

**Construction of Interpersonal Helping Behaviours
Exhibited Among Pirate Taxi Drivers in The City of
Lusaka: An Embedded Mixed Methods Design**

BY

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**A Thesis Submitted to the University of Zambia in Fulfilment of
the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in
Sociology**

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DECLARATION

I declare that the work I have presented in this thesis entitled “The Construction of Interpersonal Helping Behaviours Exhibited Among Pirate Taxi Drivers: An Embedded Mixed Methods Design” is to the best of my knowledge my own work. The work contains no material submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of an academic degree at this University or any other University. I have however acknowledged all other works.

Omedy Mweene

Dated this 23th March 2021

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

I, Chair of the Thesis Committee and supervisor, recommend that this thesis has fulfilled the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of University of Zambia and the Zimbabwe Open University.

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Abstract

This study aimed at constructing interpersonal helping behaviours that are exhibited among pirate taxi drivers. A mixed methods study embedded design guided this study. One hundred and sixty nine pirate taxi drivers who were enlisted using cluster random sampling responded to a survey questionnaire. A further 41 among them participated in the interviews and focus group discussions. Data was analysed using SPSS version 20 and qualitative data was analysed in words. The findings show that pirate taxi drivers were less proactive to help. However, they had the propensity to be reactive when helping either unsolicited or solicited as these two forms had the highest frequency of instances. More than three quarters of the pirate taxi drivers $n = 133$ (78.7%) exhibited low egoistic helping behaviour, as compared to a quarter $n = 33$ (19.5%) who exhibited moderate egoistic helping behaviour. A paltry $n = 3$ (1.8%) exhibited high egoistic helping behaviour. The sample score was $9.6 (\pm 2.4 \text{ SD})$ and this was within the low category of egoistic helping behaviour. More than three quarters of the pirate taxi drivers $n = 119$ (70.4%) exhibited high altruistic helping behaviour, as compared to less than a quarter $n = 28$ (16.6%) who exhibited low altruistic helping behaviour. Twenty-two (13.0%) exhibited moderate altruistic helping behaviour. The sample score was $11.9 (\pm 3.2 \text{ SD})$ and this was within the high category of altruistic helping behaviour. The dominant form of help rendered helping where an individual was in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer). While the dominant form of helping was, this study shows that the pirate taxi drivers demonstrated a kind of favouritism in helping behaviour. Favouritism was rather more in two of the types of helping behaviour and this included helping those who were characteristically like the pirate taxi drivers in terms of work culture and adherence to social norms of cooperation. Solicited reactive behaviour predicts with certainty altruistic behaviour as $p < 0.002$. Solicited reactive behaviour does not predict with certainty egoistic behaviour as $p > 0.665$. There was a weak downhill negative linear relationship between egoism and the four types of help that were rendered. For altruism, there were variations in linear relationship with the four types of help that were rendered, which were not statistically significant. The motives for helping thematically included helping for the sake of gaining rewards, as an aspect of empathic joy, to demonstrate brotherliness, as a conscientiousness inherent activity, as a matter of civic virtue and avoiding punishments from group members. The conclusion of this study has added to the dearth of literature which has not paid to helping behaviour in that proactive and reactive helping can be detected in small-scale informal societies of an urban setting. Although this behaviour may be interpreted in a variety of different ways, these results support a theoretical model suggesting that prosocial and reactive altruistic behaviours exist across homogenous social groups, despite vast social economic differences.

Key words: interpersonal, helping behaviours, pirate taxi drivers, altruism, egoism

1.1 Introduction

This chapter relates to the research problem. The background, statement of the problem, aim, overarching question, the conceptual framework and the motivation of the study are the building blocks.

1.2 Background

The rapid urbanisation in developing countries has led to an unprecedented increase in demand for mobility services (Kumar et al. 2016:102) and this has not spared taxi operators. Conventional taxis face a continued service deterioration in Sub-Saharan African cities despite the rapidly growing demand for public transportation. According to Iles (2005), the sources of the declining urban transport services in developing countries include the high concentration of urban population, economic activities and motorization or increase in car ownership in major cities, the limited supply side and weak regulatory institutions. Different cities have adopted varying approaches to tackle this problem; for example, Lusaka managed to maintain bus operations by setting up mini bus stations and yet has ignored taxi stations. Despite these measures, service declining seems relentless considering the modal share of taxis.

Syabri et al., (2013) noted that the rapidly increasing demand of paratransit or informal public transport (IPT) in fast-growing cities of developing countries has been confirmed by many as a response to the inadequacy of services, poor management, financial problem and lack of proper maintenance of the conventional public transport system. In generic terms, IPT takes many forms; thus, Losby et al. (2002) posit that defining informal work presents many challenges and perhaps, the only way to define is to identify its characteristics. With this understanding, IPT is commonly defined in terms of how it works especially in the sense of how it does not work like formal transportation (Cities Development Initiative for Asia (CDIA, 2011).

The economic hardships being experienced in Zambia in the last two decades have led men and women to devise coping strategies to meet economic and social shocks as regular sources of income get more and more constrained. In Zambia's economy where the transport sector is not fully developed, pirate taxis are an important component in the urban integrated transport system. They provide passengers with convenient, rather comfortable, and efficient service.

Pirating is observable in Lusaka at most major bus stops or road junctions. One would see fleets of pirate taxis parked. One would also see the hassle of competition for customers and open differences or conflicts among pirate taxi drivers. One often wonders whether with these open differences these pirate taxi drivers would help each other if one saw the need to help a colleague voluntarily or if a colleague solicited for help. These wonderings stem from the fact that individual pirate taxi drivers operate as firms do. Firms are not heterogeneous as pirate taxi drivers are since pirate taxi drivers possess to greater extent homogenous internal or personal resources. This implies that pirate taxi drivers have very little differentiation of applying business strategies because they have similar resource mixes. This however, is contrary to what the Resource Based View Theory posits (see Madok, 2001; Priem and Butler, 2001) and the pirate taxi drivers are unlikely to exhibit pro social behaviour.

Behaviour is considered "prosocial" when it benefits others, particularly when the benefit for that other is the primary goal (Hinde and Groebel 1991). Life has shown that some people have a tendency to be empathically aroused upon observing the needs of another, and sometimes their compassionate reaction leads them to help the other. Sometimes people are not necessarily empathically aroused when observing the other's needs but help nonetheless because they have internalised a moral principle to care about the welfare of others. It should be appreciated that helping behaviours being activities entailing more commitment than spontaneous assistance in which time is given freely to benefit another person or group is a common element in society

(Wilson, 2000; Podsakoff et al., 2011) and these helping behaviours can be targeted toward individuals or groups, and can occur in different contexts. Small groups are not known to embrace helping behaviour because of a dearth of research and this is true for pirate taxi drivers in Zambia who have been observed to do peculiar things at a funeral involving a colleague. Pirate taxi drivers in Zambia act as a collectivity and continue to organise themselves spontaneously at road junctions forming collectivises that appear to embrace a helping spirit where immediate parties in the vicinity subscribe willingly to an exchange of help where all private taxi drivers are actively involved in the provision of good order and workable helping environment. They have however, not organised themselves as workers would do in an organisation and as such, it is not possible to predict of helping behaviour like that which is elicited in formal organisations.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Often called paratransit because of their flexible stops, pirate taxis make up the bulk of private transport in the urban areas of Zambia. Despite their ubiquity and importance, these sub culture informal systems have helping behaviours that are poorly understood. Although much research has examined how helping behaviour in work teams especially in formal organisations, comparatively few works have examined helping behaviours in informal groups (Ehrhart, 2004; Bommer et al., 2007; Choi, 2009) such that very little especially about helping behaviour is known about them. What is only known in formal organisations suggests that helping behaviour tends to promote unity and performance in a social group (Farh et al., 1997; Chen et al., 1998; Van Dyne and LePine, 1998; Farh et al., 2004). Even though prior research in helping behaviour has addressed what motivates helping behaviour in formal organisations (Rushton, 1980; Linn and LePine, 1998; Hirsh et al., 2011; Spitzmuller and Van Dyne, 2013), from a psychological perspective, a gap still remains of eliciting helping behaviour in informal groups from a sociological perspective. There still remains a research gap.

What is yet to be established relate to under what conditions can an individual or an informal group be mostly likely be available to help a member of his own group. The forms of helping behaviours, types of helping behaviour and type of help rendered among pirate taxi drivers remain un known. These gaps in knowlegde form the basis of this study.

1.4 Aim of the Study

Based on the ontological and epistemological assumptions selected to structure the type of reality for this study, this study aimed at constructing interpersonal helping behaviours that are exhibited among pirate taxi drivers.

1.4.1 Objectives of the Study

- 1) To determine the correlates of egoistic and altruistic helping behaviours (Befiting the realist ontology employing the logic of deduction and linked with the overarching research question).
- 2) To describe based on sample estimates the prevailing forms of helping behaviours among pirate taxi drivers (Befiting the realist ontology and linked with research question number 1).
- 3) To describe based on sample estimates the elicited types of helping behaviours among pirate taxi drivers (Befiting the realist ontology employing the logic of induction and linked with research question number 2).
- 4) To describe based on sample estimates the dominant type of help rendered by drivers? (Befiting the realist ontology employing the logic of induction and linked with research question number 3).
- 5) To produce a technical account from everyday life world lay concepts, from the motives exhibited of the helping behaviours among pirate taxi drivers (Befiting the nomnalist ontology employing the logic of abduction and linked with research question number 3).

1.5 Research Questions

In this thesis, the researcher desires to focus on helping behaviours that occur within and beyond “pirating” (e.g. extra role behaviours that are not part of the job description). The following is the main research question and subsidiary research questions.

1.5.1 Main Research Question

Why do pirate taxi drivers engage in the exhibited helping behaviours?

1.5.2 Subsidiary Research Questions

- 1) What are forms helping behaviours are exhibited among pirate taxi drivers?
- 2) What types of interpersonal helping behaviours are exhibited among pirate taxi drivers?
- 3) What is the dominant type of help that is rendered by drivers?

1.6 Conceptual Framework

At the cross level of analyses as shown in the conceptual framework below, the researcher seeks to understand the types of helping behaviours among pirate taxi drivers who operate at taxi ranks. Below the researcher show the conceptual framework for this study (See Figure 1). The conceptual framework is drwn deductively and inductively from the liturature guided by helping bahaviour theories rooted in the motivation perspective—egoism, altruism thesis (Smith and Mackie, 2000; Batson et. al.,2002; Aronson et. al., 2004), social identity theory (Tajfel andTurner, 1986; Turner et al., 1987; Hogg and Terry, 2000) and arousal and affect theories (Eisenberg and Fabes, 1991). A number

of distal social demographic characteristics of the helper as shown in Box 1 tend to influence helping behaviour which could be categorised as into three distinct forms and these are unsolicited proactive helping behaviour (Box 2a), unsolicited reactive helping behaviour (Box 2b) and solicited reactive helping behaviour (Box 2c) and the eventual help rendered as shown in Box 3. This study is based on three assumptions. The first set of assumptions is that helping motives do not correlate with helping behaviour. The second is that the pirate taxi drivers' helping behaviour does not correlate with type of help rendered. These assumptions are modelled in the conceptual map shown below in figure 1.1.

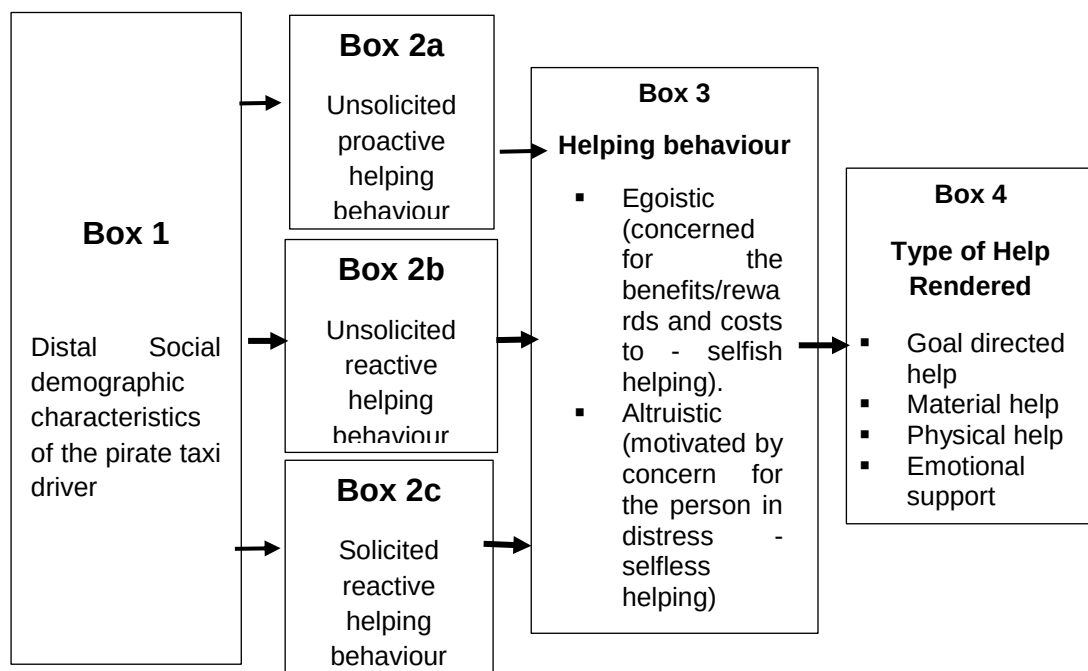


Figure 1: Conceptual map of Helping Behaviour

1.7 Motivation for this study

Researchers conduct research because of an interest or motivation to do so (Dixon-Woods et al., 2007). In this section of the thesis, I want to present personal values and motivations that stimulated me to pursue this study. Like

Barney G Glaser, Ph.D.; Hon PhD who co-authored grounded theory, all I do is sociology in every facet of life, work, recreation, family etc. My life is sociology driven and directed. Often taxi drivers are part of the paratransit because of their ubiquity and make up the bulk of private transport in the urban areas of Zambia. Despite their ubiquity and importance, these sub culture informal systems have helping behaviours that are still poorly understood.

I have twice attended burials of a pirate taxi driver they have bought coffins at each instance as well as buried their colleagues. Apart from this, many times these drivers have requested colleagues, in this competitive environment, to ferry what they call their own clientele from the business pool clientele. This kind of helping behaviour is intriguing. I noted that there were indeed two peculiar forms of helping behaviours that tended to naturally occur in two different contexts: in the context of one's belonging (i.e. collective citizenship behaviours as drivers, CCBs) and outside the does not require a huge leap of imagination to consider what happens in collectives. I wondered what must have been happening as helping behaviours at the pirate taxi ranks. I was moved to include in this part of the thesis because each time people saw me with the pirate taxi drivers at the taxi rank, I was persistently asked, "Why are you found with pirate taxi drivers? Why did you pick on this topic?" These questions are about interests or values in research. Therefore, at this point, it is expedient for me to explain further that my interest in sociology is human behaviour and in this field of study and the stated topic in particular, one sees human behaviour. As such, I had to unravel reality, this required conducting an inquiry, and this was the birth of this PhD.

CHAPTER TWO – REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.1 Introduction

The literature presented in this chapter focuses on what has been done on the subject and elucidates gaps in knowledge. The researcher places each work in the context of its contribution to the understanding of the research problem being studied. The researcher sheds light on any gaps in previous research, and uses the review to locate my research problem. The main theories used in **social psychology** and **sociology** are presented outlining their shortfalls justifying the need to develop an idiographic theory.

Prior to the main review, the researcher conducted a scoping of the literature to establish whether a study on the topic had been previously conducted and to estimate the quantity of research with a view to gain an indication of the range of subjects covered in the body of work. This included searching for existing reviews and primary studies consistent with the review's objectives. The objectives were to establish what is the trend in the literature on the research questions and associated helping behaviour attributes. One needs to know what research exists and how others have treated a particular topic so one can determine what additional research is needed. Prior studies provide a foundation, background, and context for new research; it establishes a bridge between the (proposed) research project and the extant knowledge base. Based on the research questions the researcher identified the following critical thematic areas which form the body of the literature.

- a) Why people engage helping behaviours.
- b) Phenomena around Pro social Behaviours Forms helping behaviours.
- c) Classification - forms of interpersonal helping behaviours.
- d) Type of help that is rendered in collectives.
- e) Helping behaviour theories.

The researcher scoped electronic data bases searching for key study thematic key words which were published only in peer reviewed articles. The articles

were from the following data bases: JSTOR, Wiley, Blackwell, Science direct, LISA (CSA interface); CINAHL (Ovid interface) 05; Health STAR (Ovid interface) HAPI (Health and Psychosocial Instruments Ovid interface) Emerald Group Publishing Ltd, Oxford Journals, Policy Press Journals, Sage Online Journals. Keyword indexing systems, Boolean terms, word truncation and wildcards were used to increase search effectiveness. Search phrases had to appear in a reference title, abstract, or keywords only. The search key words included pirate taxi drivers , helping behaviours, typologies of help seeking behaviours, motives for helping behaviours and helping behaviour theories.

The researcher took particular note was of references that were frequently cited in the bibliographies and appearing to be classics. References were selected that reflected original formulations. In some instances, where content within references was repetitive, the researcher had to select these for re-analysis. Search strategies were repeated five times during the study period as the literature was updated, and results are current to May 2017. The review showed that not even one study has been done on the topic involving pirate taxi drivers in Zambia.

The literature review is arranged or classified according to themes that provide an appraisal of what the field offers. Since the author is trained in sociology and social work, the emphasis of this literature review takes such an orientation. Nevertheless, examples outside these areas are provided to show that the analytic framework offered can be easily applied to helping behaviour studies while drawing from a wide range of disciplines.

2.2 Generic Phenomena around Pro social Behaviours

Pro social behaviour may take many forms, from the trivial (giving directions to a stranger who is lost) to the magnificent (risking your life to save a drowning victim). It may involve one person helping another or a person helping through

an intermediary organization (Varadarajan and Menon 1988). The term prosocial behaviour covers a wide range of phenomena such as helping, sharing, self-sacrifice, and norm observing. All those phenomena have one common characteristic – namely, that an individual's action is oriented toward protection, maintenance, or enhancement of well-being of an external social object: a specific person, a group, a society as a whole, a social institution or a symbolic being, for example, an ideology or system of morality” (Reykowski 1982: 378).

