 'job enrichment' (ibid.). Herzberg also states that the selection process should be improved in order to better match the abilities of the workers with what is required for the job. That is to say that supervisors should develop better systems to recognize and encourage good work, and improve their organizational and planning capacities so as to give their subordinates the possibility to feel fulfilled and motivated.

As described by Sachau (2007:377, 381), Herzberg's theory was applied successfully in various large-scale job enrichment projects notably at the United States Air Force, Texas Instruments, AT&T, Imperial Chemicals, and Cummins Engine, and is widely embraced by managers (Latham, 2007:39; Miner, 2005:73). Due to its important theoretical contributions and empirical applications, Herzberg's motivation-hygiene theory greatly shaped the disciplines of both work design and human resource management (Sachau, 2007). It figures among the most influential theories of workplace motivation and has prompted a myriad of studies in a variety of sectors and countries over the past half-century. The outcomes of that further research are somewhat mitigated, as early studies did not support his findings (Dunnette et al., 1967; Hinton, 1968; King, 1970) while more recent research has (Bassett-Jones & Lloyd, 2005; Gilmore & Vyskocil-Czajkowski, 1992; Maidani, 1991; Sachau, 2007). Nonetheless, even if the foci of research generally shift through time (Goodman & Whetten, 1998), Herzberg's theory has reached the status of classic in the field of management and still inspires researchers today (Smerek & Peterson, 2007; Smith & Shields, 2013, etc.).

If it is famous, the Motivation-Hygiene is also controversial. One critique of this theory is related to how it disregards contextual and cultural distinctions in the hierarchization of needs and responsiveness to incentives (Hackman & Oldham, 1976:251-252; Tassell, 2009:17; Teck-Hong & Waheed, 2011:86). Nevertheless, the abductive design of this study alleviates the risk of theoretical decontextualization and ethnocentrism. Special attention was equally paid within this research to the reexamination of the theory according to the setting, particularly the sector of work and the country in which the case takes place. The employment context of Burkina Faso and of humanitarian aid clearly has an impact on the workers' workplace motivation, as will be seen in the participants' perceptions of reality. Herzberg's theory has also been accused of relying on an unreliable and subjective methodology based on self-reports that ought to be

further interpreted and possibly contaminated by the researcher (Ewen et al., 1966; Robbins & Judge, 2013:207). This concern is understandable considering that motivational research is generally set in a functionalist paradigm. However by adopting a constructivist approach that does not value objectivity, as detailed below, the current study invalidates that weakness.

4. Methodology

To access the humanitarian sector's workplace motivation in Burkina Faso, particular research design and methods were employed during the field work that inspired this thesis. They are hereby presented and discussed, along with the validity and reliability of the study as well as some ethical considerations.

4.1 Research design

The research design underlying this thesis is a qualitative case study in which the community of humanitarian workers in Djibo, Burkina Faso, represents the bounded system at the core of a detailed and intensive analysis (Bryman, 2012:66; Creswell, 2007:73). The choice of conducting an intensive study of a small group of people instead of an extensive and shallower analysis of many individuals stems from my interest in thoroughly understanding the situation of the national employees from their own perspectives (Creswell, 2007:74). This study was the opportunity for me to explore the meanders of the participants' perceptions of themselves, their work, and their purpose. For these same reasons, the study follows an abductive logic, grounding a theoretical interpretation of the participants' perceptions into their own worldview (Bryman, 2012:401). The factors behind, and the effects of workplace motivation are derived directly from the information reported by the participants and are interpreted in the light of my observations. With these considerations in mind, I decided that rather than using a numerical scale to measure workplace motivation of local staff, it would be considered in a relative sense, for instance through comparisons with the perception of international staff. This choice resulted in a shift in the focus of the study towards the factors behind motivation and its effects on performance and well-being.

4.2 <u>Methods</u>

My understanding of the employees' workplace satisfaction was shaped by five months of observation during which I was interning within a humanitarian NGO. I was living and working in the community, learning the local norms and getting a grasp of the workers' peculiar context. My perceptions were further refined and deepened by a series of interviews that were conducted throughout the month of January, 2015 and by the use of relevant literature for triangulation purposes. The approach to data collection was driven by the aim of letting the participants' perspectives emerge and orient the study (Bryman, 2012:403).

Since I wanted obtain a comprehensive understanding of workplace satisfaction in the humanitarian sector in Djibo, I chose to proceed through semi-structured interviews of three different types – *contents* interviews with the national staff (15 interviews), *comparison* interviews with expatriate employees (five interviews) and *context* interviews with external actors (three interviews). The methods are presented below and the detailed record of participants is available in Appendix II.

Sampling

Sampling techniques were purposive and were planned with the objective of creating a patchwork of diversified perspectives on the problem (Creswell, 2007:75). That quest for a variety of perceptions corresponds with my attempt at exploring the situation and reaching a comprehensive understanding of it (Mikkelsen, 2005:172). The diverse types of interviews were used to reach maximal sampling and involved distinct sampling methods.

Regarding contents and comparison interviews, I used maximum variation sampling, with the idea of documenting variations and discovering patterns (Creswell, 2007:126). Maximum variation was the approach behind the choice of organizations, with the criterion of realizing humanitarian work linked as much as possible with the refugees[6]. It also constituted the rationale of the sampling of the participants, with the criterion of belonging to the local staff in the case of contents interviews or to the expatriate staff for comparison interviews. I therefore reached out to staff with different backgrounds, positions and organizations. I also tried to compare staff working for the same organization with both very different and very similar jobs. The purpose of this procedure was to detect how workplace satisfaction was tied to the

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[6] Out of the thirteen selected organizations, two work only remotely with the refugees and target mostly the host population. Those two do not figure among the thirteen organizations mentioned in the background section.

organization, the position and the individual characteristics of the participants. Both genders were included in a proportion as representative as possible of the real gender proportion in humanitarian assistance in Djibo.

The reduced size of the humanitarian sphere in this town had two major impacts on this study. On the one hand, it limited the number of organizations, positions and staff to choose from for sampling. A wider humanitarian sector would have allowed for a more varied (or more narrow, if desired) sample to be chosen. On the other hand, the reduced size of the community meant that I personally knew all the participants in my contents interviews. It is through them that I contacted the participants in my comparison interviews, which were often their supervisors. Knowing my participants personally implied positive consequences, such as presumably more willingness to disclose information, as well as negative impacts, notably a potential uniformization of perspectives and a certain distortion of their perceptions in order to help my research. Overall, the access to rather sensitive information was considered an advantage valuable enough to compensate for the aforementioned drawbacks.

About my context interviews, they were integrated into the study in order to provide external perspectives on the humanitarian workforce. Two were realized with beneficiaries and one with the Secretary General of the region of Djibo. For all three of them, the sampling process consisted of convenience sampling: the interviews were realized as the opportunity arose. This greatly limits the generalizability of their contents, however said contents still proves relevant in the context of this study.

Interviews

Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were chosen as the principal data collection method. Their main advantage is to allow the researcher to better capture the complexity of this topic as well as the profound reflections of the participants (Bryman, 2012: 41; Creswell 2009:138). The interviews were individual and face-to-face and followed the interview guide approach for better comparability (Mikkelsen, 2005: 171-172). See appendices III to V for the different interview guides. Some questions were directed towards the characteristic of the workers' jobs, asking notably whether the job provided with autonomy, feedback, and other elements of the same sort, and how the participant felt about those characteristics. A significant number of other questions were incorporated to provide the researcher with a holistic understanding of the

participants' work experience, notably regarding their humanitarian journey, their expectations, their ambitions, etc. The questions were open-ended so as to leave the opportunity for the participants to express all the subtleties and nuances of their perceptions as they pleased, and 'rambling' – going off at tangents – was the norm (Bryman, 2012:470). Upon written agreement by the participants, all interviews but three were recorded for a more flowing and informal conversation as well as for the sake of rich, faithful transcription (Creswell, 2007:209).

A total of 23 interviews were realized – 15 were contents interviews with local staff and five were comparison interviews with expatriate employees. The final three were context interviews, out of which two were with beneficiaries and one with a municipal personnel. The contents and comparison interviews lasted an average of 40 minutes and were based on variations of the same questionnaire. The context interviews contained fewer questions and lasted an average of 12 minutes. Interviews took place in environments selected by the respondents, mostly homes and sometimes offices.

The interviews were conducted in French, which is the working language in all organizations in Djibo and is also my mother tongue. Language did not seem to negatively impact the fluidity of the participants' expression in all but one interview in which the presence of an interpreter would have increased the depth of the information collected. Yet the participant refused that an interpreter be involved.