Prosocial behaviours are positive social acts carried out to promote the well-being of others and these are considered as voluntary behaviours intended to benefit others, for instance, behaviours that have the objective of helping, sharing, and comforting (Eisenberg et al., 1985; 1999; Brief and Motowidlo, 1986). Given the importance of prosocial behaviour, its assessment is essential (Zimmer-Gembeck et al. 2005; Bandy and Wilhelm, 2008; Carlo et al., 2010). Although most of the researchers agree that under the umbrella of pro-sociality, each of the different domains of prosocial behaviour (i.e., helping, comforting, and sharing) have a similar underlying motivation. Batson et al. (2007, 243) declares four possible ultimate goals behind prosocial behaviour:

- a) benefiting oneself, egoism,
- b) benefiting another individual, altruism,
- c) benefiting a group, collectivism and
- d) Upholding a moral principle, principism.

Batson et al. also notes that these goals are not mutually exclusive; individual can have one or all of them as ultimate goal while he or she is behaving in a prosocial manner. These and other possible motivations of prosocial behaviour are examined later on.

But what constitutes help? The answer appears to vary across disciplines. Economists (e.g., Margolis 1982) focus on the consequences to the helper: Behaviour is deemed "helping" only if the costs of the behaviour exceed the benefits; that is, there is some sacrifice involved. Sociologists (Piliavin and Charng, 1990) and social psychologists (see Krebs and Miller, 1985) focus on

the motives behind the help: Is the motive to enhance the welfare of the needy (altruistic motive) or is it to somehow enhance a person's own welfare (egoistic motive)? The marketing discipline appears to focus on consequences to the help recipient-behaviour is deemed helping when it enhances the recipient's welfare. Hence, donating time, money, bloods, body parts, and so on are all deemed helping behaviours. Despite these differences, there is a growing consensus that to understand helping behaviour, it is important to understand all of these facets: the consequences to the recipient and the helper and the motives for providing help (Simon, 1993).

Prosocial behaviour is always positive and covers a broad range of activities toward other persons, including sympathy, cooperation, helping, and comforting. Altruistic behaviour is always prosocial, but prosocial behaviour is not always altruistic. Altruistic people are considered those who assist others primarily for other- oriented or moral reasons without regard to external rewards and punishments (Carlo et al., 1991). It is important to clarify the difference between prosocial behaviour in general and altruism, because although these concepts are connected, they are also different. Carlo (2006) identified altruism as a category of prosocial tendencies, while prosocial behaviours are “voluntary actions that are intended to help or benefit another individual or group of individuals” (Eisenberg and Mussen, 1989: 3).

While this study is about helping behaviours in informal settings or groups, the researcher presents helping behaviours in formal groups which are taken as organisations and this is because, there is a paucity of research related to helping behaviours in informal groups like pirate taxi drivers who operate at a taxi rank. Since its emergence in the literature, organizational citizenship behaviour (OCB), defined as individual behaviour that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognised by formal rewards, and in the aggregate, promotes organizational effectiveness (Organ, 1988; Organ et al., 2006), has received an increasing amount of scholarly and managerial attention. While various conceptualizations of OCB have been developed, there is a consensus that OCB consists of five distinct dimensions, including helping behaviour,

courtesy, sportsmanship, conscientiousness, and voice behaviour (Organ et al., 2006). Among these five dimensions, helping behaviour has been examined most frequently because it has the strongest implications on overall organizational performance (Podsakoff et al., 2000; Whiting et al., 2008).

According to Mossholder et al. (2011), helping behaviour refers to taking voluntary actions to help co-workers with work-related problems and issues. Given that helping behaviour is a strong predictor of collective or group effectiveness and performance, an important research stream in the literature focusses on understanding how helping behaviour is motivated using various theoretical perspectives, such as social exchange theory (e.g. Deckop et al., 2003; Liu et al., 2011), leader-member exchange (LMX) theory (e.g. Deluga, 1994; Wang et al., 2005), equity theory (e.g. Spitzmuller et al., 2006; Williams et al., 2002), social network theory (e.g. Bowler and Brass, 2006; Venkataramani and Dalal, 2007), social learning theory (e.g. Bommer et al., 2003; Zagenczyk et al., 2008), social information processing theory (e.g. Bommer et al., 2003; Newton et al., 2008), transformational leadership theory (e.g. Felfe and Schyns, 2004; Podsakoff et al., 1996), and transactional leadership theory (e.g. Boerner et al., 2007; Walumbwa et al., 2008).

Even though prior research in helping behaviour has addressed what motivates helping behaviour from various important theoretical underpinnings, one fundamental yet critical question in the literature remains ambiguous. That is, very little is known about different forms of helping behaviour that may be exhibited (Spitzmuller and Van Dyne, 2013). This particular research gap has resulted in Spitzmuller and Van Dyne's (2013) recent effort on contrasting different forms of helping behaviour. In particular, Spitzmuller and Van Dyne classify helping behaviour into proactive and reactive forms using seven dimensions, including primary theoretical orientation, primary focus of helper, primary driver of helping, dominant identity orientation of helper, preferred type of exchange, temporal stability of helping, and primary level of intended consequences. Moreover, given that different forms of helping behaviour are motivated by different factors, Spitzmuller and Van Dyne further argue that

proactive helping behaviour is exhibited as an attempt to satisfy the helper's personal needs, whereas reactive helping behaviour is response to the needs of others and/or prior positive treatment provided by others. Although Spitzmuller and Van Dyne's work can be considered one of the first scholarly studies attempting to explore and differentiate different forms of helping behaviour, it focusses much on differentiating forms of helping behaviour from the helper's perspective rather than from identifying behavioural characteristics exhibited by both the helper and the recipient that, together, generate a particular form of helping behaviour. In other words, while Spitzmuller and Van Dyne's initiative advances the literature by discussing how different forms of helping behaviour are motivated, researchers still have limited knowledge on how each of the different forms of helping behaviour is determined by both the helper and the recipient.

Meanwhile, because helping behaviour describes an employee's voluntary actions aimed at helping another co-worker with task related issues (Mossholder et al., 2011), the occurrence of helping behaviour must involve the presence of the helper and the recipient. As such, researchers believe that classifying helping behaviour requires the inclusion of behavioural characteristics exhibited by the helper and the recipient. Accordingly, researchers attempt to develop a new theoretical classification that identifies different forms of helping behaviour using the helper's and the recipient's behavioural characteristics. In particular, this study has two principal goals. First, because the occurrence of helping behaviour may be facilitated by the recipient's request, this study attempts to classify forms of helping behaviour using the presence of the recipient's explicit solicitation. Even though the recipient's solicitation frequently results in helping behaviour (Burke et al., 1976; Kaplan and Cowen, 1981), solicitation of help might be implicit, or absent in some contexts. In such cases, the demonstration of helping behaviour requires the helper's proactiveness in understanding whether the recipient may or is experiencing task related issues. Given this, this study also includes the helper's proactiveness in understanding the recipient's task environments when categorizing forms of helping behaviour. It is, however, worth emphasizing that

researchers presume that the helper has complete access to the recipient's task environments, which allows the helper to know if helping is needed.

Despite increased scholarly attention, little is known about how each of the different forms of helping behaviour is motivated (Spitzmuller and Van Dyne, 2013). As a result, the second principal goal of this study is to discuss the theoretical perspective that can best explain the underlying motives for each of the different forms of helping behaviour classified by this study (Spitzmuller and Van Dyne, 2013). Help which is rendered is done at three levels and these are discussed in the preceding sections.

2.2.1 Multilevel Perspectives of Prosocial Behaviour

One of the key concepts in helping behaviour studies relates to prosocial behaviour. Prosocial behaviour represents a broad category of acts that are defined by some significant segment of society and/or one's social group as generally beneficial to other people. Attention to prosocial behaviour originated with McDougall (1908), who argued that prosocial behaviour is the result of "tender emotions" created by the parental instinct, but most current research has its roots in lay and scientific reactions to the nonresponsive bystanders in the brutal murder of Katherine "Kitty" Genovese in 1964.

In this section, specifically, the researcher examine prosocial behaviour from three distinct, but related, levels of analysis: macro, meso, and micro or interpersonal.

2.2.1 Macro Level of Analysis

the researcher begin the section on the macro level by discussing prosocial behaviour performed by individuals within an organizational context, with our major focus on volunteering and related behaviour. The second part of this section explores the dynamics of cooperation, in which the outcomes of individuals are mutually interdependent and assistance to others has direct implications for personal and collective outcomes.

2.2.2 Meso Level of Analysis

Research at the meso level of analysis examines helping at organisational level. Because this has been the traditional focus of research on helping in social psychology and relatively extensive reviews on this topic are available (e.g., Schroeder et al. 1995), the researcher consider this level of prosocial behaviour first to establish a benchmark from which to extend our presentation, but are relatively brief in our coverage. Much of the work at the meso level of analysis, particularly from the mid-1960s until the early 1980s, investigated when people would help in emergency and nonemergency situations in larger group. Later research and theory, in the 1980s and 1990s, considered why people help, examining processes that motivated prosocial action. The most recent developments in the field have expanded the scope of this perspective to examine nonconscious and intergroup influences on helping.

To organize the large number of research findings that were accumulating before the 200s, general frameworks were developed that modeled the decision process that determines whether individuals will intervene. The first of these, Latané & Darley's (1970) decision model of bystander intervention, proposed that whether or not a person renders aid depends upon the outcomes of a series of prior decisions that involve recognizing the situation as one requiring assistance, deciding to take personal responsibility, and deciding how to help. Although the model was initially developed to understand how people respond in emergencies requiring immediate assistance, aspects of the model have been successfully applied to many other situations, ranging from preventing someone from driving drunk to making a decision about whether to donate a kidney to a relative (Schroeder et al., 1995).

The cost-reward analysis of helping (Piliavin et al., 1981) assumed an economic view of human behavior—people are motivated to maximize their rewards and to minimize their costs. From this perspective, people are relatively rational and primarily concerned about their self-interest. In an emergency, potential helpers analyze the circumstances, weigh the probable costs and rewards of alternative courses of action, and then arrive at a decision that will result in the best

personal outcome for them. Research findings are consistent with the central tenet of the cost-reward approach. Situational factors that make bystander interventions more likely to occur include those that decrease the net costs of helping (e.g., by framing helping as an opportunity for personal development; Perlow and Weeks 2002), increase potential rewards of helping (e.g., by enhancing mood; Gueguen and De Gail 2003), or increase the costs of not helping (e.g., by inducing guilt or shame for inaction) (Dovidio et al. 1991). Why people help at the mesolevel is rather very unique. Although these approaches effectively modeled whether people would help in a given situation, research before 2000s moved to the question of why people engage in prosocial behavior. In general, approaches to the question of why people help focused on three types of mechanisms: (a) learning, (b) social and personal standards, and (c) arousal and affect. The learning explanation applied general principles from learning theories, particularly operant conditioning and social learning, to the acquisition of helping skills and of beliefs about why these skills should be used to benefit others (Grusec et al., 2002).

Socialization experiences (Staub, 2002) and developmental factors (Eisenberg and Fabes, 1991) received considerable attention within this framework. The social and personal standards approach emphasized how norms such as social responsibility and reciprocity (Dovidio, 1984) can promote helping as people strive to maintain positive self-images or achieve their ideals (Schwartz and Howard, 1982) and fulfill personal needs (Omoto and Snyder, 1995). This perspective contributed to the shift in emphasis from spontaneous, single-encounter helping to longer term, sustained prosocial behaviors such as volunteering, and thus contributed to the emergence of the macro level of analysis.

Arousal and affect approaches recognized the important role that emotion plays in motivating prosocial action. Affect is a fundamental element of many potential helping situations. People are aroused by the distress of others; this reaction appears even among very young children and occurs across cultures (Eisenberg and Fabes 1991). Moreover, arousal and affect theories generally shared a guiding principle with learning theory that people are motivated to

behave in ways that help them attain some goal—improving the person’s own situation (egoistic motivation) or, in some cases, improving the welfare of another person (altruistic motivation). Although most researchers agree that empathic arousal is fundamental to many kinds of helping (Davis, 1994), there is much less agreement about the nature of this emotion and how it actually motivates people to help.

2.2.3 Micro Level of Analysis (Interpersonal helping behaviour)

Whereas much of the work at the meso level of analysis was stimulated by the question of why people often do not help others in need (Darley and Latané 1968), scholars who studied the origins of prosocial tendencies and individual differences in those tendencies were initially puzzled by the fact that a behaviour they thought should not occur (i.e., helping another person at some sacrifice to oneself) interpersonally occurred quite frequently.

In this section, we look at some conceptions of personal and interpersonal prosocial behavior. The researcher also examines relationships between personal and interpersonal happiness. Blumberg (2012) pointed out a number of features of mindfulness based on studies employing factor analysis, some of which include “acting with awareness and nondistractedness; being nonjudgmental, at least temporarily; nonreactivity to inner experience; [and] observing and attending to sensations, feelings, and thoughts (p. 646).” Mayton (2009) found mindfulness, as defined by living in the present, is associated with a number of helping behaviour characteristics including self-control, empathy for others, and nonviolent dispositions. Proponents of mindfulness, such as Thich Nhat Hanh, emphasize the importance of combining mindful helping behaviour practices with prosocial action (Blumberg, 2012). Increasingly, contemporary approaches to interpersonal helping emphasize not only mindfulness but also social engagement in pursuit of social justice and human rights (Dockett, 2012). Another conception of interpersonal helping views the helper as an individual who possesses a particular set of values (e.g., nonviolence, pursuit of social justice), competencies (e.g., active listening, accurate empathy, effective communication, conflict resolution skills), and a

sense of efficacy reflected in the belief that interpersonal helping actions will produce desired outcomes (Nelson and Christie, 1995).

Deutsch (2006) has provided a useful set of concepts and principles for understanding interpersonal helping. First, Deutsch notes that it is generally assumed that interpersonal helping is inevitable and ubiquitous. The key question is whether individuals will deal with conflicts in ways that are constructive and strengthen the relationship, or in destructive ways that harm the relationship. Interpersonal non helping behaviour arises when the goals of the helper and helpee are incompatible or negatively interdependent such that gains by one party result in losses to the other party. In contrast, when positive interdependence characterizes the structure of the relationship, goals are not only compatible, but one party's goal attainment facilitates goal attainment for the other party. Positive interdependence encourages cooperation, whereas competition typically results when goals are negatively interdependent. Hence, the structure of the conflict, whether characterised by negative or positive interdependence, influences how parties behave with concern for others.

Behaviors associated with low concern for others' outcomes and high concern for own outcomes include fighting, forcing, dominating, competing, and contending. High concern for others' outcomes but low concern for own outcomes is reflected in behaviors such as accommodating, smoothing, and obliging. High concern for the outcomes of both the self and others is regarded as most desirable and characterizes a relationship based on problem-solving and collaboration (Thomas and Kilmann, 1974). Compromising behavior falls at a midpoint between low and high concern for self and other. Presumably, prosocial behaviors would correspond to actions driven by concerns for others as well as concerns for both; that is, accommodating, smoothing, obliging, problem-solving, and collaborating (Ting-Toomey et al., 1991). Moreover, in Western contexts the normative approach is for the parties to work with each other directly, listen carefully to each other, empathize with each other's perspective and feelings, and demonstrate their understandings by periodically paraphrasing the views of the other, all the while moving away from initial positions and toward a deeper understanding of the underlying concerns,

interests, needs, and aspirations of each other. The goal is to arrive at a mutually satisfying outcome that strengthens the relationship (Fisher et al., 1991; Fisher, 2005).

At present, there is a paucity of research on the relationship between “feeling to help” in interpersonal interactions. However, research on positive emotions would suggest it might be fruitful to explore relations and processes within and across personal and interpersonal levels. In particular, research on positive affect indicates that positive affect reduces contentious tactics and competition in gaiful situations while increasing the likelihood of concessions and cooperation (Baron, 1990; Carnevale & Isen, 1986). Moreover, positive affect has been shown to improve the quality of decision making and problem solving by enhancing creativity, flexibility, innovation, thoroughness, and efficiency (Isen, 2001). Nelson (2012) carried out the most thoroughgoing research and analysis of the literature on interpersonal helping. Nelson (2012) examined interpersonal, helping and all the permutations thereof, and concluded that there is a moderate degree of consistency between type of help being rendered and helpee motives and feeling of peace to help such that people who experience relatively more inner peace tend to be more inclined toward others, and people who are generous toward others tend to experience more personal peace. There also is a substantial amount of evidence in support of a relationship between interpersonal peacefulness and helpingl attitudes about inter personal relations, and the converse, though there is not enough research evidence to draw any firm conclusions about the relationship (Graziano and Tobin, 2009).

2.3 Classification of Helping Behaviour

Even though prior research in helping behaviour has addressed what motivates helping behaviour from various important theoretical underpinnings, one fundamental yet critical question in the literature remains ambiguous. That is, very little has been studied in a research project looking at classifying egoistic and altruistic type of helping behaviours. This particular research gap has

resulted in Spitzmuller and Van Dyne's (2013) effort on contrasting different forms of helping behaviour and these are limited to the two main classes which are discussed below.

2.3.1 Altruistic Helping Behaviour

First definitions of altruism are presented from more than four decades ago and after that altruism is observed from the point of view of modern social science (Coke et al., 1978; Dovidio et al., 1990; Krebs, 1975; Batson, 1991; Eisenberg and Miller, 1987). Definitions of altruism tend to contain tacit concepts of self-sacrifice, empathy, noble actions, and lack of expectation of external gain for the actor. And the endeavour of defining altruism for research purposes poses substantial difficulties, since, many types of prosocial interventions may or may not contain elements of altruism (Zahn-Waxler and Radke-Yarrow 1982: 110). Bar-Tal and Raviv (1982, 199) defines altruism as "one type of helping act that is the highest level of quality, is defined as voluntary and intentional behaviour carried out for its own end to benefit a person, as a result of moral conviction in justice and without expectations for external rewards [sic]." Krebs (1982, 73) defines altruism in a different manner, not necessarily as moral or just behaviour but as an idea of giving more than one's share or normally should give entailing a violation of balance of reciprocity that defines justice. Nearly a decade later Swap (1991: 156) gave a definition of altruism from the perspective of a „naive" observer; "behaviour intended to, and resulting in, benefit to a needy recipient unrelated to the actor; that does not intentionally benefit the actor or, especially, that involves some sacrifice by the actor; and which occurs outside a normal helping, or despite a help-inhibiting role." Swap (1991: 147-148) also ponders whether the existence of truly self-less behaviour depend on how the term is interpreted, such as relevancy of personal sacrifice as a requisite for altruism. If the actor receives unexpected psychological benefits (for instance tension relief), is the prosocial behaviour considered as something else than altruistic? He noted that revealing the source of the motivation for altruistic behaviour either within the person or in the context of the situation, helps in predicting the actor's probable behaviour in the future.

Altruism – voluntary and intentional help to another, offering no external reward, and perhaps even a cost, to the helper (Macaulay and Berkowitz, 1970; Simmons 1991) – tends to confound various dimensions of the altruistic act. Altruism is as such, a selfless concern for the welfare and wellbeing of others who are not related to us in any way (a friend or stranger). Some define it as the antonym of selfishness and egoism. Altruism is closely linked to or embedded in the ethical doctrine of many religions and cultures, which advocate that everybody has a moral obligation to benefit others without them considering what they would gain. Volunteerism is often considered a kind of expression of altruism. Volunteers devote their time to providing services to others without payment. Volunteerism is also regarded as a kind of moral resources and can significantly contribute to the social capital in civil societies (Andrew et al., 2012). As a result, it is often assumed that any type of altruistic act has the same causes and consequences, regardless of form. Helping – when the well-being of one is improved by the action of another (Dovidio et al., 2006:22) – is no better theorised and suffers from the same inconsistencies in research and findings.

Both for philosophers through the ages and for behavioural and social scientists today, the most intriguing and the most controversial question raised by helping behaviour is whether it provides evidence for altruistic motivation. Is it possible for one person to have another person's welfare as an ultimate goal rather than simply as an instrumental means of reaching the ultimate goal of one or another form of self-benefit? One rejoinder to the possibility of altruism that needs to be laid to rest at the outset goes like this. Even if it were possible for a person to be motivated to increase another's welfare, such a person would be pleased by attaining this desired goal, so even this apparent altruism would actually be a product of egoism. This argument, based on the general principle of psychological hedonism, is, in the words of Edward Tolman's (1923: 203) well-turned epithet, more brilliant than cogent.

Advocates of altruism reply that simply to show that self-benefits follow from benefiting someone does not prove that the self-benefits were the ultimate goal. It is at least logically possible that the self-benefits were unintended

consequences of reaching the ultimate goal of benefiting the other. If so, then the motivation was altruistic, not egoistic. Advocates of altruism claim more than logical possibility, of course. They claim that altruistic motivation is an empirical reality, that at least some people under some circumstances act with the ultimate goal of increasing another person's welfare.

They claim that people can want another person to be happy and free of distress, not because it is upsetting to them if he or she is not although it quite likely is upsetting but because they care about the other's welfare as an end in itself.

Altruism and helping can be either short-term and spontaneous or planned and long-term (Amato and Pearce 1980). Examples of the situations this research explores include whether a bystander would help someone who was injured or stranded, if an individual would take time to help another student solicit assistance by stuffing envelopes (Batson et al. 1997) or hanging posters (Dovidio et al., 1997), or give someone in need a portion of money they earned in an experiment (Stürmer et al. 2006).

2.3.2 Egoistic Helping Behaviour

Egoism might be an easier concept to comprehend than altruism. One can easily perceive why a person would help others in order to help oneself. Egoistic motivation has the ultimate goal of increasing a person's own welfare (Martin 1994). It has been further distinguished into two categories based on the focus of a person's concern for him- or herself (Batson 1987). The first category is the motivation to gain rewards for helping or avoid punishment for not helping (Cialdini et al. 1987). These rewards and punishments include intangible cognitive and psychological outcomes, as well as tangible benefits and penalties; they also may be conferred by self and these qualifies self-benefits.

Self-benefits can result from helping a person for whom one feels empathy. Such help can (a) reduce one's empathic arousal, which may be experienced as aversive; (b) enable one to avoid possible social and self-punishments for

failing to help; and (c) enable one to gain social and self-rewards for doing what is good and right. The empathy altruism hypothesis does not deny that this self-benefits of empathy-induced helping exist, but it claims that they are unintended consequences of the empathically aroused helper reaching the ultimate goal of reducing the other's suffering. Proponents of egoistic alternatives to the empathy-altruism hypothesis disagree; they claim that one or more of these self-benefits is the ultimate goal of empathy-induced helping.

As it was mentioned above, numerous motives might influence a single act and for this reason it is challenging to interpret the true motivation behind the act. Smith and Mackie describe egoism, as the desire to obtain personal rewards and that it could explain prosocial behaviour even when no concrete rewards are received. One might gain positive feeling as a reward from helping. They also posed a question, whether it is even possible for people to think, feel or act for the greater good of others without being motivated by self-interest? (Smith and Mackie 2007, 518.) Instinctively egoism would make the most sense when behaviour is observed from the perspective of evolution, when individual is trying to maximize social advantages in order to improve the probability of passing on one's genes. It might not be this simple as the researcher see when motivations for prosocial behaviour are observed other perspectives.

Batson et al. reviews how motivations of prosocial behaviour had been understood in the past. They were considered to be in the domain of philosophy, and many philosophers thought that everything one does is done in the end to benefit oneself, even when one helps others. This majority view in Western philosophy guided the thinking all the way to the 20th century; humans were commonly seen as egoistic in the field of psychology, economics and political science. Surely humans are able help others only to benefit from it themselves and when the ultimate goal is self-benefit motivation is considered as egoistic. Batson created a list of possible self-benefits one might gain from helping another person, in these cases supported by empirical evidence, prosocial behaviour is instrumental goal done to reach the ultimate egoistic goal. When considered from the point of view of volunteer work in Plan Finland, relevant goals from the list for the volunteers could be; reciprocity credit, thanks,

esteem, praise, honour, enhanced self-image, mood enhancement and empathic joy. Goals to be avoided could be; sanctions for norm violation, shame, guilt, and empathy costs or reduce of aversive arousal. (Batson et al. 2007, 242-243.)

Batson et al. (2007, 244) continues to explain these terms, reciprocity credit can be understood as self-benefit when a person helps another one and is aware that the individual who was helped is indebted the helper after the deed. Considering volunteer work at Plan Finland this cannot be the case as such, however, some people could act prosocially even though they know the targets are not able to return the favour. Those people help due to believe in generalised reciprocity, a feeling that one receives in equal measure to what one gives to the world in general. Another motivation might be that prosocial behaviour improves the person's reputation as helpful and compassionate individual, this in turn might increase the likelihood of others trusting and helping that individual.

Mood enhancement can lead to helping, when a person feels bad he or she might act prosocially to improve one's mood, one can feel better since helping others is considered as a good deed. Also if a person feels good prosocial behaviour can improve that mental state and maintain the positive feeling. The volunteer workers might at first participate to the activities to enhance their mood and associate it with pleasurable experiences that increases positive feelings, later they would continue this learned behaviour to achieve this egoistic goal (Batson et al. 2007: 244.) According to Batson et al. (2007, 245-246) many social psychologists have suggested norm of social responsibility as motivation for prosocial behaviour. That norm dictates that one should help a person who is dependent for one's help and no one else is around to help. It has been difficult to find evidence for the existence of this norm since it is quite vague and focus on personal norms, internalised rules of conduct that are acquired from social interaction, might provide better results. When personal norms are applied to prosocial behaviour it involves a sense of obligation to help in certain situations. Personal norms might predict behaviour better than general social norms, participating in volunteer work could be driven by the need to fulfill this obligation rather intention to benefit others.

It also could be that volunteers are trying to reduce aversive arousal, being aware that someone is suffering on the other side of the planet is unpleasant to those individuals. As instrumental goal they do volunteer work to reduce their own unpleasant feelings that arise from the knowledge of suffering individuals, thus, the ultimate goal is egoistic. Prosocial motivation could also arise from escaping discrepancy, observing the real state of the world (for example suffering children), and comparing it to ideal state one considers the world could be. The cognitive inconsistency produced from the realization can motivate the individual to reduce it by doing for example volunteer work. In this situation helping others was an instrumental goal and in the end benefited the mental state of the helper (Batson et al. 2007, 245-246.)

Summarily speaking, one's self-directed desires are those desires that only concern oneself, whereas one's other-directed desires are those desires that only concern others. The two types of pro social behaviours can be defined more technically as follows:¹

a) *Self-Directed Desires – Egoistic*

S's desire that p is self-directed if and only if: (a) p contains a representation of oneself as such, and (b) p does not contain a representation of someone as distinct from oneself.

b) *Other-Directed Desires – Altruistic*

S's desire that p is other-directed if and only if: (a) p does not contain a representation of oneself as such, and (b) p contains a representation of someone as distinct from oneself.

¹ These definitions are based on Sober and Wilson (1998: 225), though I have tried to make them more precise. They have been greatly improved by discussions with Aaron Zimmerman.

2.4 Collectivism and Principlism

According to Batson et al. the egoism-altruism debate has been in the centre of attention in the study of prosocial motivations for the past quarter century, though, two other sources of motivation are worth of contemplation. One is collectivism where the motivation and ultimate goal is to improve the wellbeing of a particular group as a whole (Batson et al. 2007, 250). Moral philosophers have supported other type of prosocial motivation due to illusive nature of altruism and empathy. And pointed out a possibility where collectivism can harm an outside group due to its limitations to focus on benefits of just one group of individuals. The philosophers support the idea of principlism, where the ultimate goal is to uphold a universal and impartial moral principle, for example justice. This raises the question of whether it is even possible to act only to uphold a moral principle. And is that just an instrumental goal that in the end benefits oneself, turning the motivation towards egoistic direction. For example, by avoiding social and self-punishments of shame and guilt when one does the right thing. Humans seem to be able to rationalize, quite effortlessly, one's behaviour to others and oneself. Stating why certain behaviour helps those who one cares about and is not contradictory to one's moral principles. Again it is at least theoretically possible that upholding a moral principle can be an ultimate goal thus making principlism a possible motivation for prosocial behaviour (Batson et al. 2007, 251.)

2.5 Helping behaviour in the workplace

Helping behaviour in the workplace results in work achievement, job enrichment and a support social context (Staw et al., 1994) and is voluntary, social, assisting, and cooperative behaviour (Brummelhuis et al., 2010). Sociologists are mainly concerned with the consequences for the helper, whereas the marketing scholars tend to focus on the consequences for the recipient of the help (Bendapudi et al., 1996). Sociologists on the other hand have traditionally focussed on the behaviour itself, either at an individual or interpersonal level (Stürmer et al., 2005) and determining the predictors of helping behaviour

(Amato, 1990). The challenge for any organisation providing services and relying on interpersonal interaction is ensuring that employees are willing to provide helping behaviours, ensuring that employees are willing to engage in formally unrewarded, and often invisible helping behaviours represents a significant challenge to services managers. Furthermore, helping behaviour is subject to a plethora of influences and is consequently very context specific. For the purposes of this paper the researcher assert that, that even though helping behaviours are dependent on individuals' willingness to provide them, an understanding of the determinants of helping behaviour, especially those pertaining to the social interaction between customers and employees, will allow services managers to better manage these service interactions and to foster employee helping behaviours within them.

2.6 Shih and Stauffer's Theoretical Classification of Helping Behaviour by Motives

Although help giving can be a response to individual perceptions, individuals may consciously choose to engage in help giving for certain purposes other than facilitating task accomplishment. Therefore, help giving can be better understood from a functional perspective where an underlying purpose or motive is responsible for help-giving engagement (Rioux and Penner, 2001; Mossholder et al., 2011).

More importantly, prior studies have demonstrated that helping behaviour is often a consequence of help-seeking behaviour (e.g. Burke et al., 1976; George and Jones, 1997; Kaplan and Cowen, 1981). In line with prior research, the researcher expect that the recipient plays an important role in determining the form of helping behaviour exhibited. In particular, the researcher propose that solicitation of help made by the recipient should be used as a dimension to classify helping behaviour. That is, helping behaviour can be broadly classified into unsolicited helping behaviour and solicited helping behaviour. Unsolicited helping behaviour describes helping behaviour exhibited by the helper before

the recipient's solicitation is made, whereas solicited helping behaviour occurs when the helper engages in helping behaviour after the recipient's solicitation is made.

As was mentioned previously, help-seeking behaviour often results in helping behaviour (e.g. Burke et al., 1976; George and Jones, 1997; Kaplan and Cowen, 1981). However, individuals who need help may not always engage in help-seeking behaviour because it can result in negative feelings such as perceived deficiency and experienced embarrassment (George and Jones, 1997; Nadler, 1991). As such, the demonstration of helping behaviour may partially rely on the helper's proactiveness in understanding the recipient's task environments. In other words, in the absence of the recipient's solicitation or prior to the recipient's solicitation, the helper's proactiveness plays a pivotal role in determining the form of helping behaviour exhibited. Thus, the second dimension that the researcher uses to classify helping behaviour centers on the helper. In particular, the researcher claims that the helper's proactiveness in understanding the recipient's task environments affects how and when helping behaviour is exhibited, and that there are three different levels of the helper's proactiveness in helping: proactive, reactive, and none.

The researcher contends that when the helper attempts to understand the recipient's task environments proactively, he or she constantly anticipates potential issues that the recipient will encounter in the near future. This highest level of proactiveness, therefore, reinforces the helper's engagement in helping behaviour without any trigger or presence of actual task-related issues. In the context of manufacturing, for example, the inventory unit (i.e. the helper) can anticipate usage based on historical data and experience and push materials to the manufacturing unit (i.e. the recipient) without seeing what the manufacturing unit is actually using. The researcher labels the medium level of proactiveness in understanding the recipient's task environments as reactive. Understanding the recipient's task environments in a reactive way implies that helping behaviour is triggered by the helper's perceived need for helping. In other words, this form of helping behaviour involves targeting a specific

recipient and confirming the need for helping. Continuing the manufacturing example, the inventory unit can observe/monitor the manufacturing unit and anticipate the manufacturing unit's need based on that observation and push the necessary materials forward. That is, the inventory unit waits until it sees a need to push materials forward. Finally, helping behaviour can be exhibited without the helper's attempt to understand the recipient's task environments. When the helper does not attempt to understand the recipient's task environments, the helper completely relies on the recipient's explicit request for help. Consequently, this type of helping is triggered by the presence of an actual request rather than a perceived need. For example, in the same manufacturing context, the inventory unit can wait until the manufacturing unit asks for materials and give the inventory unit the quantity and type of materials needed. In other words, the inventory unit gives out only what is asked for.

2.6.1 Forms of helping behaviour and Motivations for Helping

This section examines forms of helping behaviours are exhibited as elicited in literature which is foundational empirical evidence for research question number 1. Researchers contend that classifying helping behaviour requires the inclusion of the helper and the recipient given the dyadic nature of helping behaviour. As such, with the use of the two dimensions (i.e. the recipient's solicitation and the helper's proactiveness in understanding the recipient's task environments), researchers classify helping behaviour into three distinct forms. The first form of helping behaviour is termed as unsolicited proactive helping behaviour, which refers to an employee's voluntary actions that help resolve coworkers' future task-related issues exhibited before being asked by the coworkers. The second form of helping behaviour is labeled as unsolicited reactive helping behaviour, which describes an employee's voluntary actions exhibited before being asked by coworkers that help the coworkers with work-related issues when the employee perceives and/or sees that the coworkers may need help. The third form of helping behaviour is called solicited reactive helping behaviour, which is defined as voluntary actions that help coworkers with task-related issues exhibited after being asked by the coworkers. The classification of forms of helping behaviour is depicted in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Forms of helping behaviours

	<i>Proactive form of helping behaviour</i>	<i>Reactive form of helping behaviour</i>	
	<i>Unsolicited proactive helping behaviour</i>	<i>Unsolicited reactive helping behaviour</i>	<i>Solicited reactive helping behaviour</i>
The recipient's solicitation	Unsolicited	Unsolicited	Solicited
The helper's proactiveness in understanding the recipient's task environments	Proactive	Reactive	None
Conceptual definition	An employee's voluntary actions that help resolve co-workers' future work- related issues exhibited before being asked by the co-workers	An employee's voluntary actions exhibited before being asked by co-workers that help the co-workers with work-related issues when the employee perceives and/or sees that the co-workers may need help	An employee's voluntary actions that help co-workers with task- related issues exhibited after being asked by the co-workers
Trigger	None	The helper's perceived of need for helping	None
Helping motives	Personality and dispositions	Social and instrumental exchange	Functional motives

In the table above, is a clear classification of helping behaviour in which helping behaviour is classified into unsolicited proactive helping behaviour, unsolicited reactive helping behaviour, and solicited reactive helping behaviour. In the following section, the researcher discusses underlying motives based on theoretical perspectives that can best explain how the forms of helping behaviour are motivated. These are discussed under three subheadings as:

- a) Unsolicited proactive helping behaviour: an outcome of personality and dispositions;
- b) Unsolicited reactive helping behaviour: a process of social and instrumental exchange and
- c) Solicited reactive helping behaviour: a product of functional motives.

2.6.1.1 Unsolicited proactive helping behaviour: an outcome of personality and dispositions

Unsolicited proactive helping behaviour is exhibited in the absence of the recipient's solicitation. This one key component of human prosociality which is that people assist one another even when help is unsolicited, including situations in which the helpee is unaware of a problem and thus cannot indicate that intervention is necessary (Warneken and Tomasello, 2008; Jaeggi et al., 2010; Warneken, 2013). These demonstrations of proactive helping are particularly complex because they require the helper to identify the intentions or desires of the individual as well as the incongruence of the situation with those desires (for alternative perspectives on the interpretation of children's motivation and behaviour (Paulus, 2014; Carpendale et al., 2015). Indeed, proactive helping behaviour requires a more complex understanding of other's intentions and desires than reactive helping, as the helping occurs in the absence of any behavioural or communicative cues indicating a need for help, as well as in the absence of any behaviour that could be interpreted as a communicative request.

Given its nature, unsolicited proactive helping behaviour must rely on the helper's individual spontaneity and genuine interest in others' well-being. Specifically, the demonstration of unsolicited proactive helping behaviour

requires the helper to pay constant and persistent attention to other organizational members' current and future task activities because unsolicited proactive helping behaviour aims to help resolve task-related issues that the recipient will encounter in the near future. This, therefore, implies that unsolicited proactive helping behaviour is not exhibited as a means to satisfy the helper's personal needs and/or to establish obligated reciprocity because successful satisfaction of personal needs and/or creation of obligated reciprocity can cause the helper's effort in exhibiting unsolicited proactive helping behaviour to fade away.