Data Analysis

I transcribed the recordings of the interviews word for word using layers (text, metatext, personal impressions). I then prepared the data and realized the coding in the Nvivo software according to thought units. The coding process revealed a system of categories and themes that would be adequately interpreted and understood through a specific model – Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory. Information regarding the factors of motivation and the effects of said motivation were thus organized in categories following Herzberg's labels. The importance of these categories was measured through a dual evaluation of frequency (proportion of participants mentioning it) and relative weight of like or dislike (strength of the feeling and amount of references to it). The analysis of the factors and effects was conducted through Herzberg's framework as presented previously. Because of the small sample size, some further

analyses of the factors of motivation, particularly the distinction Herzberg and his associates explored between first-level factors (actual events) and second-level factors (feelings triggered by such events), were not performed within the framework of the current study. However, the data was triangulated using literature on workplace motivation. The size of the sample also rendered multivariable analyses relating workplace motivation and demographic characteristics impossible, yet an analysis of the variables taken one by one was realized.

4.3 Reliability and Validity

In order to ensure the quality of the data, various techniques were employed. The interviews were organized in the form of a (semi-structured) conversation as to allow for a maximum of informality and trust. I was frequently asking confirmation questions, rephrasing or synthetizing the participants' answers in order to further comprehend the nuances of their perceptions. All in all my opinion is best reflected by the words of Herzberg and his colleagues (1959/1993:35):

> The only indication of our success in this is to be found in the nature of the material we were able to gather. Or course, we never know what we are not told, but we certainly were told enough of a confidential nature so that it is our firm conviction that rapport with most of the people we interviewed was excellent.

However, it is possible that the workers have consciously or unconsciously adapted reality when discussing their own performance at work in order to be seen in a more favorable light.

This impacted the reliability of the data I gathered, yet in an unmeasurable manner. Other means of increasing reliability were the recording of the interviews and their faithful transcription, in all their richness, through repeated listening. This allowed an increased number of details and limited the chances of transcription errors (Creswell, 2007:207-210). The transcripts were proofread and the coding was constantly re-evaluated to ensure consistency (ibid.).

Many measures contributed to increase the validity of the findings. My prolonged participation in the life of the humanitarian community as well as my abductive approach to the relationship between data and theory contributed to improve the validity of the study (Bryman, 2012:390). In order for the reader to develop their own interpretations, I provide thick descriptions of the setting and triangulated my findings using relevant literature (Creswell 2009:145). My procedures of data collection and analysis as well as my reflection on my practices and positionality are also exposed in complete transparency my (Mikkelsen, 2005:197, 331). I

equally present my surprises as a researcher and the contradictory perceptions that were encountered (ibid.). Finally, the findings were verified through member checking with some of the participants to my interviews (Creswell, 2007:207-210).

It is equally worth mentioning that the study is not statistically generalizable, notably due to the small size of its sample, however its propositions are generalizable and comparable to previous research in the field of workplace motivation. As it is a case study built on perceptions of reality, the conclusions are also embedded in their context. The behaviors and perspectives of the humanitarian staff in Djibo ought to be understood in terms of the specific environment in which they are performed (Bryman, 2012:401). Moreover, as the procedures are described in great detail, further research on the work experience of national staff in the sector of aid, particularly in a developing country setting, could replicate this research design.

4.4 Ethical Considerations

The ethical aspect of this study is two-fold; it lies in its mere existence and in its confidentiality regarding the participants. On the one hand, as previously considered by Herzberg, there is a risk for all research on the workers' motivation to be used by 'men of ill' as a manipulation device. This possibility was thoroughly considered and I adopt Herzberg and his collaborators' stance on the matter: the beneficial potential of this study outweigh its detrimental potential and men of ill already have access to a multitude of tools to do wrong (Herzberg, 1959/1993:xxii-xxiii).

On the other hand, ethical considerations have largely framed the design of the data collection and presentation for confidentiality purposes. The issue of potential harm to participants, apart from the Secretary General of the region of Djibo who was openly identified (participant 23), led to the adoption of a combination of confidentiality enhancing methods. There was a serious risk that the perceptions disclosed by the participants could have detrimental impacts on their professional and personal life (Bryman, 2012:136). Those methods included the realization of the interviews in isolated settings, the presentation of the study and of the means to increase confidentiality, and the signature of a consent form (Creswell 2009:89). Written consent was obtained in all cases but one, in which the participant offered verbal consent yet felt uncomfortable with the fact of leaving a written proof of involvement in the study. See the form of consent in Appendix VI. Interview transcripts identified with pseudonyms and

personal details were stored separately. Finally, in the presentation of the data names and other details allowing for an identification of the participants were carefully removed (Bryman, 2012:142).

5. Analysis

The findings are presented and discussed in the present section, starting with the factors affecting workplace motivation, following with the effects of said motivation and closing with the demographic differences. A discussion of the implications of those findings concludes the section. The different elements are analyzed through, and related with, the Motivation-Hygiene Theory with the objective of comparing theory and reality, as the perceptions of the staff in Djibo surprisingly appear to echo Herzberg's findings.

5.1 The Factors behind Motivation

In order to understand the motivation of the national employees in the humanitarian sector in Djibo, this study presents and discusses the motivating and demotivating aspects of their jobs. What the workers want from their job is then compared with what they feel they are getting from them.

As per the contents of the interviews, the factors presented below emerged as being central to work satisfaction and dissatisfaction. The importance of the factors is determined on the basis of both their occurrence and the relative weight of appreciation or depreciation. The taxonomy and the exact definition of the factors follow the Motivation-Hygiene Theory as closely as possible. Each factor is presented, discussed and related to motivational literature, following which the combination and hierarchization of factors are compared with Herzberg's findings.

The Factors that Motivate the Staff

The motivating factors are presented in order of decreasing importance. The principal ones are the significance of the job, possibility of growth, achievement, recognition and work itself. The factor perceived as most important by the participants is the *significance of the job*. Every single participant, national or international, mentioned that their main motivation to work was to alleviate the suffering of the beneficiaries. The feeling of being useful was sometimes

expressed in religious terms, such as the Christian will to love thy neighbor. This finding does not appear in Herzberg's results (1959/1993:72), however it is consistent with various studies placing altruism as the main motivator among relief workers (Aguirre & Bolton, 2013:335; Bassous, 2015:374; Putman et al., 2009:114; Tassell & Flett, 2011:965; etc.). Furthermore, two participants presented their usefulness as also oriented towards society. They both explained that this job was their way of doing their fair share as citizens. One last participant, a low-qualified family father (interview 9), eloquently expressed an opinion that could be perceived woven in the discourse of most of his peers, however not explicitly mentioned by any other worker:

I wake up every morning to contribute to the humanitarian assistance. […]
My work is useful. Very useful. Well, I have always been useful
– even if it is not for the job, you will be useful to your family.

This down-to-earth statement comes in the context of economic hardship where any salary is necessary and any job, even if it were completely insignificant, is often considered useful by default. It can be argued that any job within the humanitarian sector – or even any job at all, for some participants – would be perceived as significant. All the international workers also described the meaningfulness of the job as their principal factor of motivation.

Second, the factor most often referred to yet pointed out as second most important by the local participants is the *possibility of growth*, defined as the chance to move onward and upward in one's job or the opportunity to advance one's skills (Herzberg et al., 1959/1993:46). In this case it comprises of three aspects: the acquisition of work experience, the development of skills and capacities and the construction of a network of contacts. All three lead to improved employment opportunities in the future and to the feeling of investing one's time strategically in the present, especially for young local workers with little practical experience and sometimes little education as well. In the context of Burkina Faso, as explained by two participants, obtaining even an internship without previous experience is a challenge. Thus the opportunity to work, to learn, to attend trainings and to meet important people is worth much and is highly motivating, echoing the findings of FRONTERA (2007), Loquercio and associates (2006) and Roth (2012:1463). Possibility of growth equally opens the door of expatriation, which is the dream for all but a few participants in Djibo. However, the few participants with the strongest appreciation for this factor were the ones whose jobs included relatively high responsibilities and could therefore learn more at work, drastically increasing

their possibilities of growth. Logically, four out of five expatriate staff equally highlighted this factor as very important.

The next most important factor, both in terms of frequency and meaningfulness for the national workers, is *achievement* or *the love of work well done*. The participants feel very strongly about the obligation to overcome the challenges of their jobs in order to prove their worth. More than 80% of the participants discussed and referred repeatedly to the duty to excel, since they had accepted the job and were therefore the guarantor of its success, as discussed by Robbins and Judge (2013:212). This aspect is also closely tied to pride, as participant 15 explained:

> *I give the most that I can at work to earn some respect for my work.*
> *Because if you are there and you don't give what they ask you,*
> *they find you useless. You must fight for your honor,*
> *do what they ask and show what you are worth.*

Indeed, an employee's achievements and tenacity at work are major sources of pride and feeling of accomplishment among humanitarian staff in Djibo, just like they were found to be for local aid workers in Guatemala (Putman, 2009:111). As half the national participants in Djibo mentioned and often reiterated, proving their value as workers is the best way to build a good reputation for themselves within their organization and in the whole humanitarian sector of Burkina Faso. A worker's reputation can be a real door-opener, as long as it is excellent: thus the fear of failure, of being perceived as a lazy, lousy employee inhabits many workers and motivates them to always give their best at work. Understandably, positions with significant responsibilities offer a greater opportunity to prove one's worth. The duty to excel was described as very motivating by 80% of the international employees.