Given that unsolicited proactive helping behaviour highlights the helper's genuine concern for others and willingness to contribute effort to the organizational system, the concept of unsolicited proactive helping behaviour seems to be consistent with Barnard's (1938) concept of spontaneous organization and Katz and Kahn's (1966) concept of a sense of citizenship. That is, unsolicited proactive helping behaviour is unlikely to be triggered by external reinforcers and functional motives. Instead, the researcher contend that unsolicited proactive helping behaviour is motivated by factors within the confine of the helper's personality traits and dispositions, which tend to be stable, consistent, and persistent. These personality traits and dispositions, therefore, carry out unsolicited proactive helping behaviour consistently and persistently even when there are no functional benefits that can be obtained by exhibiting such form of helping. Indeed, a substantial body of literature has supported that variables in individual personality and dispositions, such as conscientiousness (e.g. Ilies et al., 2006), prosocial personality (e.g. Wright and Sablinsky, 2008), moral identity (e.g. Winterich et al., 2013), agreeableness (e.g. Bourdage et al., 2012), moral development (e.g. Wagner and Rush, 2000), proactive personality (e.g. Kisamore et al., 2014), and moral character (e.g. Cohen et al., 2014), significantly influence helping behaviour. Spitzmuller and Van Dyne (2013) further argue that unsolicited proactive helping behaviour is exhibited as an attempt to satisfy the helper's personal needs.

2.6.1.2 Unsolicited reactive helping behaviour: a process of social and instrumental exchange

Reactive helping requires the helper to both recognize and respond to overt behavioural cues from the helpee. Unsolicited reactive helping behaviour is also exhibited in the absence of the recipient's solicitation; however, unlike unsolicited proactive helping behaviour, unsolicited reactive helping behaviour is exhibited when the helper perceives and/or sees that the recipient may need a helping hand. That is, the demonstration of unsolicited reactive helping behaviour is triggered by the helper's perception of the need for helping. It is, however, important to emphasize that unsolicited reactive helping behaviour may be directed to a recipient who may or may not perceive the need for being helped. Given that unsolicited reactive helping behaviour is not exhibited until the helper subjectively perceives that the recipient may need help, the researcher argue that unsolicited reactive helping behaviour is likely to be motivated by the helper's perception that this helpful behaviour is of value to the recipient. That is, the demonstration of helpfulness using unsolicited reactive helping behaviour can lead to obtaining something from the recipient in the future that is of value to the helper. Consequently, the researcher contend that unsolicited reactive helping behaviour is motivated by the helper's subjective cost-benefit analysis. In particular, offering help to the recipient in the absence of the recipient's solicitation allows the helper to establish and/or sustain unspecified future obligations in a dyadic exchange relationship where the helper and the recipient may have something of value to each other.

Together, the researcher posit that social exchange, which refers to "voluntary actions of individuals that are motivated by the returns they are expected to bring and typically do in fact bring from others" (Blau, 1964: 91), is likely to be the primary driver of unsolicited reactive helping behaviour. Said differently, the helper exhibiting unsolicited reactive helping behaviour is likely to use the behaviour as an instrumental means to obtain his or her future interests and benefits from the recipient. Not surprisingly, evidence from prior studies has consistently suggested the significant impact of social exchange on individual helping behaviour (e.g. Deckop et al., 2003; Liu et al., 2011; Perlow and Weeks, 2002).

2.6.1.3 Solicited reactive helping behaviour: a product of functional motives

As defined previously, solicited reactive helping behaviour is only exhibited after the recipient's solicitation. Thus, the nature of solicited reactive helping behaviour suggests that the helper exhibits low levels of concern for the recipient's well-being and task performance. In other words, the helper not only demonstrates little interest in preventing the recipient's potential task-related issues, but also overlooks the recipient's task-related issues as they emerge. Although the helper may exhibit little concern for the recipient's well-being, the helper still engages in helping behaviour after being requested by the recipient. Given this nature, the underlying motives of solicited reactive helping behaviour can be best understood using the functional approach, which is concerned with identifying the reasons, purposes, plans, and goals that motivate individuals to exhibit and sustain specific actions (Snyder, 1993). Among various functional motives, two broad categories of help-giving motives can be found in the literature. First, prosocial motives, such as prosocial values (e.g., Organ et al., 2006), and concern for others (e.g., Tang et al., 2008) have been identified as motives for help giving in various contexts. Second, instrumental motives can be responsible for the helper's engagement in help giving due to the potential attainment of instrumental benefits such as impression management (e.g., Grant and Mayer, 2009), self-enhancement (e.g., Yun et al., 2007), and organizational rewards (e.g., Bamberger and Levi, 2009). It is worth noting that prior research has shown how different motives can interactively trigger help giving (e.g., Takeuchi et al., 2015). In line with prior research utilizing the functional perspective, the authors suggest that the helper forms prosocial, instrumental, or a mixture of different motives prior to giving help.

Specifically, although solicited reactive helping behaviour is considered an altruistic act, it is exhibited only after the recipient makes the request even when the helper may have already perceived and/or seen the need for helping. As such, it seems that solicited reactive helping behaviour involves little nature of concern for others, and that the helper engages in such a passive form of

helping behaviour because of the short-term benefits that may be obtained by exhibiting such a behaviour. Indeed, Clary et al. (1998) note that certain motives for prosocial behaviours are important for satisfaction and fulfilment of personal needs and desires. Consequently, the researcher posit that solicited reactive helping behaviour is primarily motivated by self-oriented motives. Unsurprisingly, a number of scholars have suggested and demonstrated that such helping behaviour is driven by self-oriented motives such as impression management (e.g. Bolino, 1999) and self-enhancement (e.g. Yun et al., 2007). In addition to self-oriented motives, individual needs, beliefs, and values may trigger the demonstration of solicited reactive helping behaviour because the presence of the recipient's solicitation severs as a direct pathway to and confirmation of the satisfaction of those needs, beliefs, and values. For instance, empirical evidence shown in Michelini et al.'s (1975) study suggests that individuals with higher levels of the need for esteem exhibit greater degrees of solicited reactive helping behaviour than those with lower levels of the need for esteem. Moreover, drawing from self-determination theory, Weinstein and Ryan (2010) discover that individuals' psychological needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness are predictive of their helping behaviour. Furthermore, Glomb et al. (2011) reveal that helping others can be used as a mechanism for obtaining positive mood.

Thus, the nature of solicited reactive helping behaviour suggests that the helper exhibits low levels of concern for the recipient's well-being. In other words, the helper not only demonstrates little interest in preventing the recipient's negative position, but also overlooks the recipient's task related issues as they emerge. Although the helper may exhibit little concern for the recipient's well-being, the helper still engages in helping behaviour after being requested by the recipient. Given this nature, the underlying motives of solicited reactive helping behaviour can be best understood using the functional approach, which is concerned with identifying the reasons, purposes, plans, and goals that motivate individuals to exhibit and sustain specific actions (Snyder, 1993). Specifically, solicited reactive helping behaviour is considered an altruistic act.

However, it cannot be held outright that solicited reactive helping behaviour is an altruistic act. There are moments that the helper may have super imposed egoistic motives - self-oriented motives such as impression management (e.g. Bolino, 1999) and self-enhancement (e.g. Yun et al., 2007). In addition to self-oriented motives, individual needs, beliefs, and values held by the helper may trigger helping in solicited reactive helping behaviour because the presence of the recipient's solicitation serves as a direct pathway to and confirmation of the satisfaction of those needs, beliefs, and values. For instance, empirical evidence shown in Michelini et al.'s (1975) study suggests that individuals with higher levels of the need for esteem exhibit greater degrees of helping behaviour than those with lower levels of the need for esteem. Moreover, drawing from self-determination theory, Weinstein and Ryan (2010) discover that individuals' psychological needs for autonomy, competence, and relatedness are predictive of their helping behaviour. Furthermore, Glomb et al. (2011) reveal that helping others can be used as a mechanism for obtaining positive mood. Consequently, the researcher posit that solicited reactive helping behaviour is primarily motivated by self-oriented motives. Unsurprisingly, a number of scholars have suggested and demonstrated that helping behaviour may be driven by self-oriented motives such as impression management (e.g. Bolino, 1999) and self-enhancement (e.g. Yun et al., 2007). In essence, unsolicited reactive helping behaviour is response to the needs of others and/or prior positive treatment provided by others (Spitzmuller and Van Dyne, 2013).

2.7 Co-worker Helping Organizational Citizenship Behaviour

As a distinct dimension of OCB, helping behaviour conceptually focusses on an employee's voluntary actions aimed at helping another co-worker with task related issues (Mossholder et al., 2011). Thus, helping behaviour essentially contains the concepts developed by Barnard (1938), Roethlisberger and Dickson (1939), and Katz and Kahn (1966, 1978). Moreover, because helping behaviour is a strong predictor of overall organizational performance (Podsakoff et al., 2000; Whiting et al., 2008), an important research stream focusses on exploring specific consequences of helping behaviour. For

instance, in Weinstein and Ryan's (2010) study, it was shown that helping offered by helpers who have an internal perceived locus of causality results in high levels of well-being experienced by both the helpers and recipients. Raver et al. (2012) showed that individual helping behaviour predicts team helping behaviour, which, in turn, determines helping norms in the team. In a more recent study conducted by Rosopa et al. (2013), it was demonstrated that employees exhibiting more helping behaviour are perceived as having more favourable personality characteristics, and receive higher advancement ratings and more reward recommendations. Other examples of identified consequences of helping behaviour include improved job performance (e.g. Brief and Motowidlo, 1986; Podsakoff et al., 1997), enhanced coordination among employees (e.g. Brief and Motowidlo, 1986), increased employee performance ratings (e.g. Barksdale and Werner, 2001; Heilman and Chen, 2005), and reduced agency costs (e.g. Karra et al., 2006).

Another prominent stream of research in helping behaviour has attempted to examine motives for helping behaviour utilising various important theoretical perspectives. For instance, drawing from social exchange theory (Blau, 1964), Deckop et al. (2003) showed that an employee's helping behaviour is motivated by how much help the employee has received from co-workers. Similarly, other studies of helping behaviour using the social exchange perspective also revealed that employees engage in helping behaviour because they believe that they will receive help from co-workers in an unspecified future date (e.g. Liu et al., 2011; Stamper and Van Dyne, 2001). Another commonly applied theoretical perspective in the analysis of helping behaviour is LMX theory (Dienesch and Liden, 1986; Graen and Scandura, 1987; Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995). Specifically, prior studies have found that an employee's helping behaviour is affected by the quality of social exchange between the supervisor and employee (e.g. Deluga, 1994; Wang et al., 2005). That is, an employee reciprocates helping behaviour to his or her supervisor, co-workers, and/or the organization in response to the benefits that the supervisor offers to him or her (Podsakoff et al., 2000; Van Dyne et al., 2008). In addition to the social exchange and LMX perspectives of helping behaviour, other theories applied to the analysis of motives for helping behaviour include equity theory (e.g.

Niehoff and Moorman, 1993; Spitzmuller et al., 2006), social network theory (e.g. Bowler and Brass, 2006; Venkataramani and Dalal, 2007), social learning theory (e.g. Bommer et al., 2003; Zagenczyk et al., 2008), social information processing theory (e.g. Bommer et al., 2003; Newton et al., 2008), transformational leadership theory (e.g. Felfe and Schyns, 2004; Podsakoff et al., 1996), and transactional leadership theory (e.g. Boerner et al., 2007; Walumbwa et al., 2008).

In sum, the review of the helping behaviour literature shows that while consequences of and motives for helping behaviour have been investigated extensively, most of the prior studies held an assumption that helping behaviour is exhibited without variations in its forms (Spitzmuller and Van Dyne, 2013). Consequently, as argued by Spitzmuller and Van Dyne (2013), the literature still lacks understandings of whether consequences of helping behaviour can be affected by the form of helping behaviour exhibited. More importantly, Spitzmuller and Van Dyne (2013) noted that theoretical discussions on different forms of helping behaviour are particularly needed because different motives result in different types of helping behaviour, which, in turn, lead to different consequences. These particular research gaps resulted in Spitzmuller and Van Dyne's (2013) theoretical discussion on contrasting different forms of helping behaviour using seven dimensions, including primary theoretical orientation, primary focus of helper, primary driver of helping, dominant identity orientation of helper, preferred type of exchange, temporal stability of helping, and primary level of intended consequences. Accordingly, Spitzmuller and Van Dyne (2013) classified helping behaviour into proactive helping and reactive helping. They further argued that proactive helping behaviour is exhibited as an attempt to satisfy the helper's personal needs, whereas reactive helping behaviour is response to the needs of others as well as prior positive treatment provided by others.

Although Spitzmuller and Van Dyne's (2013) work offers a new conceptualization of helping behaviour, it does not address behavioural characteristics exhibited by the helper and the recipient that, together, generate different forms of helping behaviour. In other words, Spitzmuller and Van Dyne's (2013) conceptualization of proactive and reactive forms of helping

behaviour does not consider the recipient. Here, the researcher argues that helping behaviour cannot occur without the presence of the helper as well as the recipient. Thus, classifying helping behaviour must include both the helper and the recipient. Accordingly, in the following section, is a presentation of another classification of helping behaviour using the explicit behavioural characteristics exhibited by the helper and the recipient that generate a particular form of helping behaviour.

2.8 Team level organizational citizenship behaviour (OCB)

For more than two decades, numerous empirical studies based on the organizational citizenship behaviour (OCB) perspective have examined the impact of an individual's OCB on organizational, team, and individual performance (Organ, Podsakoff, and MacKenzie, 2006). Organ (1988) found that the potential benefits of OCB for organizational performance accrue from the aggregate effect of OCB, not from single incidents. Researchers have thus examined OCB as a team level phenomenon, using construct labels such as unit level OCB, group level OCB, team OCB, team citizenship collective OCB, and so on (Bommer et al., 2007; Ehrhart, 2004). These studies have posited that there is a significant team level variation in OCB, indicating that it might be a team level phenomenon (Schnake and Dumler, 2003).

This study has included this aspect of team level helping behaviour for three reasons. First, while OCB has been seen as having various dimensions, such as conscientiousness and loyalty, helping behaviour is regarded as the most typical discretionary behaviour, and is thus the most studied dimension (Organ et al., 2006). Second, Van Dyne and LePine (1998) carried out some of the earlier research in this field and noted that the literature on OCB and helping behaviour have evolved separately (Choi, 2009; Kacmar, Carlson, and Harris, 2013; Liao et al. 2008; Van Dyne et al., 2008). Thus, the researcher should examine the extent to which these behaviours are related to OCB.

Third, helping behaviour has been shown to have consistent and significant positive effects on organizational performance to a greater degree that has been found for the other dimensions of OCB (Ehrhart et al., 2006). It is thus

proposed that helping behaviour has a more stable and sustained impact on outcomes at the team level of analysis.

2.9 Culture's Influence on Motives and Helping Behaviours

International and cross-cultural research has become a vital extension of research in collectives over the past twenty years. Thus, it is important to assess the applicability of group behaviour constructs to a global audience and growing global workforce. A plethora of studies have illustrated that cross-national and cross-cultural differences exist on a variety of group behaviour constructs (e.g., Emotions: Elfenbein and Ambady 2002; Feedback Systems: Hazucha et al., 1999; Justice: Kabanoff 1997; Lam et al., 2002; Leadership: Fu and Yukl 2000; Risk-Taking: Weber et al., 1998). Generally, group behaviours are not universal, and as such, the validity of constructs developed in one context needs to be assessed across multiple cultures or groups (Melody et al., 2009).

While the extant literature demonstrates that a country's culture can be represented on a particular dimension (e.g., that the U.S. is individualistic), several scholars have noted that variations of cultural dimensions exist within a country (Lam, Chen, et al. 2002; Lam et al. 2002; Schwartz 1999) and labour force segments (Kuchinke 1999, Royle 1999). Despite past suggestions that national culture determines what is desirable and what is seen as effective in organisation or social groups (Laurent 1986), criticism has emerged for grouping national cultures under one dimension when conducting group studies (Earley and Gibson 1998; Lam, Chen, et al. 2002; Salk and Brannen 2000). National culture is only one factor in determining a manager's behaviour (Bass 1990; Hofstede 2001; House et al., 1997; Yukl, 1998), and may have less of a direct influence than has been suggested in past research (Salk and Brannen 2000). Supporting this, Fu and Yukl (2000) suggest, for example, that a manager's traits and skills as well as power and authority may also be determinants of a manager's behaviour. While the researcher recognises the importance of group rules and policies, the group climate, and that the nature

of the task may be related to manager behaviour (Fu and Yukl 2000), our focus is not on a specific manager's behaviour, but rather the aggregate expression of a cross-sectional group of managers representing strength in one cultural dimension versus managers with differing levels of expression of the cultural dimension in question.

Recognizing this, researchers follow the approach to culture and country context reported by House et al. (2004). They advocate that culture reflect the agreement among the members of each collective with regard to their shared values, history, and language, and the shared practices of their membership groups (i.e., family, school, work, etc.). Further, culture is made up of both subjective and objective elements, thus values and beliefs are reflective of subjective elements whereas language, religion, political and economic systems reflect objective elements (Triandis et al., 1994). These subjective and objective elements are built into the definitions and measurements of the cultural dimensions as defined by House and his colleagues in their GLOBE study (House et al. 1999, 2002, 2004; Javidan and House, 2001) that researchers utilise in their propositions. For illustrative purposes, specific countries are mentioned to provide examples of patterns of behaviours and values that are evident from extant research findings of cultural dimensions. As such, researchers caution the casual reader from inferring an absolute interpretation that "all" members of a particular country might exhibit particular behaviours based on dimensions (Melody et al., 2009).

A number of cultural dimensions, such as individualism-collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, and time-orientation have been investigated in scholarly works (e.g., Hofstede 1980; House, Javidan, Hanges, and Dorfman 2002; Javidan and House 2001; Triandis 1988, 2001; Trompenaars 1994). The recent comprehensive study by Project GLOBE colleagues (House et al. 2004) uncovered nine cultural dimensions, some of which provide support for previous research findings, while a number of new dimensions were added: performance orientation, future orientation, assertiveness, uncertainty avoidance, power distance, collectivism (found to be two dimensions labeled institutional and in-group), gender differentiation, and humane orientation (House et al. 1999, 2002, 2004; Javidan and House 2001). Based on a review

of relevant literature, four dimensions are particularly salient for helping extra-role behaviour and will be explored in the following section. These four dimensions are in-group collectivism (Gelfand, Bhawuk, Nishii, and Bechtold 2004; Hofstede 1980; House et al. 1999; Triandis 1995; Trompenaars 1994), uncertainty avoidance (Hofstede 1980, House et al. 1999, Javidan and House 2001, Sully de Luque and Javidan 2004), performance orientation (House et al. 1999, 2002; Javidan 2004), and humane orientation (House et al. 1999, 2002; Kabasakal and Bodur 2004).