Half of the national participants also presented *recognition* as having an influence on their motivation level. Positive feedback from their supervisors, the beneficiaries or humanitarian workers from partner organizations was presented as encouraging, as it makes the participants proud and motivates them to work even harder, in accordance with findings from Gagné and Deci (2005) and Fall (2014). Overall, these acts of recognition were almost never accompanied by rewards. Although some more concrete gratitude such as wage increase or bonus would also be welcome, as participant 14 mentioned, the participants already appreciate the mere fact of being considered. They equally discussed the importance of appreciation, positive as well as negative, as favoring the constant improvement of their work performance and thus of their motivation. The majority of the expatriate staff presented this factor as motivating.

Work itself was reported by half of the participants as a motivating factor, especially strongly for the few who felt that they had responsibility over their tasks and were granted autonomy at work. Varied and challenging tasks were also mentioned as stimulating and motivating. This factor was not the object of feelings as strong as those shown towards recognition, which justifies its lower ranking. This result contradicts the findings of a variety of authors who consider work itself as the best predictor of overall satisfaction (Fried & Ferris, 1987; Parisi & Weiner, 1999; Weiner, 2000; Smerek & Peterson, 2007). Three international workers out of five discussed the motivating impact of the core characteristics of their jobs.

The following factors were also mentioned, yet by fewer participants and they were presented as less central to the work experience. The numbers between parentheses represent the number of participants who mentioned the factors. These factors are the relationship with the colleagues and general work atmosphere within the organization (5), the relationship with the beneficiaries (4), the inspiring and helpful supervision by the supervisor(s) (2), social standing (2), coherence with previous studies (2) and salary (1). Coherence between the educational background and the current job was evoked as a motivator by 80% of the expatriate staff, who otherwise presented the same combination and hierarchization of factors as the local employees.

These five major motivating factors – significance of the job, possibility of growth, achievement, recognition, and work itself – have a common characteristic: they are all related to the intrinsic contents of the job rather than its context. Apart from the significance of the job, which is a 'fits all' factor, each of the other principal motivators is highly related to the level of responsibility of the job (Herzberg, 1968:93; Ramlall, 2004:57). Although responsibility was very seldom mentioned by the participants, it appears that it is the factor that underpins the four others, that with it come improved possibility of growth, increased achievements, more recognition and interesting tasks. Those factors all seem to be symptoms of responsibility. The reason why national staff in Djibo did not often discuss the role of responsibility as a motivator in their work is most probably because the vast majority of them have positions of limited responsibility in small branches of their respective organization, as discussed in the section 'When the factors meet reality'.

The five factors, along with responsibility, that were evoked as highly motivating are greatly interrelated amongst themselves and are closely linked to self-actualization. They are tied to

the job itself and are, as a whole, consistent with Herzberg's results (1959/1993:70). The similarities between the motivators evoked by the local employees in the humanitarian sphere in Djibo and Herzberg's accountants and engineers are perceptible in the table below, where factors are listed in order of decreasing importance and in which a dashed line divides the crucial motivators from the minor ones.

Table I - Comparative Relative Importance and Hierarchization of Motivators

Herzberg's motivators	The national participants' motivators
Achievement	Significance of the job
Recognition	(Responsibility)
Work itself	Possibility of growth
Responsibility	Achievement
Advancement	Recognition
~~Salary~~	Work itself
Possibility of growth	Interpersonal relations (peers)
Interpersonal relations (subordinate)	Interpersonal relations (beneficiaries)
Status	Supervision (technical)
Interpersonal relations (supervisor)	Interpersonal relations (supervisor)
Interpersonal relations (peers)	Status
Supervision (technical)	Coherence job/studies
Company policy and administration	Salary
Working conditions	
Personal life	
Job security	

(The author, partially based on Herzberg et al., 1959/1993:72)

However, when comparing the participant's answers with Herzberg's findings, two elements are worth highlighting: first, the significance of the job did not appear as a factor in his results, possibly because he investigated the high and low motivation sequences of accountants and engineers during their accounting and engineering careers. It is thus possible that the significance of the job did not suffer much change throughout their careers, or at least not enough to consider it a motivating factor. This divergence can also be due to the fact that neither engineering nor accounting are fields with a significant caring or nurturing dimension, as opposed to, for instance, social work, teaching or, by extension, humanitarian relief. Second,

in contrast with Herzberg's findings, the possibility of growth is more important for the participants in this case than the researcher's three main motivators, work itself, responsibility and achievement. It is very plausible that this is due to the context of work experience in Burkina Faso: as discussed previously, in a setting of high unemployment and very limited opportunities for new workers on the job market, gaining work experience from humanitarian work is considered a blessing.

The Factors that Demotivate the Staff

Once again, the factors are discussed according to their importance, in a decreasing order, and then compared with both the model and the perceptions of international staff with the aim of understanding the dynamics of workplace motivation among the local staff. The crucial demotivating factors are job insecurity, working conditions, salary, organization's policies and administration, few possibilities of growth, lack of coherence between job and studies, work itself, lack of recognition, and flaws within the humanitarian system.

The most important cause of demotivation among the national participants, mentioned by every one of them, was *job insecurity*. Contracts are generally for six months and never more than a year: as such, the local staff feel that they can never settle down and relax, as discussed in a report on the UNHCR's organization culture (Wigley, 2005:66-67). Participant 4 summarized most of the other participants' opinions:

> *The bad part is that you have no insurance whatsoever. You ride from short contract to short contract – I'm currently working on a one-month contract! So every day you are stressed, every semester you are stressed, because if you don't say the right thing to your boss one single day, you can find yourself unemployed at the next contract renewal.[…]*
> *When I will leave the humanitarian sector, the main reason will be those short contracts that disgust me. You can't even get married, resume a family, plan your life in the medium-term – you can't do anything. If I have an opportunity, I'm gone. I'll leave this life behind.*

Job insecurity puts the workers under permanent stress, especially in the context of few opportunities and high unemployment, where losing their job is a luxury they seldom can afford. International workers presented lower levels of discontentment regarding this factor, as their contracts tend to be longer and their optimism towards their future employment opportunities is significantly higher.

The local participants equally voiced strong displeasure towards their hard *working conditions*, which contribute to decrease their morale. All of them mentioned the hardships of constantly working in emergency mode, living with the pressure of having to hand in reports systematically due yesterday. For example, participant 7 explained that objectives planned for a period of three months now had to be reached within two weeks in order for the organization to meet the milestones of the project schedule. This often leads to long working days as well as short and uncertain holidays, as local workers can be called in at almost any time. When asked to describe a fulfilling day at the office, participant 15 expressed her feelings in these words:

> *I don't know… Has it ever happened? Well, the day I'll be able to do*
> *everything I am asked to do, that day I'll be proud. But I doubt it will*
> *happen anytime soon. If you have many things to manage and you are*
> *given always more to do, even if you find a way to work it out*
> *today, you'll be asked some more tomorrow.*
> *And the day after that. And the day after that. And the day after that.*
> *It's discouraging…*

This is consistent with findings on humanitarian staff in Uganda who evoked their high workload as second most important stressor, just behind financial problems (Ager et al., 2012:715). The harsh physical conditions of the work in the field in the Sahel were also mentioned by some participants, in addition to the emotional hardship of working in the midst of human suffering, as discussed by Connorton and associates (2012:145) and Ager and his colleagues (2012:716). The working conditions, namely being far from their family, were also evoked by two expatriate staff out of five.

In these conditions, and particularly with the policy of unpaid extra time within the refugee assistance system, all the participants feel that the effort invested is disproportionate with regard to the *wages earned*. Low salaries were also presented as a major stressor by local humanitarian workers within the framework of two vast studies conducted in Uganda (Ager et al., 2012:715) and Sri Lanka (Lopes Cardozo et al., 2013:589). Although several workers mentioned that the salaries in the humanitarian sector were slightly higher than for the State functionaries, a few said that money would be their main reason for quitting their job – if they could find anything better. Participant 14 stated that fortunately there were other motivations in his job than the financial one, because that would not lead him far at all. A third of the participants were also demotivated by inequalities in pay among individuals, branches or organizations. The feeling of unfairness was even more important for some participants than the actual amount earned, as was the case for participants 1, 4 and 11. This goes along findings

from many authors stating that the lack of distributive justice at work, mainly in the form of pay inequality, leads to many outcomes among which lowered job satisfaction (Carr et al., 2010; Cohen-Charash & Spector, 2001; Colquitt et al., 2001; McAuliffe et al., 2009; Vaughan Smith, 2012:59). Expatriates and high-skilled employees did not share preoccupations linked to either the amount or the equity of wages earned.

Unfairness was also reported by 80% of the participants in relation to *organization policies and administration*. Different aspects of management were evoked as being demotivating, some because of their ineffectiveness and others because of their deleterious effects. Inefficient practices include ill-conceived and non-respected task descriptions leading to duplications and 'task theft', accumulation of positions for one employee without proper planning or compensation, and very late notification of non-renewal of the contract. Regarding deleterious policies, the privileges of the expatriates compared to the effort they invested were perceived by more than two thirds of the participants as unfair and dissatisfying, as participant 13 stated:

> *Expats don't bring extraordinary competences. They come with competences*
> *and experience, yes, but it is nothing extraordinary. Often the local staff*
> *understand and do the job better than the expat*
> *– and the expat is paid millions [of francs]!*

This testimony corresponds almost literally to perceptions collected among national aid workers by Roth (2012:1464-1465) and is in line with findings from Ager and associates (2012:715). A participant in Djibo acquainted with his organization's budget explained that one expatriate's salary, without factoring in transportation, accommodation, daily allocation and insurance, accounted for twelve national employees' wages (participant 4). Participant 10 added that local staff would feel less demotivated if there were the slightest sharing of privileges between expatriates and nationals. A quarter of the participants equally expressed dislike towards the detrimental practice of unfair competition, particularly when malicious gossips and private information about colleagues are used to favor one's advancement. Inconsistent and unfair treatment of the staff by the management was also mentioned as demotivating. This mirrors findings from McAuliffe and associates (2009) and McWha (2010), according to which justice is linked with satisfaction, effectiveness and productivity – and injustice, to the opposite.

The demotivating factors evoked depict the dynamics of dissatisfaction among the national employees in Djibo. They provide with an understanding of how (de)motivation works. The

following factors are equally important in this regard. When discussing their level of workplace motivation, half of the participants reported feeling discouraged by the limited *possibility of growth* in their jobs. Underused capacities, positions as executants, feelings of stagnation, and limited opportunities for promotion were all elements denounced by the participants, especially as the branches of the organizations located in Djibo are typically the smallest at a national level. The lack of formal trainings and occasions for transfer of knowledge and skills is another key cause of demotivation among national employees, in concordance with Roth's findings (2012:1461). Participant 12 expresses her opinion in this way:

> *They don't allow us to discover, because there are no trainings. You have general notions maybe, but if you could have the opportunity to have real formal humanitarian trainings… […] I am not sure that our bosses see to what extent we want to train ourselves, to progress, to go further. They are too busy defending their own seats…*

The insinuation of participant 12 was also made by several others, all in all by a fourth of the participants, implying or sometimes explicitly stating that the lack of opportunities of the young national staff is due to the fear of their supervisors of being replaced by their subordinates. In a sector with high job insecurity, the local employees are not the only ones who need to defend their work by proving they are irreplaceable. As participant 4 said,

> *There are possibilities of advancement, but they are sunk by my immediate supervisor. He does everything he can to belittle me. I know his job as well as he does, and it scares him to death.*

Another factor pointed out as demotivating was the *lack of coherence between their job and their field of study*, highlighted by a third of the participants. More precisely, it was presented in many cases as the main reason to leave the humanitarian world if a job opportunity in their field were to arise. However useful, efficient and appreciated the workers might feel, it seems that they miss their field and that their humanitarian positions are only parentheses in their expected career path. In three cases, it was mentioned that even if the position is rather coherent with previous training, the tasks asked of the employee are by far simpler than the contents of their education, leading to the feeling of being overqualified. This concern is not shared by any of the international employees participating in this study, as they all have employment in their field of study.

Half of the workers equally reported dissatisfaction and demotivation due to the *tasks themselves*. Repetitiveness, lack of autonomy and challenge were presented as problematic. Participant 9 expressed his feelings in those words:

> *Humanitarian assistance is a repetition. It is the application of a program, there's not much innovation… Since 2012 it is often the same thing… But I am a supporter of innovation! […] There is some variation but you know you will have refugees coming to see you, you will solve issues, write reports. Sometimes unforeseen events happen…*

Among the factors that combine to form dissatisfaction figures the *lack of recognition*, mentioned by almost half of the participants. Many workers resented the feeling of giving a lot yet not accounting for much in their respective organizations. Unread reports, ungrateful beneficiaries as well as incomplete and/or untimely feedback were also reported as problematic. In the worst cases, workers' only source of appreciation of their work is the final evaluation of their contracts, the very day of the renewal (or lack thereof). This is in line with Ager and his colleagues' results: half of the local relief workers of their sample reported stress due to lack of recognition from their supervisor (2012:716).

Half of the participants presented *issues inherent to the system of humanitarian assistance* as discouraging them in their work. The heavy administrative machine, with its expensive and slow procedures, was presented as a flaw that the staff consistently had to fight against. Inertia, dependence towards the donors, little consideration for the beneficiaries, and duplication of efforts among organizations, were among the elements denounced by the participants. This dissatisfier was the most mentioned by the international workers: 60% of them discussed its impact on their motivation.

Finally, the remaining factors were more marginally mentioned and were not at the core of demotivation: relationship with the beneficiaries – who themselves reported higher appreciation and trust for the expatriate workers (4), relationship with colleagues (3) and with peers from partner organizations (2). Again, the numbers between parentheses correspond to the number of participants who discussed the factors. The hierarchization of the factors is completely different than for the international workers (flaw of the humanitarian system – 3, work conditions – 2).

All in all, the main factors of demotivation for the national workers are the following: job insecurity, working conditions, salary, organization policies and administration, possibility of growth, lack of coherence between their job and their field of study, work itself, lack of recognition and issues inherent to the system of humanitarian relief. As can be seen, the most important demotivating factors, the first four ones, are directly related to external rather than internal aspects of the jobs. This is consistent with Herzberg's theory, according to which dissatisfiers are factors found within the context of the job and that they affect dissatisfaction but have little impact on satisfaction. These hygiene factors are tied to the avoidance of unpleasant situations but do not procure satisfaction per se, which is why they are not found among the motivators (Herzberg et al., 1959/1993:80-82). The comparison between the dissatisfiers mentioned by the national humanitarian employees in Djibo and Herzberg's participants is shown in the table below. The most important factors come first and the dashed line serves as a division between crucial and minor factors.

Table II - Comparative Relative Importance and Hierarchization of Dissatisfiers

Herzberg's dissatisfiers	The national participants' dissatisfiers
Company policy and administration	Job security
Supervision (technical)	Working conditions
Recognition	Salary
Salary	Organization policy and administration
Interpersonal relations (supervisor)	Possibility of growth
Work itself	Coherence job/studies
Working conditions	Work itself
Advancement	Recognition
Interpersonal relations (peers)	Characteristics of the system of humanitarian aid
Possibility of growth	Interpersonal relations (beneficiaries)
Achievement	Interpersonal relations (colleagues)
Responsibility	Interpersonal relations (peers from partner organizations)
Personal life	
Status	
Interpersonal relations (subordinate)	
Job security	

(The author, partially based on Herzberg et al., 1959/1993:72)

One point on which the results of this study differ from Herzberg's is the relative importance of job (in)security as a dissatisfier. In his results, this factor ranks as last whereas it is at the core of the local staff's work experience in the humanitarian sector in Djibo. This difference is due to the peculiar context of emergency assistance and to the rapidly changing, un-unionized and unstable employment it offers. The presence of 'lack of coherence between job and studies' as a factor of demotivation is equally a product of the context, in this case the high rate of unemployment and the occurrence of the humanitarian rush. As those circumstances are drastically different from the situation of American engineers and accountants in the 1950s, divergences in the composition and hierarchization of dissatisfiers is logical.

In a manner similar to Herzberg's results, some motivators appear among the demotivating factors – here possibility of growth, coherence between job and studies, work itself, and lack of recognition. This brings support to his adapted hypothesis stating that "the satisfier factors are much more likely to increase job satisfaction than they would be to decrease job satisfaction but that the factors that relate to job dissatisfaction very infrequently act to increase job satisfaction" (1959/1993:80). The prevalence of motivators in determining satisfaction, and of hygienes in determining dissatisfaction, as proposed by Herzberg, is verified in this study. Indeed, the participants presented their satisfaction as the result of a combination of factors that greatly differ from those involved in dissatisfaction, adding to the idea of the dual scale of satisfaction/dissatisfaction and weakening the common misconception according to which salary is key to workplace motivation (e.g. Johnson, 2007; Kovach, 1995; Oshagbemi, 2000; Rynes et al., 2004; Sweet et al., 2006).