2.9.1 In-group favouritism helping behaviour

Research has shown that across many different contexts, people act more prosocially towards members of their own group relative to those outside their group. Consequently, a number of scientific disciplines concerned with human cognition and behaviour have sought to explain such in-group favouritism (also known as parochial altruism). In-group favouritism is driven by preferences concerning the welfare of in-group over outgroup members. Previous research examining helping behaviour has looked at understanding the behaviour of individuals in a group. Up to this point, relatively little is known concerning the determinants of within a subculture regarding in group favouritism in helping behaviour (Everett et al., 2015).

In-group membership of an interaction partner appears to increase prosocial behaviour even in sub groups (Fehr et al., 2008). The most prominent theoretical approach to the phenomenon of in-group favouritism is social identity theory. Within this approach, it is assumed that the motivating principle underlying in-group favouritism is the need to attain and preserve a positive self-concept by maximizing the positive distinctiveness of the in-group in contrast to an out-group (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Hewstone et al., 2002).

Research has shown that in-group bias can be positive or detrimental for human interaction. On the one hand, such positive bias toward in-group members can help the in-group by increasing its cohesion, performance, and the individual fitness of its members. On the other hand, however, such

intergroup biases can bear the risk of intense feelings of deprivation and resentment in out-groups, leading to intergroup discrimination and hostility between groups (Cnaan et al., 2012). In sum, in-group bias seems to be a combination of “in-group love” and “out-group hate” with the first being of primary importance (Fershtman et al., 2005; Halevy et al., 2012). In the cross-national context, intergroup bias may have far-reaching consequences.

A number of scientific disciplines concerned with human cognition and behaviour have sought to explain in-group favouritism (also known as parochial altruism). Here in this study, it would be necessary to explore to what extent in-group favouritism among pirate taxi drivers is driven by preferences concerning the welfare of in-group over outgroup members, vs. beliefs about the (future) behaviour of in-group and outgroup members (Penner, et al., 2005; Gaertner et al., 1994; Hewstone et al., 2002; Everett et al., 2015).

Favouritism research draws on theories of intra- and intergroup behaviour to describe how perceived group membership influences helping behaviours (McNeely and Meglino, 1994; Penner, et al., 2005) and demonstrates that helping behaviour increases when the behaviour is directed at members of one's own group in comparison to members of other groups, thus demonstrating a bias towards own group members (Ellemers and Barreto, 2001; Hewstone, et al., 2002; Everett et al., 2015). Furthermore, research has also shown that individuals who perceive that they are similar to another person, feel attracted to that person, develop a sense of ‘weness’ or attachment based on some identity, which in turn increases the empathy that they feel for the other person and this increased empathy promotes helping behaviours (Dovidio et al., 1997; Penner, et al., 2005).

Therefore, people who are identified and perceived as similar (socially close) would be more likely to receive help, compared to people who are perceived as different (socially distant). This effect appears to be hard wired into the human psyche and Dovidio et al. (1997) demonstrated that even the manipulation of in group perception, positively influences intergroup bias in evaluation, self-

disclosure and helping behaviours. Understanding this aspect may require classifying helping behaviours.

This helping behaviour brings into focus the term identity. The concept of social identity (Tajfel, 1970, 1974, 1982) is key to this review—and more broadly most contemporary sociological work on intergroup processes. Social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1974: 69). The researcher uses here the definition of a group from work on intergroup relations in social psychology: a social group is a collection of individuals who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, and therefore share a social identity (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987; Ellemers et al., 2002; Ellemers and Haslam, 2011; Turner and Reynolds, 2011). Social groups can be based on a range of objective and subjective criteria—from ethnic background to gender to nationality to occupation to religion. An intergroup context emerges when social identities are salient and individuals interact with one another in terms of these social group identities (Turner et al., 1987). Indeed, even assignment to random groups can be sufficient to engender a relevant intergroup context in which intergroup behaviour is observed (Tajfel, 1974). It would be interesting to see how pirate taxi drivers help each other based on social identity.

The social identity approach posits that a key psychological process underlying group phenomenon is self-categorization: people come to interpret the social world as consisting of in groups— social groups to which the individual belongs—and outgroups— social groups of which the individual is not a member (Tajfel et al., 1971; Turner et al., 1987). More specifically, depersonalization refers to the psychological process through which people come to perceive the self as an interchangeable exemplar of a social category, rather than a separate individual with unique traits (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Turner et al., 1987). When individuals categorize themselves as group members, the in-group becomes integrated with the self and individuals come

to recognize the characteristics of the in-group as representing part of themselves (Smith et al., 1999; Tropp and Wright, 2001).

A social identity is integral to an individual's sense of self, and this self-categorization process has a number of cognitive, affective, and evaluative dimensions that make it such a central part of social life (Ellemers et al., 2002). Social psychological work has demonstrated that compared with those low in identification, individuals high in identification with a group are more likely to think of themselves as ingroup members (e.g., Spears et al., 1997), to feel connected to other ingroup members (e.g., Doosje et al., 1995), to remain committed to their ingroup when faced with threat (e.g., Ellemers et al., 1997), and to be concerned about how their group is treated relative to other groups (e.g., Tropp and Wright, 1999).

The social identity approach holds that identification with one's group motivates individuals to distinguish their group from others to attain and preserve positive collective self-esteem as a group member (Brewer, 1999). To create and maintain a positive social identity, individuals can adopt one of three main strategies: they can seek to escape, avoid, or deny belonging to a devalued group (individual mobility); they can seek to redefine the intergroup comparison by representing the ingroup in terms of positive rather than negative characteristics (social creativity); or they can engage in action designed to change the standing of their group (social competition). One of the most common ways of preserving a positive social identity comes from the social competition strategy and involves intergroup bias: the systematic tendency to evaluate one's own group or its members more favourably than an outgroup or its members (Tajfel, 1982). The social identity approach suggests that these strategies will be differentially employed based on the extent to which group members perceive the group differences and boundaries to be permeable, stable, and legitimate (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). As will be evident in this review, most work considering in-group favouritism in economic games has focused on the social competition strategy, and often ignored whether group members perceive the social order to be permeable, stable, or legitimate, or whether they engage in the strategies of individual mobility or social creativity.

Preferences and Beliefs in Prosocial Behaviour

Social preferences have been incorporated into the behavioural economic approach to account for the finding that individuals do help others even when it is against their interest (Camerer and Fehr, 2004). Put simply, in addition to self-regarding preferences, people have other-regarding social preferences concerning the well being of others, fairness, and reciprocity (Fehr and Schmidt, 1999; Charness and Rabin, 2002; Camerer, 2003). Social preferences are likely to have been evolutionarily advantageous because cooperation was typically in our longterm best interest. Were the researcher to engage in a cost-benefit analysis of the pros and cons of moving away from a predator every time the researcher encountered one, the researcher would rather quickly end up dead. Rather, it is efficient for humans to have developed intuitive motivations that align with the behaviour that is—in general— fitness maximizing. Humans must be equipped biologically to function effectively in many social situations without excessive reliance on cognitive processes, and so pro-social preferences are likely to be part of human nature (Hoffman, 1981; Van Vugt and Van Lange, 2006). It seems likely that some preferences for prosocial behaviour—especially towards group members, given our kin-based evolutionary history—have developed because they have been particularly evolutionarily advantageous. Indeed, a growing body of research suggests that people do indeed have prosocial social preferences, with people exhibiting “intuitive prosociality” (Rand et al., 2012; Zaki and Mitchell, 2013).

While slightly different categorizations of social preferences exist in the literature, in this review the researcher follow Fehr and Schmidt (2006), who distinguish three types of other-regarding social preferences (henceforth simply “social preferences” or “preferences”): outcome-dependent; reciprocal; and type dependent.

Type-dependent social preferences

The third types of social preferences are type-dependent: an individual behaves kindly towards a “good” person with perceived altruistic preferences and with hostility towards a “bad” person with spiteful preferences (Warneken, 2013).

Such type dependent preferences may change an individual's utility function to engage in prosocial behaviour: the perception of the other person as "bad" reduces one's desire to help them, while the perception of the other person as "good" increases one's desire to help them. Note that while connected to beliefs (perceptions of character depend on cognitive evaluations about the person and their behaviour) such an explanation importantly differs from a belief-based process. For type-dependent social preferences, the suggestion is that the perceived "type" of outgroup members makes people less motivated to act prosocially towards them (preferences), rather than strategically determining that it would be disadvantageous to help them (beliefs) (Marshall et al., 2012).

In the context of economic games, beliefs are the expectations that people have about uncertain outcomes in a game. While preferences refer to an individual's own inclinations and desires to act prosocially, beliefs typically focus on the other player and the context in which the game is played. Evidence suggests that strategic beliefs concerning whether cooperative behaviour will be reciprocated—and thus whether it is advantageous—are an important driver in observations of prosocial behaviour (Carpendale et al., 2015).

Overall, the importance of strategic beliefs in explaining prosocial behaviour is paralleled by the cost-reward analysis of emergency helping (Paulus, 2014), which holds that people are motivated to maximize their rewards while minimizing their costs, and so in emergency situations weigh the probable costs and rewards of alternative courses of action before deciding on a decision that will result in the best personal outcome for them (Tang et al., 2008).

Outcome dependence and direct reciprocity

First, an individual may have beliefs about direct reciprocity and outcome dependence, where the individual is aware that by helping another person, that person is likely to help them back in return, thus being strategically advantageous for both parties. While perceived outcome dependence occurs in some games, many one-shot economic games do not allow for direct reputation building outside the experimental context. In contrast, within social

groups, one-shot interactions are rare and interactions occur within a repeated and ongoing context (Tang et al., 2008).

Reputational concerns and indirect reciprocity

Second, an individual may have beliefs about indirect reciprocity: expectations about the likelihood of having prosocial behaviour paid back to oneself by another person at a later time (Rachlin, 2002; Morrow-Howell et al., 2003). For example, a person may lend money to a neighbour not due to any preferences to do so, but because they judge it would be strategically advantageous to have a generalised positive reputation amongst their neighbours because at some point they are likely to need help from a neighbour themselves. Evolutionary accounts positing a reputation-based theory of cooperation in groups argue that through being helpful in situations where others know that the helper will not benefit directly, the person builds a reputation of being someone trustworthy, thus enhancing evolutionary fitness. Perlow and Weeks (2002) found that when reputation building was allowed for in a public goods paradigm, participants cooperated more and so were more productive: “the “tragedy of the commons” was no longer a tragedy; instead, the commons became productive and could be harvested” (Schroeder et al., 2003: 378). Helping in an economic game is affected both by the image score of the recipient and the image score of the donor: that is, donors with higher image scores help more, particularly for recipients who also have good reputations (Morrow-Howell et al., 2003). Similarly, Rachlin (2002) has conducted a set of social dilemma experiments to test between the commitment, social preferences, and reciprocity explanations of prosocial behaviour, and found strong support for reciprocity over the other two theories (Wedekind and Braithwaite, 2002). Indirect reciprocity—reputation building—is an important factor in explaining prosocial behaviour in economic games (Tyler and Blader, 2003; Webster, 2003).

Cooperative norm violation

Thirdly, strategic beliefs can be connected to social norms, whereby people act more prosocially towards group members because they perceive that to be the

socially approved form of action and are aware of the costs of violating such norms (Piliavin, (2004).

2.9.2 Uncertainty Avoidance

Uncertainty avoidance is the extent to which people tolerate uncertainty, ambiguity, and unpredictable events by enacting scripts and practices that are consistent with past, predictable outcomes. Social norms, rituals, and bureaucratic practices may pervade stronger uncertainty avoidance cultures (Hofstede, 2001, House et al., 2002, Sully de Luque and Javidan, 2004). Moderate uncertainty avoidance practices as found in the United States (Javidan and House, 2001) result in people who believe they may bend the rules or take more risks, with such behaviour linked to innovativeness and championing new ideas (Shane, 1995). On the other hand, people in countries with stronger uncertainty avoidance such as Germany (ranked as one of the highest uncertainty avoidance countries by Sully de Luque and Javidan, 2004) work in organisation or social groups that are highly predictable, and where roles and procedures are clearly defined (Hofstede, 1996). For German employees, following formal rules and structures is very important. Germans have a stronger tendency “toward orderliness and consistency, structured lifestyles, clear specification of social expectations, and rules and laws to cover situations” (Javidan and House, 2001: 295).

In the context of high levels of uncertainty, organisation or social groups tend to focus on short-term performance (Sully de Luque and Javidan 2004), and helping is a short-term remedy. Thus, if helping extra-role behaviour becomes a long- term remedy it is redefined as an in-role, formalised expectation. Employees in a strong uncertainty avoidance culture are motivated by organisational concern and the need for a predictable environment. However, in ambiguous situations such as downsizing, threats, or accommodation of competition, these employees may be more willing to help others in the organisation or social group and reduce uncertainty in their environment because helping would be seen as improving the likelihood of reducing

additional negative outcomes and uncertainty for the future of the entire organisation or social group.

The prosocial values motive is triggered by addressing ambiguity as a measured response to tolerance of uncertainty as well. However, rather than being focused on performance of the organisation or social group and its sustainability, helping extra-role behaviours would be enacted as part of the norms and rituals towards the individuals in a workgroup. As suggested by Doney, Cannon, and Mullen (1998), employees in a weaker uncertainty avoidance context will be less willing to trust (a component of prosocial values) than those in a high uncertainty avoidance context. By covering the duties and responsibilities of co-workers absent due to illness, for instance, helping would assist in reducing the possible uncertainty created by their absence. However, the potential hiring of a replacement worker in the position may produce ambiguity of fit or competence, invoking change of social relationships within the workgroup. Thus, an environment of strong uncertainty avoidance would yield higher levels of helping extra-role behaviours. Conversely, in a weak uncertainty avoidance culture, employees will have more tolerance of what might happen in a co-worker's absence and would not engage in helping as willingly or as frequently.

Finally, the impression management motive would be activated through identity congruence. If the group expectation was one of weak uncertainty avoidance and helping behaviours would not be expected because uncertainty would not be tolerated, then individual employees would not engage in helping as frequently as those in strong uncertainty avoidance environments. The self-presentation aspect of impression management would be to reduce the risk of identity ambiguity by behaving more like others, thus matching co-workers' helping behaviours. For the others-enhancement aspect of impression management in a stronger uncertainty avoidance context, more helping behaviours would be enacted to avoid risk of dissension from the group formed identity as well. However, in a weaker uncertainty avoidance context, there would be less helping because this motive is related to the calculated cost of helping (e.g., time and effort costs), versus the risk of not-helping (e.g., face and inference costs). Therefore, employees in a stronger uncertainty avoidance

culture would be more likely to engage in helping extra-role behaviours to reduce uncertainty as it relates to motives of group concern, prosocial values, and others-enhancement impression management. At the same time, those in a weaker uncertainty avoidance culture, where ambiguity would be more tolerated, would be less likely to engage in helping extra-role behaviours.

2.9.3 Performance Orientation

Performance orientation is a cultural phenomenon that encourages and rewards employees for innovation, performance improvement and excellence (Javidan 2004, Javidan and House 2001). This concept has some (very modest) similarities to that of Confucian Dynamism (Bond 1988), which has been suggested to lead to economic growth (Franke, Hofstede, and Bond 1991). A strong performance orientation culture encourages members to believe in taking initiative, as well as those who value individual responsibility and tasks over social relationships. People in such cultures tend to have a sense of urgency, desire feedback, and evaluation, and maintain an internal locus of control (Javidan 2004). There is a tendency for individuals in stronger performance oriented societies to seek competitive environments, as well as exhibit perseverance and hard work.

An example of a weaker performance orientation cultural phenomenon can be found in many formerly East German companies. Even years after the reunification, former East German employees and managers had minimal input into how organisation or social groups were run and received little feedback about their performance or the performance of the company. Often the goal of most former East German organisations remained to avoid mistakes rather than to reach a higher level of quality or productivity (Frese et al., 1996). Managers and employees continued to be risk averse and showed little independent thinking or achievement orientation (Schultz-Gambard and Altschuh 1993). Superiors discouraged workers' initiatives and at times imposed negative sanctions on those who demonstrated extra-role types of behaviours (Ladensack 1990; Pearce, Branyicki and Bukacsi 1994). Thus, Frese et al. (1996) conclude that work- place factors such as control over work, the

complexity of work, and leadership (specifically negative management responses to initiative) lead to less personal initiative among workers.

Helping behaviours are not likely to be enacted in weak performance oriented contexts. Because there is a lack of concern for meeting objective performance results, helping will only be related moderately to an organisation or social group concern motive, since helping could be seen as a worthwhile activity to demonstrate commitment to the organisation or social group (i.e., I'll help only to the extent that it helps me retain my job). Prosocial values will trigger helping based on the value placed on the specific individuals needing help (helping friends, but not others), and impression management will be activated as a motivation only to emphasise loyalty and belongingness. Thus, all three motives provide only weak impetus for those in the context of weak performance orientation to engage in helping extra-role behaviours.

Strong performance oriented contexts reward employees who work hard and achieve results. Employees will engage in helping behaviours if helping is linked directly and transparently to performance outcomes. Thus, an experienced taxi driver will help a new hire learn their tasks and responsibilities to be more productive, but may not help them understand social dimensions or company history that is unrelated to measured performance results. Each of the extra-role motives is thus similar, but directed at different group levels for measured performance. Group concern may be motivating if the helping behaviours yield group level results that are visible for employees to monitor and if helping is organisationally reinforced (i.e., slogans such as "Working Together We Get Results"). Prosocial motives will be enacted in interdependent environments where helping one another (as a dyadic relationship or group) yields a visible positive outcome for both the helper and helpee. Impression management will also be a strong motivator in a strong performance oriented context if helping is a role expectation, such as the "lead" or "senior"-ranked taxi driver. Impression management could also be used to advance the self- presentation or others-enhancement with what others would find favourable. Thus, taking initiative and helping must be related to results at the organisational, group, or individual level to activate the motivations related to helping extra-role behaviours.

2.9.4 Humane Orientation

Humane orientation is an aspect of culture, which encourages and rewards individuals for being fair, altruistic, generous, caring, and kind to others (House et al. 1997, Javidan and House 2001, Kabasakal and Bodur 2004). Javidan and House (2001) suggest that power and material possessions motivate individuals in weaker humane orientation culture, where self-enhancement is a predominant value. Individuals with a weak humane orientation will expect people to solve their own problems. In contrast, individuals with a strong humane orientation will value human relations, sympathy, belongingness, and support for others.