Quotes from participants 4 and 11 respectively clearly illustrate how, as Herzberg has demonstrated, external factors are not what motivates employees to wake up and go to work every morning – internal factors are.

> *I think my demotivation is due to one thing: at my previous job [also in the humanitarian field] I used to manage employees, to lead. And then I came here, yes with an increase in salary, but here I don't command, I don't lead, I don't… I'd like to have the opportunity to think more. I'd like to be given responsibilities, to be told "this is yours, manage it".*
> *A job as an executant is not for me.*

> *Originally, I wasn't motivated. I wasn't interested at all in that increase in responsibilities coupled with a drop in wages from my previous job.*
> *I accepted this contract because my friends pressured me into doing it.*

But when I came, I realized that what I learn is worth more than what I earn.
That's the motivation. Somehow it's not the salary that is the essential point,
you must see what you gain beyond the salary.
But in the beginning I didn't see it like that.

As can be seen, however appealing the salary or other compensations, they remain part of the hygienes and can thus be used to remove dissatisfaction but do not lead to satisfaction. Satisfaction on the contrary is tied to core aspects of the job, such as responsibility and possibility of growth in the case of the two participants quoted above.

Overall, delineating the factors behind the national employees' workplace motivation reveals what the workers want from their jobs and helps to understand their system of priorities, which happens to be very much in line with that of the engineers and accountants studied by Herzberg some sixty years ago. The similarity in the results from two extremely different settings and periods provides evidence of both the validity and the relevance of the Motivation-Hygiene theory in understanding workplace motivation. It also tends to confirm the universality of workplace motivation. Now in order to fully comprehend the motivation of the local staff, what they want from their jobs ought to be compared with what they feel they are actually getting.

When the Factors Meet Reality

The national employees stated that the factors that most motivated them in their jobs were the significance of the job, possibility of growth, achievement, recognition and work itself, with the four last ones being tied to responsibility. The factors that most demotivated them were job insecurity, working conditions, salary, organization policy and administration, possibility of growth, coherence between job and studies, work itself, lack of recognition and flaws of the system of humanitarian aid.

However, the factors need to be critically discussed and weighed in order to truly reflect the work experience of the national workers in the humanitarian sphere in Djibo. Beginning with the motivators, it appears that the significance of the job is a 'fits all' factor: everyone who partakes in the humanitarian sector or who provides a salary to their family considers themselves useful. National, international, motivated and demotivated workers altogether presented the significance of their job as the core factor of motivation. Yet, this does not explain why certain employees are satisfied and others are not.

The other motivators provide for more indications. Possibility of growth, achievement, recognition and interest of the work itself all gain in motivating power when the job is expanded vertically: in other words, when the level of responsibility increases (Robbins & Judge, 2013:244). Since the majority of the national staff in Djibo have jobs of rather limited responsibility, they are generally provided with equally limited possibility of growth, achievement, recognition and interesting tasks. Three out of these four factors also figure among the factors of dissatisfaction: their motivating potential for the national workers is therefore not strong. For instance, recognition is motivating when it happens but it does not happen often, notably because jobs of low responsibility understandably tend to garner less attention from the supervisors. The participants therefore state on one hand that they feel motivated by acts of recognition and on the other hand that recognition at work is insufficient. The expatriate workers, in comparison, value the same motivators but since they have important responsibilities, their factors are improved, just like their level of satisfaction. Their longer tenure in the humanitarian sector, as they cumulate years of relevant experience, also seems to increase their level of empowerment and their confidence in their professional future (Spreitzer et al., 1997; Vaughan Smith, 2012:67). All in all, the level of satisfaction of the local employees is significantly lower than that of the international staff.

The dissatisfiers, unlike most motivators, are present at all times for the national staff. The inconsistence between the efforts invested and the wages earned, the unfair distribution of privileges between locals and expatriates, and the stress of short-term contracts, are all factors of a persisting sort. The national workers also seemed resigned to their working conditions; many said that they had signed up for it and could neither complain nor bail out. The expatriate employees, on their side, were not affected much by most of the dissatisfiers discussed by the local staff: they instead presented the sometimes demotivating flaws of the humanitarian assistance system and the working conditions − mainly being far from their families − as affecting their morale. Since they are part of the strategic sphere of their respective organization and earn generous salaries, barely any mention was made of job insecurity, wages, organization policy or similar elements as demotivating factors. As a result, while the expatriate staff was not dissatisfied, the national workers were significantly more dissatisfied.

Considering both levels of satisfaction and of dissatisfaction gives a comprehensive understanding of a worker's level of motivation. The international humanitarian staff in Djibo combine a higher level of satisfaction with a lower level of dissatisfaction, leading to a higher

level of motivation. The national employees, on their side, have a significantly lower level of satisfaction matched with a much higher level of dissatisfaction. Their motivation is therefore much lower than for the expatriate staff. In more concrete terms, the local workers are demotivated because on the one hand their jobs are seldom fulfilling, since their responsibilities are limited which in turn affects many aspects of their work, and on the other hand their overall working conditions are a source of frustration. Those levels of motivation have impacts on the workers, as discussed in the following part.

5.2 Motivation, Demotivation and their Effects on the Workers

As Herzberg and his colleagues' findings from the 1950s indicate, the employees' level of motivation leads to consequences regarding their performance at work as well as their personal well-being (1959/1993:96). The relationship between motivation and performance tends to be supported in the literature (Baard et al., 2004; Gagné & Deci, 2005:343; Judge et al., 2001; Ramlall, 2004), just as the one between motivation and well-being (Clegg & Spencer, 2007:321; Saari & Judge, 2004; Tassell, 2009; etc.). Motivated employees are therefore expected to perform better and be happy whereas demotivated ones would tend to exhibit opposite behaviour. This is rather confirmed by the case of the humanitarian workers in Djibo, however context has an important role as a mediator.

The national employees described how, when motivated, their dedication and performance at work were higher than usual. Participant 6, for instance, reported that the pilot project he is implementing is so interesting and challenging that he happily gives his best at work, often working 17h a day and encouraging his colleagues to do the same. A similar statement was made by participant 9, who said:

> *When I work and I feel that I contribute to the improvement of the well-being of the beneficiaries, I spare no effort. The time it takes doesn't matter.*

This is consistent with many authors' findings (e.g. Baard et al., 2004; Gagné & Deci, 2005:343; Judge et al., 2001; Ramlall, 2004). The few local participants who are more motivated than their peers also discussed their will to remain within their current organization and within the emergency assistance world as much as possible – unless a much better opportunity were to arise. Motivation thus seems to bring a sense of loyalty towards the organization, or sometimes to the wider field.

This quote from participant 7 exemplifies not only the previous elements but also how motivation affects an employee's happiness and fulfilment:

> *In the beginning of my humanitarian journey I was extremely motivated but as time was passing and I was working with that previous NGO, I was more and more unhappy, I felt overexploited... [...]Before, I was willing to give all I had at work, yet after seeing many things that disgusted me in the humanitarian sector, I paused and asked myself 'Have I made a mistake by coming to this field?' But since I'm with this new NGO, yes! My will to assist, to give, to invest all of myself into my work came back. I'm happy! And also proud – I'm always wearing clothes with my new NGO's logo! It's to say that I enjoy my work there and rediscovered my love for the humanitarian sector. Now, I'm convinced that it's my field and I want to go far.*

It also shows how a worker's motivation can change from one job to another and is not merely a product of one's mental traits, contradicting the statements of some researchers (e.g. Barrick et al., 2013; Judge & Watanabe, 1994; Parks & Guay, 2009). The expatriate staff, generally highly motivated, described similar feelings of productivity, happiness and loyalty to their organization or field.

As can be inferred from participant 7's testimony, demotivation equally affects an employee's behavior. Apart from overall unhappiness and the feeling of not being where one belongs, what all but a few local participants mentioned was constantly being on the lookout for a better job elsewhere – a more stable and fulfilling job, ideally in their original field. This has important consequences that go beyond sudden departures and increased turnover rates. As Herzberg and his associates saw in their own findings, some employees quit as a result of low motivation but most of them only think of doing it or take steps towards it (1959/1993:88-89) especially in times of high unemployment and limited alternative job opportunities (Shikiar & Freudenberg, 1982). Although this phenomenon, psychological withdrawal, is devoid of measurable costs, an organization is definitely weakened when most of its national staff, who compose the vast majority of the workforce, already have their eyes and sometimes a foot out the door (Robbins & Judge, 2013:202). This postulate is strengthened by the statements of the interviewed beneficiaries, who both presented the humanitarian workforce as less motivated, dynamic and dedicated than before. This assessment is possibly partially due to the camp's soon closing, therefore limiting the funding and overall energy of those involved in its operation, nonetheless psychological withdrawal is most probably also involved. Those observations coming from the beneficiaries, the humanitarian equivalent of customer satisfaction, are consistent with findings according to which the employees' satisfaction (id.:29) and level of identification with their

company – a measure of job satisfaction – (Harter et al., 2002; Solnet, 2007) impact their behavior and are significantly correlated with customer satisfaction.

In terms of individual performance, the national staff's version diverged from that of the refugees as they reported little change in their behavior due to their demotivation. Although one participant discussed his poorer performance at work, namely how his sense of initiative had declined, the rest of them denied decreases in performance levels. Beyond highly probable distortions due to conscious as well as unconscious filtering of reality, it is worth highlighting that many participants evoked the same reason to justify the limited impact of their demotivation on their performance: the lack of employment opportunities. Since jobs are scarce and the humanitarian field is as small as it is competitive, most employees cannot afford the luxury of spoiling their own reputation by showing their demotivation. Even demotivated employees cannot let their performance be affected if they want to keep their job. Participant 5 gave a good example of this uncomfortable position the national employees find themselves in:

> *If there are difficulties in the field we try to solve them among ourselves, the field agents, and discuss them together afterwards, to make sure that next time it doesn't fall on the head of one of us – so our bosses don't think any of us is incompetent or doesn't like his or her job…*

Demotivated humanitarian workers in Djibo therefore feel obliged to project the image of a high achiever, dedicated and upbeat employees. If this distorts the relationship between motivation and performance, it tends to confirm and even double the link between motivation and well-being. In this case, it appears that not only are demotivated staff less happy than their motivated peers, as shown the previous quote from participant 7, they also need to pretend to be both happy and effective. That obligation to perform and pretend exerts additional pressure on the already demotivated workers and arguably impacts their well-being, particularly their mental health (Saari & Judge, 2004:398-399).

All in all, the case of the humanitarian staff in Djibo provides an answer as to how the national staff's motivation level affects their performance and well-being. The findings support the postulate of a positive relationship between workplace motivation, performance and well-being. Demotivation also seems to be linked to psychological withdrawal, feelings of unhappiness, and somehow reduced performance. This last element is however distorted by the context, namely the hardship of the economic situation. Finally, the workers' level of motivation also seems to influence career decisions such as the choice between remaining in

the field of emergency assistance and trying to leave it as soon as possible. Indeed, poorly motivated local staff reported seeing fewer opportunities of future employment and showed less interest in humanitarian careers than the international employees who discussed their future plans and opportunities in emergency assistance with confidence and certainty. The idea of working in the development sector was however very popular among national staff.

5.3 Demographics

Due to the small size of the sample, cross-comparisons between variables were impossible. The variety within the sample however allowed the study of the individual characteristics taken one by one, which yielded some results that ought to be considered as indications rather than conclusive evidence. Since the divide between the national and international workers was previously discussed, the topic is not analyzed here. From the contents of the interviews, it appears that the type of organization – governmental, non-governmental, international, national – does not impact much the level of motivation of the workers. It is also rather uniform within organizations and among positions. The variation of the national staff's answers with distinct positions within the same organization was comparable to that of employees working in the same position but for different organizations. Yet, the results tend to indicate that the workers in positions of increased responsibility would be more satisfied than their peers. Also, organizations diverged in how they treat their employees, those where the worker is at core of the organizational policies tended to have less unsatisfied staff members. Those findings are in keeping with the previous analysis. Regarding education level, it appears that the national workers who had completed a bachelor's degree and above in a discipline unrelated to aid were more prone to missing their field and, ultimately, to psychological withdrawal. The region of provenience within Burkina Faso did not seem to have a strong effect on the level of motivation.

One characteristic, gender, has an important influence on the staff's work experience in Djibo, where about a third of the workforce is female. While men are traditionally expected to perform the role of breadwinners in the Burkinabe society, women are typically in charge of unpaid domestic work and care, and are mostly relegated to unrecognized economic activities such as agricultural labor and peddling (Charmes, 2005:255). The presence of women in the workplace in the formal sector of the economy is a relatively modern and marginal phenomenon in the country, where they represented not even 20% of the workers as of 2010

(ILO, 2010:17). Men's search for income for themselves and their relatives often leads them to leave the family house and sometimes the country (id.:10). This was confirmed by half of the male participants who justified their decision to come to Djibo – and their determination to leave the locality as soon as they find a better job elsewhere – by the opportunity to earn a sufficient income. Women, on the other hand, typically leave the family house solely following marriage. The presence of young women working in the humanitarian sector and living in Djibo, five hours north from the capital where most of their families and/or husbands live, is thus far from traditional. Participant 12 expresses herself in these words:

> *Emergency assistance is good, yes, but it is a very masculine field. When you are a woman, especially here in Africa and maybe even more so in Burkina Faso, if you are not physically in the household people start to talk. They say you're abandoning your family, your husband, they wonder what you're doing up there in the north… People judge you a lot.*

As most employees are granted one week-end out of Djibo per month, the families in the capital are left with much time to wonder.

Apart from social pressure, some female workers in the humanitarian sector also report issues with the stress of their jobs conflicting with their current or future responsibilities as women. Although work-family conflicts are not limited to women, Kelly and her colleagues (2011:268) affirmed that employed mothers tend to experience those conflicts more intensely due to gender differences in caregiving, household labor and expected availability. As those gender differences are very acute in Burkina Faso, this statement equally applies there. Work-family conflicts can be discouraging for the female workers, who are more likely than men to quit their jobs or cut back at work as a result (Becker & Moen, 1999; Reynolds, 2005; Stone, 2007). Participant 10 for instance presented her interesting and challenging position as merely temporary, since she does not believe in her chances to combine work and family when she decides to settle down. The scarcity of women in leadership positions or pursuing a lengthy career in humanitarian assistance in Djibo tends to corroborate the perception of participant 10.

All in all, it can be argued that the female staff's motivation and well-being are negatively impacted due to factors stemming from their gender. Yet, in a sector that comprises of more or less a third of women, the jobs are not designed to accommodate the needs and responsibilities of those workers. This might be due to the women's recent and very progressive arrival in the formal sector of the economy or to the overall poor working conditions in the humanitarian

field. Nonetheless, more flexibility in schedule and location of work has proved to have a high potential impact on work-family conflicts, demonstrating the need for companies and organizations altogether to consider the interaction between work design and family functioning (Kelly et al., 2011). The outcomes of those changes could make a great difference in the female employees' lives, further increasing their independence and levelling their power relations within the household (Thiombiano, 2014:255).

5.4 Implications and Perspectives

The findings presented and discussed throughout the analysis carry implications for motivational research, relating to Herzberg's Motivator-Hygiene Theory. As could be seen, Herzberg's theory did not account for all of the factors evoked by the humanitarian workers in Djibo. The contents of the factors as well as their hierarchization were partly a result of the context, in this case the economic hardship. The high rate of unemployment combined with the humanitarian rush explain changes in the factors, some of them drastically gaining importance (possibility of growth, job insecurity) and others appearing (significance of the job, lack of coherence between job and studies). Context therefore acts as a mediator that influences the personnel's motivation at work, disproving Herzberg and his colleagues' statement: "We should not overlook the fact that although the ebb and flow of our economy would produce occasional periods both of over and of under employment the problem of an individual's attitudes [motivation] towards his job remains constant" (1959/1993:xxii). Indeed, the workers' level of motivation is not constant as it is affected by the circumstances, particularly the economic situation and the rate of employment.

Nevertheless, the Motivation-Hygiene Theory proves to be relevant despite these disparities, as the dual dynamic of satisfaction and dissatisfaction could clearly be observed in the perceptions of the workers in Djibo. When the staff reported satisfaction, it was due to factors tied to the core characteristics of their jobs, the work itself, whereas they reported dissatisfaction as a consequence of external factors such as work conditions, administrative policies, and many more. The fact that this partition of factors into motivators and hygienes emerged from the answers of the participants proves, as Basset-Jones and Lloyd (2005) and Sachau (2007) argued, that Herzberg's theory is not only a classic but is also still relevant, even in a setting, an era and a methodology different from the origins of the theory. The study moreover contradicts the main critiques of the Motivation-Hygiene theory according to which

it is insensitive to cultural specificities (Hackman & Oldham, 1976:251-252; Tassell, 2009:17; Teck-Hong & Waheed, 2011:86), just as it challenges the perception that workplace motivation depends upon the employees' temperament (Barrick et al., 2007; Judge & Watanabe, 1994; Parks & Guay, 2009).

6. Concluding Remarks

This study builds knowledge on workplace motivation in the context of humanitarian relief through the case of northern Burkina Faso, and provides an answer to how national staff members experience workplace motivation. It also analyzes the impacts of their motivation on their work performance and well-being. The motivation level of the local employees is rather low due to a combination of limited satisfaction and substantial dissatisfaction, which leads to decreases in loyalty and well-being. With its abductive design, the present case provides support to Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory and tends to confirm its staying power. The dual dynamic of satisfaction and dissatisfaction, Herzberg's main postulate, is found to underlie the motivation of staff in Djibo. However, the study equally shows that the theory is context-sensitive, as the economic situation leads to changes in the combination and the hierarchization of factors. The findings are represented in the following scheme.