In a strong humane orientation context, there are compelling similar influences that activate both group concern and prosocial values as motives for helping extra-role behaviours. First, it is common for strong humane orientation societies to provide social support for each other; individuals are responsible for promoting the well-being of others to include family, friends, community, and strangers. As such, wanting the organisation to do well, or demonstrating pride and commitment to the organisation or social group would be considered responsible activities. Prosocial values encourage cohesive workgroups; thus, a desire to build positive relationships with others would be demonstrated by those in a strong humane orientation context. Empathy, relationships, and the need to be helpful are consistent in both helping extra-role motives of prosocial values and strong humane orientation. Less evident are characteristics that may influence impression management in such strong humane orientation contexts. Given the passionate focus on self in relation to others in strong humane orientation cultures, there does not seem to be a direct argument to support the impression management motive. However, indirectly one could suggest that engaging in helping behaviours may lead to identity congruence in agreement with others (of other-enhancement impression management). Conversely, individuals in a weak humane orientation culture may be effectively influenced by impression management motives for engaging in helping extra-role behaviours, as self-interest would be important. In an effort to appeal to others with self presentation, an individual in weak humane oriented societies

may engage in helping to enhance their identity. As for group concern or prosocial values motives, weaker humane oriented cultures would offset the primary goals of the motives of commitment to organisation or social group and desire to build positive relationships with others. Therefore, it would be unlikely that these motives would influence individuals from a weaker humane orientation context.

2.9.5 Reasons and Motives for helping

This section covers aspects related to the research question 'Why do pirate taxi drivers engage in the exhibited helping behaviours?' From as far back as the 1980s and 2000s, research has moved to the question of why people engage in prosocial behaviour. In general, approaches to the question of why people help focused on three types of mechanisms: (a) learning, (b) social and personal standards, and (c) arousal and affect. The learning explanation applied general principles from learning theories, particularly operant conditioning and social learning, to the acquisition of helping skills and of beliefs about why these skills should be used to benefit others (Grusec et al., 2002).

Socialization experiences (Staub, 2002) and developmental factors (Eisenberg and Fabes, 1991) received considerable attention within this framework. The social and personal standards approach emphasised how norms such as social responsibility and reciprocity (Dovidio, 1984) can promote helping as people strive to maintain positive self-images or achieve their ideals (Schwartz and Howard, 1982) and fulfil personal needs (Omoto and Snyder, 1995). This perspective contributed to the shift in emphasis from spontaneous, single-encounter helping to longer term, sustained prosocial behaviours such as volunteering, and thus contributed to the emergence of the macro level of analysis.

Arousal and affect approaches recognised the important role that emotion plays in motivating prosocial action. Affect is a fundamental element of many potential helping situations. People are aroused by the distress of others; this reaction appears even among very young children and occurs across cultures

(Eisenberg and Fabes, 1991). Moreover, arousal and affect theories generally shared a guiding principle with learning theory that people are motivated to behave in ways that help them attain some goal—improving the person's own situation (egoistic motivation) or, in some cases, improving the welfare of another person (altruistic motivation).

Gaining rewards

Among the rewards that a helper may seek, perhaps the only three that need any explanation are reciprocity credit, mood enhancement (maintenance), and empathic joy and these are presented below.

Reciprocity credit

Reciprocity credit is the self-benefit of knowing that the person you have benefited owes you one. Sociologist Alvin Gouldner identified what he called the universal norm of reciprocity the norm that for a benefit received an equivalent benefit ought eventually to be returned. After reviewing the evidence, Gouldner concluded that a norm of reciprocity is, one would suspect, no less universal and important an element of culture than the incest taboo (Lam et al., 2002). Gouldner assumed that this norm was instilled through socialization, although biologist Robert Trivers has suggested that it may have a genetic base (Felfe and Schyns, 2004).

Reciprocity credit can lead us to look for an opportunity to help someone from whom people want some reward in the future, as occurs with ingratiation (Kuchinke, 1999). It may also lead at least some of us to help others whom people know cannot reciprocate; people may help them because of belief in generalised reciprocity, a feeling that people get in equal measure to what people give to the world in general (Koys, 2001). Alternatively, the reason for helping someone who cannot reciprocate may be more strategic; it may be a way to enhance our reputation as a caring, helpful person. Building on Trivers's biological analysis (Franke, 1991), economist Robert Frank suggested that if

you have a reputation for being helpful, others may be more likely to trust and help you. Research supports the idea that one's reputation for helpfulness may be an important mechanism for maintaining cooperation in groups when more direct forms of reciprocity are not possible. People are much more likely to contribute resources to another group member when they know that other members of the group will be informed of their action (Milinski et al., 2002).

Mood enhancement (maintenance)

Mood enhancement can also be a reason for helping. Cialdini et al. (1973) proposed that people are more likely to help someone when people feel bad because people know that people can give ourselves a pat on the back when people do something nice like helping, and this will make us feel better. Consistent with this negative-state relief model, Cialdini et al. found that people who felt bad (that is, were in a negative state) because they had accidentally harmed someone or had seen another person harm someone were more likely to volunteer to make telephone calls for a worthy cause than were people who did not feel bad. When, however, people who felt bad had their negative state relieved by receiving praise or a dollar before being given the chance to volunteer, they did not help more.

Not only does helping have reward value for a person feeling bad, but it also seems to be rewarding for persons who feel good. Indeed, the effect seems even stronger when people are in a good mood. Alice Isen and her associates have used a number of clever techniques to enhance people's moods having them succeed at a task, giving them a cookie while they studied in the library and having them find a coin in the return slot of a telephone booth. She found that each of these experiences increased the likelihood of a person's giving help to good causes (Isen, 1970; Isen and Levin, 1972).

What accounts for this pervasive reward value of helping for people in a good mood? One possibility is desire for good-mood maintenance. Seeing another person in need can throw a wet blanket on a good mood, so one helps in order to shed this blanket and maintain the mood (Isen and Levin, 1972; Wegener and Petty, 1994). Isen (1987; Isen et al., 1978) has also suggested a second

possibility: being in a good mood may bias one's memory about the positive and negative aspects of various activities, including helping. Isen suggested that people in a good mood are more likely to recall and attend to positive rather than negative aspects of their lives. Applied to helping, this makes such people more likely to remember and attend to the positive, rewarding features and less likely to attend to the negative features, such as the costs involved (also see Berkowitz, 1987; Clark and Waddell, 1983; Cunningham et al., 1990).

Empathic joy

Empathic joy is the vicarious feeling of pleasure one has at seeing the person in need experience relief. As Hoffman (1981: 135) described it, when the victim shows visible signs of relief or joy after being helped, the helper may actually feel empathic joy. Having experienced empathic joy, he or she may subsequently be motivated to help in order to experience it again. At the time Hoffman wrote, there was no empirical evidence for the existence of such a motive; now there is (Batson et al., 1991; Smith et al., 1989). It might seem that a person who feels a high degree of empathy or sympathy for another in need might be especially attuned to and desirous of an opportunity to experience empathic joy, but the evidence suggests otherwise. Batson et al. (1991) found that the desire to experience empathic joy seemed to motivate the helping of individuals induced to feel little empathic concern for a person in need, but not of individuals induced to feel high empathy.

Avoiding punishments

Probably the only punishments listed in Table 2.2 that need explanation are fines/imprisonment, sanctions for norm violation, and empathy costs, fines/imprisonment. In some countries, especially in Europe, there are Good Samaritan laws. If you fail to offer aid when (a) someone's life is in danger; (b) there is no serious risk for you; and (c) no one better qualified is available, you are liable for a fine or a jail sentence. One reason for these laws is, of course, to motivate people to help in order to avoid these penalties. Another reason is

to reduce the possible punishments that one might receive if a sincere attempt to help goes awry. Good Samaritan laws typically include protection from suit should one's attempt to help do harm rather than good. The assumption behind such laws is that people can be encouraged to help.

Table 2.2 Possible self-benefits from benefiting another

1 Material, social, and self-rewards received	
Payment	Praise
Gifts	Honor
Reciprocity credit	Enhanced self-image
Thanks	Mood enhancement (maintenance)
Esteem	Empathic joy
Heaven	
2 Material, social, and self-punishments avoided	
Fines/imprisonment	Sanctions for norm violation
Attack	Censure
Reckrimination	Shame Guilt Empathy costs
Hell	
3 Aversive-arousal reduction	
Escape distressing situation	
Escape discrepant situation	
Escape unjust situation	

Rioux and Penner (2001) bring out three motive or triggers that they empirically demonstrated to be distinct reasons for people engagement in helping behaviours. These motives broadly are group concern, pro social values and impression management (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 Motives for Engaging in Helping Behaviours

	Motive trigger	Linked to
Group concern	a) Group members want the organisation to do well (Rioux and Penner, 2001) b) Demonstrate pride and commitment to the group (Rioux and Penner, 2001) c) Felt responsibility for the group (Pearce and Gregersen, 1991) d) Others focused (Rioux and Penner, 2001)	Affective and cognitive job attitudes such as a) Group commitment, justice and mood extra role behaviours (Penner et al., 1997) b) Volunteerism (Schaubroeck and Ganster, 1991)
Pro Social values	a) To be helpful and to create constructive relationships with other people (Rioux and Penner, 2001) b) To produce and maintain the well-being and integrity of others (Brief and Motowidlo, 1986) c) Others focused and group levels (Rioux and Penner, 2001)	a) Helping, volunteering, cooperating, donating and sharing (Brief and Motowidlo, 1986)
Impression management	a) Need to establish and maintain an identity for the audience (Bozeman and Kacmer, 1997) b) Self-focused	a) Self-representation to become more appealing to the group and leadership (Wayne and Liden, 1995) b) Other enhancement (to provide agreement with other group members or leadership to receive favourable treatment (Wayne and Liden, 1995)

The first is about group concerns. Through group concerns, individuals are motivated because they want the organisation or social group to do well, thus they engage in helping to demonstrate their pride and commitment to the organisation or social group. Group based concern motives may be linked to affective and cognitive job attitudes such as group based commitment, group based justice, and mood extra-role behaviours (Penner et al., 1997). Empirical findings suggest that members of the group with strong affective commitment to the organisation or social group will engage in more volunteerism, a form of helping extra-role behaviour (Schaubroeck and Ganster 1991). These members have a “felt responsibility” for the organisation or social group yielding

a direct effect on extra-role behaviour (Pearce and Gregersen 1991; Melody et al., 2009).

A second motive that would lead people to engage in helping behaviours is prosocial values. This motive demonstrates a desire to be helpful and a need to create constructive relationships with other people (Rioux and Penner 2001). Brief and Motowidlo (1986, 710) define positive social acts as “helping, volunteering, cooperating, donating, and sharing, carried out to produce and maintain the well-being and integrity of others.”

The third motive for extra-role behaviour, impression management, is based on an individual's need to establish or maintain an identity for the audience (Bozeman and Kacmar 1997). Two types of impression management are frequently studied in this area of research. One is identified as self-presentation—to become more appealing to your co-workers or supervisor. The other is identified as other-enhancement—to provide agreement with co-workers or the supervisor in hopes of receiving a favourable evaluation (Wayne and Liden 1995). Rather than others focused like organisation or social group concern and prosocial values, the influence of the impression management motive on helping is unique because it is self-focused. While there has been much discussion that extra role behaviours must be voluntary, this does not mean that these behaviours must be selfless (Van Dyne et al. 1995).

2.10 Team helping behaviour

Members of work teams generally have discretion in deciding whether or not to go beyond their call of duty to help other members (Liao et al., 2008; Van Dyne et al., 2008; Van Dyne and LePine, 1998). However, when members in a group willingly engage in helping behaviour toward each other, then this will enhance overall in group effectiveness (Liao et al., 2008; Murnighan and Conlon, 1991). Helping behaviours are thus especially important for team effectiveness when roles are interdependent and when greater team member cooperation can enhance team performance (Nemeth and Staw, 1989). Although much research has been carried out on helping at the individual level (e.g., Liao et

al., 2008; Organ et al., 2006; Podsakoff et al., 2000; Van Dyne and LePine, 1998), scholars have argued that the potential benefits of helping on the performance of a collective, such as the performance of an organization or a work team, accrue through the aggregated effects of such behaviour, rather than as a result of isolated incidents (Organ, 1988), and so should also be studied as a collective phenomenon in this context (Bommer et al., 2007; Choi, 2009). Previous studies have posited that the construct of team-level helping is similar to that of positive team processes, which have been defined as team members' affect, attitude, motivation, and behaviour to promote collective goals (Campion, Medsker, and Higgs, 1993; Ferrin, Bligh, and Kohles, 2007; Kozlowski and Bell, 2003). For this reason, it is necessary to consider team-level helping as part of team processes (Choi, 2009; Marks, Mathieu, and Zaccaro, 2001). This study thus follows previous authors in defining team level helping as "team members' voluntary helping behaviour that provides assistance for preventing or resolving work-related problems of other members" (Organ et al., 2006, p. 308).

Surface- and deep-level team diversities Surface level diversity refers to visible biological differences among team members, such as differences in age, gender, and ethnicity (Harrison et al, 1998). The surface level diversities this study examines are team member diversities related to age and gender. On the other hand, deep level diversity refers to team members' perceived differences in regard to non-visible underlying characteristics (Harrison et al., 1998), such as personality, attitudes, beliefs, and values (Liao et al., 2008). Previous authors have argued that team members detect the personalities of their teammates through interactions and through observing their verbal and non-verbal behaviour (Harrison et al., 1998). Team diversity and team helping behaviour. The social categorization perspective (Hogg and Terry, 2000) maintains that demographic similarity among individuals engenders feelings of connectedness and community, which increases the empathic concerns that are responsible for inducing helping behaviour (Sturmer, Snyder, and Omoto, 2005). Social categorization theory suggests that in diverse groups, members tend to favour in-group/ similar members over out-group/dissimilar members and to trust in-group members more and to be more willing to cooperate with

them (Brewer, 1979; Brewer and Brown, 1998). Following the social categorization perspective (Turner et al., 1987, 1994), the researcher proposes that team members superficially categorize team members based on surface-level characteristics, such as age and gender. In this way, work teams function more smoothly when teams are more homogeneous rather than diverse (Van Knippenberg and Schippers, 2007). In diverse teams, members tend to perceive outgroup members as less trustworthy, less capable, and less cooperative than in-group members (Choi, 2009). Empirical research finds team members' age and racial diversities to be negatively related to cooperative activities (Milton and Westphal, 2005). Such evidence suggests that teams whose members differ in regard to surface level characteristics may experience negative interpersonal exchanges and reduced team-level helping (Choi, 2009).

The similarity–attraction perspective has been used extensively in deep-level diversity research (Pitcher and Smith, 2001; Schaubroeck and Lam, 2002), and it proposes that when free to choose, people are more likely to be attracted to those who are similar to them in some way (Byrne, 1971). In line with the above perspective, Schneider, Goldstein, and Smith (1995) argued that members who are similar to others in an organization in regard to personality, attitudes, and values will be attracted to, selected by, and remain in the organization. This selective process may engender the classification of others as either in-group or out-group, creating categorizations that may affect group processes and outcomes, as noted above (Van Knippenberg and Schippers, 2007). The similarity–attraction perspective proposes that team members with personalities that are similar to those of other members may be more readily perceived as effective performers. Schaubroeck and Lam (2002) found that being similar to others facilitates more effective social interaction in which the focal member is more closely psychologically linked to others in a team, even if he or she is not conscious of the related traits and is more inclined to interact with others more effectively because he or she uses the same referents in perceiving, interpreting, and acting in relation to the social process. However, team members who have personalities that are more different from others may have trouble communicating effectively with their team members (Schaubroeck

and Lam, 2002), which disrupts team processes and deters team helping. For example, several studies found that individuals who perceive themselves as similar to their team members find it easier to show positive attitudes and behaviours toward other members. In contrast, individuals who perceive a high level of difference between themselves and others will be reluctant to communicate with others and less likely to engage in social interaction with them (Barrick and Mount, 1991; Goldberg, 1999; Bayazit and Mannix, 2003). The similarity–attraction perspective suggests that team helping will be negatively related to team diversity in respect to personality. In other words, teams whose members differ more in terms of personality will also have lower levels of team helping, as stated in the following hypothesis (Guzzo and Shea, 1992; Gully et al., 1995; Harrison et al., 1998; Carron et al., 1998; Hoegl and Proserpio, 2004).

The similarity–attraction perspective argues that the perception of similarities in personality, attitudes, and values, as well as in demographic characteristics, can lead to attraction among team members (O'Reilly et al., 1989). Therefore, teams that are relatively homogenous in the areas of personality, attitudes, values, and demographic variables, such as gender and age, will experience greater cohesion than teams with more heterogeneous compositions (O'Reilly et al., 1989; Smith et al., 1994; McLeod, Lobel, and Cox, 1996; Milliken and Martins, 1996; O'Reilly, Caldwell, and Barnett, 1989; Watson et al., 1993). It is thus conceivable that team members who perceive a higher level of team diversity are also likely to be less cohesive. The researcher further posit that team cohesion can predict team helping behaviour. Cohesion has generally been shown to relate positively to various outcomes, such as team viability (Barrick et al., 1998) and team performance (Mullen and Copper, 1994).

2.11 Research Designs Used in Helping Behaviour Studies

Research looking at helping behaviours is predominantly quantitative. The studies are cross-sectional in and none experimental in nature. Below are examples of the most cited studies.