Figure II - Motivation of the National Workers in Djibo

No satisfaction   Satisfaction

Motivators

Significance of the job, responsibility, possibility of growth, achievement, recognition, work itself.

Dissatisfaction   No dissatisfaction

Hygienes

Job security, working conditions, salary, organization policy and administration, possibility of growth, coherence between job and studies, work itself, recognition, characteristics of the system of aid.

(The author)

The findings suggest that the national workers are generally rather demotivated because on the one hand their jobs comprise of limited responsibilities and are seldom fulfilling, and on the other hand their overall working conditions are a source of persistent frustration. Their satisfaction is generally lower than for the expatriate staff while their dissatisfaction is considerably higher, leading to a lower overall level of motivation. Workplace motivation impacts the workers' professional and personal lives, either by increasing their performance, dedication, loyalty and well-being or by decreasing their loyalty and well-being. Performance and dedication however seem to be hardly affected by low motivation, as the workers cannot afford to lose their jobs as a consequence of diminished productivity. An analysis of the demographic factors revealed that gender had an impact on motivation, mostly due to work-family conflicts in the context of the tumultuous adaptation of a traditional society to more modern work policies.

The results of this study, just as those of Herzberg and his coauthors, indicate that the most promising management policies to motivate the national humanitarian workers in Djibo would be oriented towards enriching the jobs (1959/1993:133-137). Increasing their level of responsibility seems to be a means to improve the possibility of growth, achievement, recognition and the interest of the work itself. As predicted by Herzberg and evidenced by these findings, eliminating the dissatisfiers, despite representing a relevant initiative, would decrease the dissatisfaction at work but would impact very little the motivation of the workers. In other words, the human resource managers of the humanitarian organizations working in Djibo should make the motivators a priority, yet without forgetting the hygienes, in order to substantially increase the motivation of the national staff. The management of the organizations with demotivated workers should take example on more successful ones in Djibo and both enrich the jobs of their workers and put the personnel at the core of their organizational policies.

The current study suffers from some limitations. The size of the sample constitutes the main hindrance to a deeper analysis involving multiple variables. The inability to control the representativeness of the sample and the decision not to evaluate the motivation level of the workers are equally noteworthy. Another limit to the reliability of the data lies in the use of one single method of data collection, even if the findings were contextualized and triangulated. Future research should extend this analysis through studies based on wide samples and varied methods, and set in diversified geographic areas. The understanding of workplace motivation

among national humanitarian workers as well as compared with that of international employees ought to be improved in order to eliminate the misbalance in the scientific literature in favor of expatriate employees. Another path worth exploring not only within the realm of motivation research but also for the field of feminist studies is the relationship between gender and humanitarian work experience. The combination of motivational research with a constructivist ontology would equally deserve some further exploration, as it yielded fertile results by trying to understand the realities of the human beings that are the workers.

Finally, the findings of the current study open the door of a much needed critical reflection on the whole field of humanitarian aid. It is indeed a cruel and unacceptable irony that organizations dedicated to poverty and hunger alleviation (Millennium Development Goal 1a and 1c, United Nations, 2000) find themselves incapable of providing fair and decent work (Millennium Development Goal 1b, United Nations, 2000) to the bulk of their employees (MacLachlan et al., 2010; Tassell, 2009:199; Vaughan Smith, 2012:58). Testimonies such as the miserable statement of participant 11 in the opening of this study are sad evidence of how the industry of altruism and hope fails its own workers.

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Appendices

Appendix I – Representations of Herzberg's Results

Table III - Relative Importance and Hierarchization of Factors in the Original Study (%)

High motivation sequences		Low motivation sequences	
1. Achievement	41	1. Company policy and administration	31
2. Recognition	33	2. Supervision (technical)	20
3. Work itself	26	3. Recognition	18
4. Responsibility	23	4. Salary	17
5. Advancement	20	5. Interpersonal relations (supervisor)	15
6. Salary	15	6. Work itself	14
7. Possibility of growth	6	7. Working conditions	11
8. Interpersonal relations (subordinate)	6	8. Advancement	11
9. Status	4	9. Interpersonal relations (peers)	8
10. Interpersonal relations (supervisor)	4	10. Possibility of growth	8
11. Interpersonal relations (peers)	3	11. Achievement	7
12. Supervision (technical)	3	12. Responsibility	6
13. Company policy and administration	3	13. Personal life	6
14. Working conditions	1	14. Status	4
15. Personal life	1	15. Interpersonal relations (subordinate)	3
16. Job security	1	16. Job security	1

(Herzberg et al., 1959/1993: 72)

Figure III - Factors affecting Job Motivation as Reported in 12 Investigations
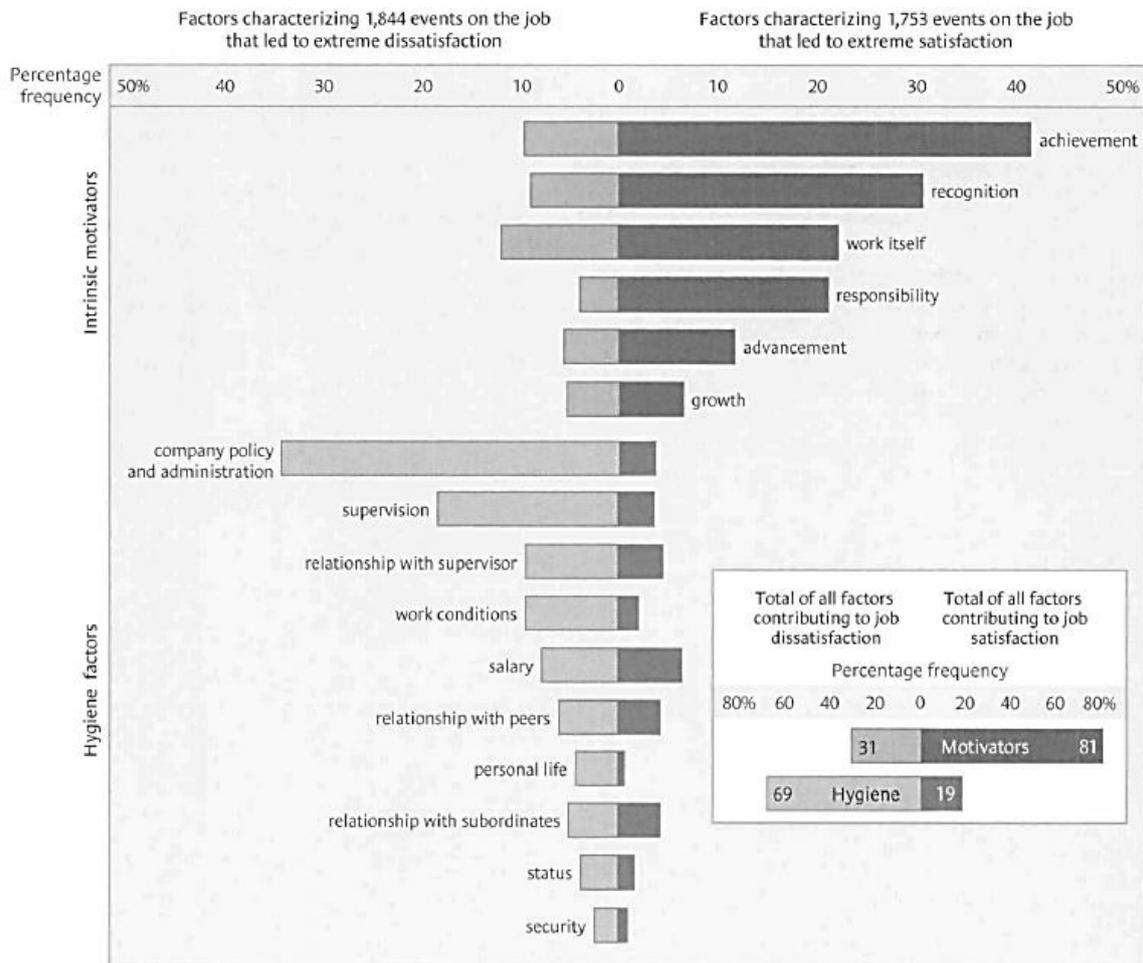
(Herzberg, 1968: 90)

Appendix II – Detailed Record of Participants

Table IV - Sample of the Study

Employer/Situation	Participant*	Date	Gender	Age	Provenience	Level of Education	Coherence Studies/ Position	Contract Duration	Leadership Position
Organization A	1	01-10-15	Female	Late 20s	Outside of Djibo	Bachelor	No	6 months	No
	2	01-13-15	Male	Late 20s	Djibo	High school		6 months	No
	14	01-22-15	Male	Early 30s	Outside of Djibo	Bachelor	No	6 months	No
Organization B	3	01-15-15	Male	Early 40s	Outside of Djibo	High school non-completed		6 months	No
Organization C	4	01-15-15	Male	Early 30s	Outside of Djibo	Master	Yes	1 month	No
Organization D	5	01-16-15	Male	Late 20s	Outside of Djibo	Bachelor non-completed	Yes	3 months	No
Organization E	6	01-17-15	Male	Early 30s	Outside of Djibo	Bachelor	No	6 months	No
Organization F	7	01-18-15	Male	Late 20s	Outside of Djibo	Bachelor	No	9 months	No
	18 (comp.)	01-23-15	Male	Late 30s	Outside of Burkina Faso	PhD	Yes	1 year	Yes
	19 (comp.)	01-23-15	Male	Late 40s	Outside of Djibo	Master	Yes	1 year	Yes
Organization G	8	01-18-15	Male	Late 20s	Outside of Djibo	High school non-completed		1 year	No
Organization H	9	01-18-15	Male	Early 30s	Outside of Djibo	Master	More or less	1 year	Yes

Organization I	10	01-19-15	Female	Early 30s	Outside of Djibo	2 Masters	No and yes	1 year	Yes
Organization J	11	01-20-15	Male	Late 20s	Djibo	High school non-completed		6 months	No
	16 (comp.)	01-16-15	Male	Late 40s	Outside of Djibo	Master	Yes	1 year	Yes
	20 (comp.)	01-24-15	Male	Early 50s	Outside of Burkina Faso	Master	Yes	1 year	Yes
Organization K	12	01-20-15	Female	Late 20s	Outside of Djibo	Bachelor non-completed	Yes	6 months	No
	17 (comp.)	01-23-15	Male	Early 50s	Outside of Burkina Faso	2 Masters	Yes and yes	1 year	Yes
Organization L	13	01-21-15	Male	Late 20s	Outside of Djibo	High school completed		6 months	No
Organization M	15	01-24-15	Female	Late 20s	Outside of Djibo	Bachelor	Yes	6 months	No
Beneficiaries	21 (context)	01-21-15	Male	Late 20s	Mali	None			
	22 (context)	01-21-15	Male	Late 20s	Mali	Primary school non-completed			
Secretary General of the region of Djibo	23 (context)	01-21-15	Male	Early 40s	Outside of Djibo	2 Masters			

(The author, based on the contents of the interviews)

* The participants with no identification are from the contents interviews – the national workers. Those designated by (comp.) are those from comparison interviews – the international staff. Finally, those identified by (context) are from the context interviews – the beneficiaries and the administrative personnel member.

Appendix III – Interview Guide for the Contents Interviews (National Staff) and the Comparison Interviews (International Staff)

- *Present the research and the researcher*
- *Explain the use and disclosure of the data and confidentiality measures*
- *Explain the process of the interview and ask for questions*
- *Obtain informed consent (confidentiality and recording)*
- *Recall the need for honest answers, as there are no good or bad answers*

Demographic Data

Name, nationality and region of origin, age, gender, level of study completed/reached, field of study, position and organization, type of contract, length of contract, number of expatriates in the organization's branch in Djibo

Introduction Questions

1. Could you sum up your humanitarian path for me?
2. Why the humanitarian sector? What brought you there?
3. And how is humanitarian work actually? What is especially good, what is especially bad?
4. Does the humanitarian sector match your expectations? Is it better or worse than you had imagined? Does it correspond?

Questions on the Job

- *After each answer, ask how the participant feels about that*
5. Does the job you are currently doing match your studies? Yes, no, more or less?
6. Does it match your capacities? Is it a lot to handle, or would feel ready for more?
7. Do you feel that you learn new things at work or do you feel that you are familiar with most aspects of your job?
8. Are you offered formal trainings at work? Do you attend some on your own?
9. At work, are your tasks specific or varied?
10. Would you say that your job is easy, difficult, complex, simple? Are there challenges?
11. Do you work more as a team or independently?
12. When you are at work, do you feel that your task is a small part of the whole or that you are in charge of a whole task on your own, from A to Z?
13. How meaningful do you feel your job is?
14. How autonomous do you feel in your job? In the setting of your priorities, your schedule?
15. How would you describe the feedback that you receive about your work? Does it come from your supervisor(s), your colleagues, the beneficiaries, the task itself (e.g. if you are on schedule, if you respected your budget)?
16. How do you feel regarding salary, insurance, job security? How does it compare to the effort you invest in your job?

Reflection Questions

17. Would you say that you like your job a little bit, more or less, a lot?
18. What do you particularly appreciate in your job? What could be improved?
19. How do you evaluate your performance compared to when you started in the humanitarian world?
20. How do you evaluate your motivation compared to when you started in the humanitarian world?
21. What is the main thing that motivates you to give it all at work?
22. How do you feel as a member of the national staff in Djibo? How do you compare yourself to the expatriate workers?

<div align="center">Or</div>

How do you feel as an expatriate worker in Djibo?
How would you describe the local staff in your organization? Do you think they could one day do your job? Work as expatriate staff?

<div align="center">Or</div>

How does it feel to be back as national staff after having been an expatriate employee?
How would you describe the local staff in your organization? Do you think they could one day do your job? Work as expatriate staff?

23. I was told recently that the organizations that comprised of an international worker were more trustworthy. What is your opinion on this?
24. Would you like to be an expatriate yourself? How would you evaluate the chances of it happening?
25. How would you describe your possibilities of advancement/employment? Are there open doors for you at the moment? In the future?
26. If you were to go to a job interview outside of the humanitarian world and be asked: "What has the humanitarian world taught you? What 'luggage' do you feel you have gained?", what would you answer?
27. If you were to leave the humanitarian world, what would be the reason?
28. If you had the opportunity to change job tomorrow and pick any other job, what would it be?

- *Sum up the answers of the participant, ask for rectifications and additions*
- *Ask for questions*
- *Thank the participant*

Appendix IV – Interview Guide for the Context Interviews (Beneficiaries)

- *Present the research and the researcher*
- *Explain the use and disclosure of the data and confidentiality measures*
- *Explain the process of the interview and ask for questions*
- *Obtain informed consent (confidentiality and recording)*
- *Recall the need for honest answers, as there are no good or bad answers*

Demographic Data

Name, nationality and region of origin, age, gender, level of study completed/reached, field of study

Introduction Questions

1. Could you sum up your path as a refugee for me?
2. Within the camp, do you occupy a specific position? Do you work as connection agent for some organizations?
3. How frequently do you get to work with humanitarian staff?

Questions on the Humanitarian Workforce

4. How do you perceive the humanitarian workers in the camp/Djibo?
5. How would you evaluate the work that they do? Their level of motivation?
6. Does it vary a lot among the different organizations or is it rather similar?
7. Compared to when you arrived in the camp, how would you evaluate the performance and the motivation of the humanitarian workers?
8. Do you perceive differences between the work of the national and the international staff?
9. How would you evaluate your trust in the humanitarian workers? Does it vary depending upon the provenience of the workers?

- *Sum up the answers of the participant, ask for rectifications and additions*
- *Ask for questions*
- *Thank the participant*

- *Present the research and the researcher*
- *Explain the use and disclosure of the data and confidentiality measures*
- *Explain the process of the interview and ask for questions*
- *Obtain informed consent (confidentiality and recording)*
- *Recall the need for honest answers, as there are no good or bad answers*

Demographic Data

Name, nationality and region of origin, age, gender, level of study completed/reached, field of study

Questions on the Humanitarian Workers

1. How would you describe the changes that the arrival of the refugees has brought for Djibo?
2. How would you describe the opportunities that the arrival of the refugees has offered and still offers to the Burkinabe youth?
3. How would you describe the work of the humanitarian staff in Djibo?
4. Does it vary a lot among the different organizations or is it rather similar?
5. How do you perceive the national staff? The international staff?
6. I was told recently that the organizations that comprised of an international worker were more trustworthy. What is your opinion on this?
7. What do you think will happen with the national workers when the refugees return to Mali?
8. How would you evaluate the chances that the workers who came from the rest of the country stay in Djibo once the refugees have returned to Mali?

- *Sum up the answers of the participant, ask for rectifications and additions*
- *Ask for questions*
- *Thank the participant*

Appendix VI – Form of Consent

I, undersigned, _____, agree that the information provided during my interview with Florence Allard-Buffoni be utilized for academic purposes, within the frame of the redaction of her thesis. I understand that, if I wish so, my anonymity can be preserved, meaning that it will be impossible to trace the source of my words. I understand that this interview is not linked to [NGO where I was an intern] in any way.

□ I agree to be recorded (audio)   /   □ I don't agree
□ I agree to be identified in the text   /   □ I don't agree

Signed in _____ on _____

Signature: _____