Table 2.4 Profile of Helping Behaviour Study designs

Author	Article	Design
Katrina Jia Lin Remus Ilies, Helen Pluut, Su-Ying Pan	You are a helpful co-worker, but do you support your spouse? A resource-based work-family model of helping and support provision	Across two experience-sampling studies, data was collected from employees and their spouses multiple times per day in different domains for ten workdays.
Daniel M. Wegner William D (2017).	Racial Factors in Helping Behaviour: An Unobtrusive Field Experiment	This naturalistic study focused on race and sex differences in aiding behaviour. The complete crossing of sex and race of subjects and of confederates in a nonthreat situation on a university campus revealed that black bystanders helped more black than white victims, whereas white 'bystanders helped both races equally.
Shih Yung Chou Joseph M. Stauffer , (2016)	A theoretical classification of helping behaviour and helping motives	A theoretical analysis.
Daniel A. Newark a, Vanessa K. Bohns, Francis J. Flynn	A helping hand is hard at work: Help-seekers' underestimation of helpers' effort	Documentary review
Dan S. Chiaburu , Sophia V. Marinova b, Audrey S. Lim	Helping and proactive extra-role behaviours: The influence of motives, goal orientation, and social context	Correlational design
Sara Erreygers , Sara Pabiana, Heidi Vandeboscha, Elfi Baillien	Helping behaviour among adolescent bystanders of cyberbullying: The role of impulsivity	Not stated
Ann E. Schlosser, Eric Levy (2016)	Helping others or oneself: How direction of comparison affects prosocial behaviour	A comparative quantitative study design

Author	Article	Design
Jim A. C. Everett, Nadira S. Faber and Molly Crockett (2015).	Preferences and beliefs in in-group favouritism	Systematic review
Ori Weisel and Robert Böhmb (2015)	“In-group love” and “outgroup hate” in intergroup conflict between natural groups	Three hundred ninety-five football fans completed an online study using EFS survey by Questback.
Kuo-Ming Chu (2008)	A study of members’ helping behaviours in online community	The sample is 425 participants including nine online communities in Taiwan, including Yahoo! Kimo, CPB, Sony music, etc. who were contacted and asked to participate in the study.
Shih Yung Chou and Joseph M. Stauffe (2015)r	A theoretical classification of helping behaviour and helping motives	The authors examined relevant research and performed a theoretical analysis.
Daniel A. Newark Vanessa K. Bohns , Francis J. Flynn (2017)	A helping hand is hard at work: Help-seekers’ underestimation of helpers’ effort	Two hundred individuals participated in this study. Fifty primary participants (31 women, MAge = 21.08, SDage = 2.46) from two American universities ¹ were paid \$20 to ask 150 secondary participants to help them win a scavenger hunt by answering trivia questions on an iPad.
Jon K. Mane And Matthew T. Gailliot (2007)	Altruism and egoism: Prosocial motivations for helping depend on relationship context	Survey
Fung Yi Millissa Cheung and Kelly Peng	Beyond exchange and prosocial motives, is altruistic helping a valid motive for organizational citizenship behaviour?	The data of 124 pairs of employee in China have been used to develop and test the measurement of an “altruistic helping of organization” (AHO) in a pilot sample. In addition, AHO had been then tested as a motive for organizational citizenship behaviour (OCB) using data collected from 245 pairs of employees in China.
Monica Y. Bartlett and David DeSteno	Gratitude and Prosocial Behaviour Helping When It Costs You	Case study methodology

2.12 Research Gaps informing this Helping Behaviour Study

The reviewed literature has shown that there is abundant research done on helping behaviour especially in formal organisations, comparatively few works have examined helping behaviours in informal groups and this confirms the earlier claims made by researchers (see Ehrhart, 2004; Bommer et al., 2007; Choi, 2009). The empirical evidence following the review shows four of the following notable gaps.

Knowledge Gap

Studies in informal groups like pirate taxi driver subcultures are yet to be done. Studies however have been done only in informal groups at work places – in already existing organisations. Therefore, knowledge is scanty from related research domains.

Methodological Gap

The research designs used in previous research have involved systematic reviews, experimental research and case study methods. The samples have been as small as 30 and as large as 400. There is no mixed method study design the researcher could borrow the thinking from.

Theoretical Gap

While theories have been used, none has demonstrated the operationalisation of the key variables. This actually creates some difficulty for the researcher to design a study befitting previous research and for ease of comparison.

Population Gap

This study has shown a deficit in research in the taxi driver population. A population gap is a common gap recognized among researchers. Among the informal sector in Zambia, taxi drivers have been the underserved populations that have been under-researched.

2.13 Summary of the Chapter

Although much research has examined how helping behaviour in work teams especially in formal organisations, the study has shown that few works have examined helping behaviours in informal groups. Relatively little interest has been paid to helping behaviour in informal business competitive situations. Even though prior research in helping behaviour has addressed what motivates helping behaviour from various important theoretical underpinnings, one fundamental yet critical question in the literature remains ambiguous that helping behaviour has only looked at formal collectives. The review has shown that research has not yet addressed research question number 3 which is 'What is the dominant type of help that is rendered by drivers?' This study therefore will score a first.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Location

This study was done in Lusaka the capital City of Zambia. The City is located in south central Zambia on a limestone plateau. At the time of the study, Lusaka's population was estimated of about 2 million people. Spoken languages are English and Nyanja, a Bantu language.

Lusaka is the political, cultural, and economic center of the country, it is also the seat of the Government of the Republic of Zambia. Taxi ranks in four locations were selected and these are Hybrid (located in a moderate social economic part of the city (Mod SES), M'tendere located in a low social economic part of the city (Low SES), Kabulonga located in a high social economic part of the city (High SES) and Kangwa located in a low to moderate social economic part of the city (Low to moderate SES). This was done to typify the types of locations which are in Lusaka because the population odcommuters differs and this provides a strong test of generalisability.

3.2 A Tyical Day at The Taxi Rank

At all taxi ranks a typical day starts between 5 and 6 am and ends at about 7pm. The taxi drivers tend to cash in on those going to the hopital or to go and buy mechandise for selling at the markets. The pirate taxi rank is practically like all others in the City of Lusaka. As you approach the station, an increasing number of hawkers want to carry your bags, show you the taxi which is loading or hail you a taxi. As for passengers, those who do not want to get into a taxi of less preference could be seen standing waiting patiently for the preferd carc tobe available. A group of youngsters could be heard hurling insuts and giggles at by standers. Those pirate taxi drivers who need help could be heard asking for partiuoar help and they may be assisted. Some Taxis leave with one passenger while others leave until they are full.

In the rainy season, the parking spaces are slightly muddy and *ngwangwazsi* – bus conductors could be heard shouting the destinations one and you could see passengers walking and peeping from one taxi into another selecting their preference. As a matter of collective behaviour, the drivers do not allow passengers to jump in any taxi of the customer's preference. The *ngwangwazi* could be seen ushering passengers into the taxi at the front. Taxis of all imaginable colour, make and state of beauty are parked under no shelter. The taxi drivers could be seen singularly in their cars or in groups chatting while others could be seen playing 'drouhgts'.

3.3 Research Design

In order to demonstrate the methods or techniques that have been used in this study and to weave the methodology the researcher intends to outline the overall frame which is depicted below as a research design matrix. This is a tool to think with. The tool is arranged in rows and columns informed by the philosophical research assumptions based on the type of reality sought (Harding, 1987; Methodology, 2015) - intertwined with the philosophical considerations of ontology (the nature of reality), and epistemology (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Greene, 2006; Lincoln and Guba, 2011). In terms of mirroring the research questions and objectives, the matrix does not conform to this rule of thumb as it is not philosophical. This is because research methodology is a philosophical stance linked to the nature of being or reality that underlies and informs the style of research (Sapsford and Jupp, 2006). Several authors have argued that because philosophy and methodology are intertwined, it is not possible to explicate methodology without philosophical clarity (Collis and Hussey, 2003; Creswell, 2003; Alise and Teddlie, 2010; Hesse-Biber, 2010).

Table 3.1: Research Design Matrix

Research Question	Research Objective	Population And Sampling ²	Data Collection Techniques ³	Data Analysis Techniques ⁴
'What are the forms of helping behaviours are exhibited among pirate taxi drivers ? <i>For this research question, the researcher is driven by the realist ontology and its logic induction. This is because the researcher desires to estimate and show the patterns of the types of helping behaviours.</i>	To describe based on sample estimates the prevailing forms of helping behaviours among pirate taxi drivers	Draw from the population of drivers based on a sampling frame of drivers by random or probability sampling	Survey structured questionnaire	Univariate and bivariate analysis
'What are the types of helping behaviours are exhibited among pirate taxi drivers ? <i>For this research question, the researcher is driven by the realist ontology and its logic induction. This is because the researcher desires to estimate the elicited types of helping behaviours</i>	To describe based on sample estimates the elicited types of helping behaviours among pirate taxi drivers	Draw from the population of drivers based on a sampling frame of drivers by random or probability sampling	Survey structured questionnaire	Univariate and bivariate analysis
What is the dominant type of help that is rendered by drivers? <i>For this research question, the researcher is driven by the realist ontology and its logic induction. This is because the researcher desires to estimate and show the patterns of the types of helping rendered</i>	To describe based on sample estimates the dominant type of help rendered by drivers?	Draw from the population of drivers based on a sampling frame of drivers by random or probability sampling	Survey structured questionnaire	Univariate and bivariate analysis
Why do pirate taxi drivers engage in these helping behaviours? <i>For this question, it will be driven by the realist ontology and its logic, which is deduction. This is because the researcher wants to test empirical evidence to predict the determinants of the behaviour or cause. The researcher will be driven also by the nominalist ontology and its logic abduction. This is because the researcher is interested in the process and meanings of things that are done.</i>	To determine the correlates of egoistic and altruistic helping behaviours	Draw from the population of drivers based on a sampling frame of drivers by random or probability sampling	Survey structured questionnaire	Multivariate analysis
	To produce a technical account from everyday life world lay concepts, from the motives exhibited of the helping behaviours among pirate taxi drivers.	Draw from the population of drivers respondents based on non-probability or non-random sampling	FGD	Phenomenological interpretive analysis

² The details of random sampling and justification will be written in the methodology section

³ The details of the data collection techniques and justification will be written in the methodology section

⁴ The details of the data analytic techniques and justification will be written in the methodology section

Looking at the research design matrix above, several authors have argued the need to have a framework of such a nature to help in outlining the design. This is because the research design provides the framework within which the research is conducted. It can be used to describe schematically how data is to be collected, analysed and interpreted..

3.4 Research Paradigm

It could be deduced from the research design matrix above that this falls within the mixed methods paradigm – the third wave of research. According to the research methodology literature quantitative research paradigm was accepted as the first phase while the qualitative research paradigm was emerged as an alternative to it and was conceptualized as the opposite of quantitative paradigm. As many researchers started advocating in mixing both quantitative and qualitative methods, resulted to established mixed research method paradigm. With many discussions among the methodologists several definitions have been given to mixed research method. In this thesis, the researcher takes mixed methods research as the type of research in which a researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches (use of qualitative and quantitative viewpoints, data collection, analysis, inference techniques) for the broad purposes of breadth and depth of understanding and corroboration. This definition refers to mixed methods research as a type of research that would involve mixing a single study; a mixed method program would involve mixing within a program of research and the mixing might occur across a closely related set of studies (Johnson and Turner, 2003; Johnson, 2006; Johnson et al., 2007).

This paradigm was selected because the researcher desired to embrace the “thick description” of the qualitative component, and objective precision in the quantitative component with a fluid integration of the findings across methods (Ponterotto et al., 2013). A mixed method approach, therefore, presents a logical and intuitive appeal and provides a platform for bridging the divide between qualitative and quantitative paradigms (Johnson and Turner, 2003; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2005).

A mixed methods type of research design therefore was considered to be appropriate to answer the research questions because each question has an underlying differing ontological and epistemological position as shown in the reseatch design matrix (Table 3.1). Within the mixed methods paradigm, an embedded design approach was chosen in which the researcher opted to elaborate, enhance, illustrate or clarify by way of integration of the results from one paradigm with the results from the other pradaigm. Integration in this study allows the researcher to combine the elements of sampling, data collection and presentation of findings throughout the study. This is done to achive a common research goal, thereby producing findings that are greater than the sum of the parts of any paradigm (Bazeley, 2010: 432). Here the aim of the mixing is to get a more holistic understanding of the research object (Creswell, Plano Clark, et al., 2003) and the interpretation is based on QUAN (qual) results. The premises of this design are that a single data set is not sufficient, since the different world views need to provide evidence to provide answers to the research questions succinctly and to improve the quality of the conclusions informed by the two world views or paradigms (quan and qual) (Morse and Niehaus 2009). This embedded design sees one method of enquiry the “qual” being used in a supportive secondary role to the “quan”. The researcher opted for this design as enables researchers and readers to make sense of the study in its entirety (Almalki, 2016). The research design was in essence sequential (Bergman, 2008; Creswell and Plano Clark 2018; Morse and Niehaus 2009). In this study, the two components are conducted at different times and one component (qualitative) build on the results of the quantitative (QUAN → QUAL).

3.5 Philosohical Assumptions Situating the Inquiry

Three main logics areembedded in this study and these are induction, deduction and abduction. The first two sit within positivism which embraces the realist ontology, postpositivist epistemology, detrministic human nature assumptions and nomothetic methodology. The second one sits in post positivism where the nominalist ontology theorises knowlegde. The nominalist

ontology is linked to the humanist epistemology, voluntarism and idiographic methodologies (Blaikie, 2010).

Positivism assumes that an objective reality exists that is independent of human behaviour and is, therefore, not a creation of the human mind instead; it is about directly perceivable entities or processes (Wolfer, 1993, Poole and Jones, 1996). What we ought to remember when we are studying positivism is that truth in positivist inquiry is achieved through the verification and replication of observable findings. The perspective assumes the existence of an objective reality, i.e. one that is independent of the observer or the knower (Holton, 1993) which can be accurately perceived through the human senses. This embraces induction and deduction.

Regarding post positivism, this is that aspect of science that provides broadly incorporates approaches to knowledge growth rejected by positivism as unscientific. These positions include paradigms like idealism (in form of interpretivism and constructivism) (von Glasersfeld, 1987; Rosenau 1992).

3.5.1 Ontology in this study

The word ontology is derived from the Greek *ontos* (being) and *logos* (theory or account) and could be defined as a theory of elucidating the form or structure or nature of reality. All research deals with ontology because reality must be settled at the outset. Ontology is about the ideas of worldviews. Since this is a mixed methods study, ontologically the study uses the assumptions of realism and nominalism.

The realist ontology in which this study is anchored linked with Comtean positivism and is closely linked to direct realism⁵. In picking the realist ontology according to Klungseth and Olsson (2013), the researcher, is interpreting

⁵ Direct realism says that what you see is what you get: what we experience through our senses portrays the world accurately.

“realism as the study of knowledge that is tangible and aims to be value-neutral. It is about the real-world of the taxi drivers with an orientation without any underlying consciousness”. Realism is linked with an ontology that is well married to positivism, which is arguably the prevalent research paradigm in social research (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991). This will ground quantitative measurement.

In picking the realist ontology, the researcher had in mind that the focus of the study should be on “realities existing outside the mind” as observed by Crotty (1998: 10). This means the researcher is not embracing qualitative research its feelings and thoughts but facts out there in the world or hat is tangible and could be studied independently with prediction and control (Guba and Lincoln, 1982; Guba, 1990 and Grix, 2004). These further points to the need by the researcher, to look for facts that could be measured and quantified.

The nominalist ontology on the other hand in which the qualitative study is anchored linked with Husserlian intentionality and is closely linked to interpretivism and constructivism. In picking the nominalist ontology according to the nominalist view, the social world is a product of human consciousness (Lane, 1999) or mentally constructed (Sekaran and Bougie, 2013). ‘Reality’ according to nominalists refers to whatever is in the individuals – their inner world is one of the most important categories of reality. This form of reality only looks at what cognition can conjure (Olsson, 2013). Nominalism is linked with an ontology that is well married to post positivism (Orlikowski and Baroudi, 1991). This was chosen to ground qualitative expressions based on the experiences of the respondents.

In picking the nominalist ontology, the researcher had in mind that the focus should be on “realities existing inside the minds” Crotty (1998: 10) of taxi drivers and this means the researcher had to embrace feelings and thoughts of the respondents (Guba and Lincoln, 1982; Guba, 1990 and Grix, 2004). These further points to the need to derive individual constructions and collective constructions of respondents. In a constructivist perspective, moreover, the interpersonal exchanges among participants (with all its positive and negative

effects) are considered an important component of reality. From this standpoint, data are “constructed” during the interpersonal exchange, and meanings and accounts are framed, shared, and censured in the interaction between the researcher and the participants and among the participants (Kitzinger, 1994).

3.5.2 Epistemology in this Study

In terms of epistemology, which is the theory of knowledge and this is because epistemology is about issues that are concerned with the type of knowledge that is possible to be accepted as true or valid or reliable and the means by which this knowledge could be communicated (Lane, 1999; Schwandt, 2001; Moser, 2002; Blaikie, 2010).

Epistemology is included in this section of the thesis because the researcher desires to show how people or systems of people know things and how they think; they know things and what standards are required to justify the selected beliefs by the researcher about reality or knowledge (Hesse- Biber and Johnson, 2015). Since this study falls within the mixed methods paradigm, two epistemological positions are described.

As for the quantitative paradigm, realist epistemology for induction and critical rationalist epistemology for deduction are the preferred sub epistemologies within the positivist epistemology.

Critical Rationalist Epistemology

The critical rationalist epistemology uses deductive logic (Barnes, 1995). The epistemology of critical rationalism is theory centred and it is for this reason the researcher has opted to use three theories in this study. Using a critical rationalist epistemology, researchers test the implications of existing theories or explanatory models about the phenomenon under study against the collected data. Researchers who use the critical rationalist epistemology move from

theory to data or from a more abstract and general level to a more concrete and specific one.

A critical rationalist according to Karl Popper does not necessarily assert that there is no 'truth' or 'falsehood'. The critical rationalist merely asserts that 'truth' and 'falsehood' are relative values and as such are useful in establishing a meaningful context (Popper, 1963, 1974; Hans, 1985). Popper is known for his rejection of the classical inductivist views on the scientific method, in favour of empirical falsification: A theory in the empirical sciences can never be proven, but it can be falsified, meaning that it can and should be scrutinized by decisive vigorous research designs (Horgan, 1992; Baert, 2005). This is the reason the hypothesis in this study have the element of falsification. In fact, falsificationism is a scientific philosophy based on requirement that hypotheses must be falsifiable in order to be scientific; if a claim is not able to be refutable it is not scientific claim. Each theory egoism and altruism should be considered as sources of hypothesis and as subjects of a continuous process of justification by scientific investigations. According to the popper's falsification principle, scientific theories are only correct until they are proven wrong. A good scientific theory must be falsifiable. This means that the researcher should be able to come up with a research design that tries to prove the two theories wrong.

The researcher opted to use the critical rationalist epistemology, to guide the research project in selecting the main variables for the study (Sriraman and English, 2005:451). As such, the two theories are the foundation from which all knowledge in this study is constructed (metaphorically and literally). Theory serves as the structure and support for the rationale for the study, the problem statement, the purpose and the significance of the study (Grant and Osanloo, 2014). The two theories epistemologically provide a model or hypothesis to the researcher or map of why the world is the way it is. As such, we see that theory or model ought to be the starting points in a deductive project (Layder, 2001; Blaikie, 2010).

Realist Epistemology

The inductive realist epistemology is an offshoot of Aristotelian induction. The realist inductive modified epistemology, which was used in this study, takes a conceptual approach in conducting the inquiry. It disagrees with naïve realism (Madill et al., 2000; Blaikie, 2007). This epistemology was selected to address the measurement that was denuded by the ‘what’ questions in this study (Hattiangadi, 2012). The modified inductive approach is text-driven (Krippendorff, 2013) is characterised by a search for patterns. For this reason, a conceptual framework of the study becomes the building block to look for evidence. Researchers who use a conceptual framework take it as a mind map, which is a form of a structured approach to map out ideas on any topic as well as structuring the inquiry. Within this epistemology, there was no need to test hypotheses but to provide the constructs for the conceptual map as shown in Figure 1.1.

Humanist Epistemology

This epistemology is linked to the nominalist ontology. This epistemology takes an anti-positivist stance and it takes knowledge to be personal, concerned with personal experience and insight, almost spiritual in nature, and lacking laws. Knowledge in this epistemology is not ‘revealed’, as implied by positivism, but ‘manufactured’ by specific actors. The humanist epistemology subscribes to idealism. This epistemology has two main epistemological variants, these are the interpretivist, and constructivist epistemologies (see Figure 3.1).

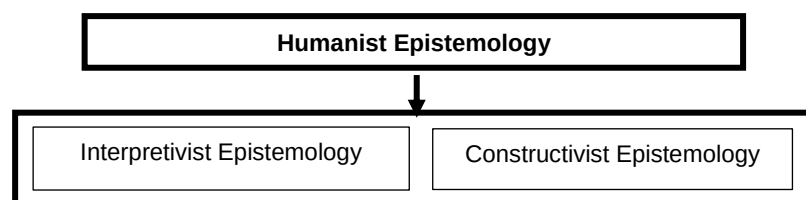


Figure 3.1: Schema of Humanist epistemology

In the humanist epistemology, knowledge is derived from everyday concepts (i.e., relying on common sense terms and typical situations) to symbols or concepts that they use situationally or on a day-to-day basis. This epistemology assumes that *what the taxi drivers know about helping behaviour (italics mine)* is imprinted on their minds and that this is a constructed form of reality (Smith, 1983; Guba and Lincoln, 1989) and it does not necessarily reflect any external "transcendent" realities.

Within interpretivism, the researcher desires respondents to bring out meanings about helping behaviour. Social analysts as culture, norms, understandings, social reality, and definitions of the situation, typifications, ideology, beliefs, worldview, perspective or stereotypes (Lofland and Lofland, 1996), also refer to meanings. Terms such as these share a common focus with humanly constructed ideas that are consciously singled out as important aspects of reality. Meanings are trans behavioural in the sense that they do more than describe behaviour – they define, justify, and otherwise interpret it as well (Lofland and Lofland). Interpretivism was selected because the role of meaning is of paramount importance in human life (Frankl, 1963).

As for constructivism, this position holds that experience is always mediated through features characteristic of all individual minds and/or through concepts individually as well as collectively produced by, and informing the perceptions and practices of, individuals or human groups. What we think of as the natural world becomes a construction of the human mind and/or of the scientific community (Frauley and Pearce, 2007: 7).

Its assumptions include "multiple, intangible mental constructions which may be individually or socially constructed experientially. This constructive understanding is further shaped by cultural settings within the social relationships based on interactions. Unlike interpretivists, social constructivists believe that individuals seek understanding of the world in which they live and work. The constructivist epistemological assumption holds that humans construct knowledge based on processing their experiences through interaction with external stimuli (Mertens, 2015). Epistemologically, the evaluator needs to

interact with participants⁶⁷ and to engage in meaningful dialogue and reflection to construct knowledge (Gramsci, 1971; Guba and Lincoln, 2005) as individuals live in a material, social and cultural context. It is for these reasons that the researcher opted to use focus group discussions, observations and interviews to bring out the constructions.

3.5.3 Human nature assumptions in this study

This is one area that is overlooked when writing a research project. What we need to appreciate from the beginning is that humans have the freedom as well as limitations to choose what they intend to do (McArthur, 1958) through their interactive experiences with the world within them and the world outside of them. We also use values and interests when making decisions or when we decide to do something. All these relate what we call human nature assumptions. This study used two forms of human nature assumptions noting that this was a mixed study. Determinism and voluntarism were as such used in structuring the study.

Determinism

Determinism fits the realist epistemology and the realist ontology. Determinism is closely linked to the positive epistemology and realist ontology where all things are determined for the researcher and the research participants. In Durkheim's conception, we are subject to social facts being values, cultural norms, and social structures that transcend the individual and can exercise social control. We are restricted by various social laws that the field of sociology

⁶ Epistemological constructivists believe that there could be many, equally legitimate constructions of one external reality, whereas hermeneutic constructivists share a view of knowledge as interpretation, an interpretation historically founded rather than timeless, contextually verifiable rather than universally valid, and linguistically generated and socially negotiated rather than cognitively and individually produced.

⁷ Gramsci for instance in emphasising constructionism as a creation following interaction outlines his epistemological stance, which is consistent with qualitative methodologies. "Knowledge," in this view, emerges from the combined endeavours of intellect, emotion and engagement with "the people" he submits (p.418).

is adept in explaining; and just as we cannot defy what society prescribes and has determined. The researcher opted to select the deterministic view to allow the two theories constrain the researcher and participants to only focus on the environment in the process of theoretical interaction (Burrell and Morgan, 1979).

In relation to this research, the researcher as a positivist ought to remain detached from the participants of the research by creating a distance, which is important in remaining emotionally neutral to make clear distinctions between reason and feeling (Carson et al., 2001). The researcher also opted to maintain a clear distinction between science and personal experience and fact and value judgement. The positivist researcher had to bracket all values and interests. The researcher is thus expected to be objective. It is clear from this that determinism lets the researcher conceptualise the research and the participant is rather passive in data collection and analysis.

Voluntarism

The second one relates to voluntarism. This as well as is closely linked to the humanist epistemology and relativist or nominalist ontology. The voluntarist view has people responding in an almost liberal way. Voluntarists avoid rigid structural frameworks such as conceptual frameworks or theoretical frameworks as sources of structuring the inquiry as we see in positivist research. They in turn adopt more personal and flexible research structures (Carson et al., 2001) which are receptive to freedom and permit values as well as interests. The researcher is free in the environment during the process of interaction and so are the respondents. Social structures like laws, rules, and norms are not distinctive as they are deterministic in nature. The voluntarist approach as such ascribes a much more creative, free will approach to humans, having them act as agents able to construct their environment by their thoughts and actions.

In relation to social research, voluntarism therefore demanded that the researcher links these epistemological assumptions when developing methods. For instance, the researcher was free to let the values and the interests of the participants to be reflected as free as possible. Therefore, what we see in these descriptions is that both the researcher and the researcher are free to make choices of how they go about doing things and justify the things they do. Freewill lets the participant to conceptualise the research and the participant is rather active in data collection and analysis.

3.5.4 Methodological Assumptions in this study

Nomothetic Methodology

The term “nomothetic” comes from the Greek word “nomos” meaning “law”. The nomothetic methodology promotes the search for universal laws by a process of identifying tangible concepts and then constructing tests, which allow the concepts to be measured. This methodology sits very well with the positivist epistemology, the realist ontology and determinism. The nomothetic approach was selected to adopt techniques and methods characteristics of natural sciences. It allowed the researcher to subject all data to the crucible and rigors of scientific examination, which has as its focus the process of formulation and testing of hypotheses. The major tool of analysis in the nomothetic research is the use of quantitative techniques. The specific instruments used among others are surveys, questionnaires, personality tests and other standardised instruments. Nomothetic approach focuses on an examination of regularities and relationships to universal laws (Putnam, 1983:41) its salient element is quantitative research.

A nomothetic approach was selected because it borders on using random sampling methods and a large adequate representative sample. It is generally understood to be one where research seeks to identify what is true or generalizable for groups or populations (Grice et al., 2006). In nomothetic research, the goal is to identify general laws, to find what holds true not just for the individual, but also for people in general. As a corollary the nomothetic method “emphasises quantitative analysis of a few variables across large

samples” (Larsson, 1993: 1515). It is important to pinpoint that the application of this approach requires the researcher to be at-home with figure and statistical methods of analysis.

Idiographic Methodology

On the other hand, the ideographic research methodology which centres on motives and meanings about individuals’ constructions and interpretations of their world in a particular way (Putnam, 1983:41), it is considered that the social world can only be understood by obtaining first-hand knowledge of the subject under investigation. An ideographic methodology is concerned with accessing the unique understanding that an individual uses to interpret or construct the world around them. Its epistemology is humanist while its ontology is nominalism, and similarly its human nature is that of voluntarism.

This approach according to Ahiauzu (2010) focuses upon naturally – occurring situations – the encounters that people have in the normal course of events. The salient element in ideographic research is the qualitative research process. The goal of a qualitative investigation is to understand the complex world of human experience and behaviour from the point – of – view of those involved in the situation of interest. Therefore, the investigator is expected not to have an *a priori*, well – delineated conceptualization of the phenomenon, rather, this conceptualization is to emerge from the interaction between participants and investigator. Flexibility in design, data collection, and analysis of research is strongly recommended to gain “deep” understanding and valid representation of the participants’ viewpoints (Sidani and Sechrest: 1996).

Ideographic methodology was chosen because it places considerable stress upon getting close to one's subject and exploring its detailed background and life history. The ideographic approach emphasises the analysis of the subjective accounts, which one generates by 'getting inside' situations and involving

oneself in the everyday flow of life. The ideographic method stresses the importance of letting one's subject unfold its nature and characteristics during the process of investigation (Burrell and Morgan, 1979:6).

The goal of ideographic methodology is to identify particular experiences. As a corollary, the ideographic method “emphasises qualitative analysis of a few units of analysis or cases and looks at them more in depth using flexible, long term and detailed procedures. It is important to pinpoint that the application of this approach requires the researcher to be at-home with qualitative methods of analysis. The ideographic methodology takes a subjective *emic* view of the world and regards experience as a basis for knowledge. It fits the use of key informant interviews, focus group discussions, purposive sampling as well as content, thematic and grounded theory techniques.

3.3 Population

The target population in this study was the total group of individuals from which the sample had to be drawn. There was no reliable sampling list from the Chairmen as some drivers were not regular attendees. Some had taxis where as others did not and would not report at the taxi ranks. However, the population was estimated to be about 280 in the four settings of taxi ranks.

3.4 Sampling

Each of the taxi ranks contains fewer than 90 drivers of which about 30 out of these do not have a car of their own to drive. These drivers act as chancers and conduct errands on behalf of their friends. These are drivers who are unemployed and wait for potential employers at the taxi rank, often chatting in smaller units. Sampling in this study was done in two phases.

3.4.1 Phase I Sampling

Phase I involved quantitative sampling and the pirate taxi drivers were sampled using random sampling in the four clusters. A cluster sample comprised four sampling unit which had a collection or a group of elements. The clusters included four localities based on social economic status (SES) and these were Hybrid taxi rank (a Moderate SES) , M'tendere taxi rank (a low SES) , Kabulonga taxi rank (a high SES) and Kangwa taxirank (a low to moderate SES). Cluster sampling was considered appropriate since at first there was no list of elements and the cost of obtaining observations could have increased as the distance that separated the elements. The sampling frame was obtained from the Chairperson at taxi rank. The Chairperson happened to be a person the pirate taxi drivers had elected to ensure that there is order at the taxi rank. The sampling frame is said to be 100% reliable. A list was written down to obtain the population. The sample size at each rank was determined using Yamane's formula described below.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N (e)^2}$$

Where: **n** is the anticipated sample size

a) **N** is the known population size

b) **e** is 95% confidence level and

c) **p** = 0.5 are assumed for this equation.

3.4.2 Demographics

This study drew $n = 169$ pirate taxi drivers as study respondents. An almost equal number of pirate taxi drivers was drawn from the four taxi ranks except for Kangwa, a low to moderate social SES location, which had a low number $n = 30$ (17.8%) (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Distribution of respondents by locality n = 169

Locality	Hybrid (Moderate SES)	M'tendere (Low SES)	Kabulonga (High SES)	Kangwa (Low to moderate SES)
Sample size	n = 49 (29%)	n = 48 (28.4%)	n = 42 (24.9%)	n = 30 (17.8%)

The sample was rather youthful and their ages ranged from a low of 19 years to a high of 39 years and this evidenced by the mean age which is 28.9 (± 4.4 SD). There were however statistically significant variations in mean age in the four locations ($t = 85.533$; $df = 168$ and $p = 0.001$). Just over half of the pirate taxi drivers had attended secondary school education $n = 98$ (58), just over a quarter $n = 46$ (27.6%) had attended primary school and far less than a quarter $n = 25$ (14.8%) had actually never been to school. This was not expected considering that nature of the trade as it did not require college or university education to drive. The range of pirating was 3 to 10 years and mean was 6 years (± 1.86 SD). There were statistically significant variations in mean pirating years in the four locations ($t = 27.705$; $df = 168$ and $p = 0.001$). About three quarters of the pirate taxi drivers $n = 125$ (74%) drove a privately owned vehicle as compared to $n = 44$ (26%) who drove a personal vehicle. There was no association between type of vehicle ownership and locality ($\chi^2 2.809$; $df = 3$ and $p = 0.642$) (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3: Distal Demographic variables

Variable	Hybrid (Moderate SES)	Kangwa (Low moderate SES)	to Kabulonga (High SES)	M'tendere (Low SES)
<i>Mean age</i>	29.5	31.1	26.7	28.8
<i>Mean pirating working years</i>	6.4	5.6	6.0	5.9
<i>Level of education</i>				
a) Never been to school	5	2	8	10
b) Primary School	12	10	6	16
c) Secondary school	32	20	26	22
<i>Vehicle ownership</i>				
a) Privately owned	37	26	31	31
b) Personal	12	6	9	17

Very few pirate taxi drivers $n = 23$ (13.6%) owned the vehicles they were driving as compared to those who were hired $n = 146$ (86.4%) (see Figure 3.2).

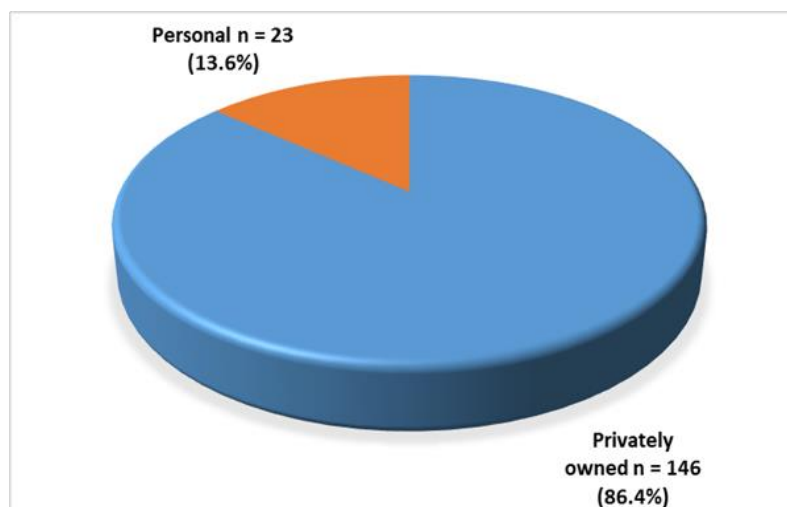


Figure 3.2 Profile of Vehicle Ownership

3.4.3 Phase II Sampling

Criterion sampling as a kind of purposive sampling was used in the second phase to enlist drivers for in-depth phenomenological interviews and focus group discussions. Criterion sampling was used to identify and select cases that met some predetermined criterion of importance. The criterion was set in categories as follows:

- a) Those who had answered the survey questionnaire in a particular way by type of helping behaviour - those who exhibited egoistic or altruistic behaviour,
- b) Those who demonstrated a tendency of helping behaviour,
- c) Those who demonstrated in-group favouritism and those not.
- d) Age as either youths or older drivers.

In phase II of the study, the researcher conducted serendipitous sampling, for unplanned phenomenological interviews and observations with some pirate taxi drivers apart from the initial planned phenomenological in-depth interviews with at least two members of the leaders in each site. These phenomenological interviews were with four Chairmen and were appropriate to the study as it allowed the researcher to request the participants to be part of the debriefs as the research progressed. In total the researcher conducted 41 phenomenological interviews as shown below in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Profile of Interviews

Site	Hybrid (Moderate SES)	Kangwa (Low moderate SES) to	Kabulonga (High SES)	M'tendere (Low SES)
Planned KII	2	2	2	2
Unplanned Interviews	7	10	8	8
Total	9	12	10	10

3.5 Identification and Operationalisation of Variables

For this study, a helping behaviour questionnaire was designed following an inductive analysis of the literature. This questionnaire contained an introductory part explaining the purpose of the survey. A twenty item structured questionnaire was designed using a five-point Likert scale. The questionnaire was composed of the following sections:

- a) Section covered about distal social demographic characteristics.
- b) Section B covered independent dependent variables covered helping behaviour which was composed of questions embracing two categories of helping be saviours (Altruistic helping behaviour and egoistic helping behaviour).
- c) Section C: covered the dependent variable and this was type of help rendered.

The measures of these variables are presented in detail as follows:

Distal social demographic characteristics

These variables included age, location of work, level of education, estimated income per month, number of years as a pirate taxi driver and ownership type of vehicle.

Helping Behaviour Variables

In this study, Spitzmuller and Van Dyne's (2013) two main classes of helping behaviour were considered as helping behaviour variables being the mediating mechanisms (goal orientations) influencing the pirate taxi driver to render help to a colleague who is in negative state of life (needy situation). These two categories of helping behaviour being altruistic and egoistic helping behaviour

were measured on a 5-point ordinal scale, with 1 being “always,” 2 being “frequently”, 3 being “somewhat agree”, 4 being “occasional” and 5 being “never.”

Category 1 Altruistic helping behaviour

- a) I help my fellow driver devoting my time to providing services with no benefit on my part.
- b) I help my fellow driver devoting my energy to providing services with no benefit on my part.
- c) I help my fellow drivers to improve their situation with no benefit on my part.

In order to have a composite score, the levels of agreements of each respondent were summed and further three categories were developed *a priori*, namely, “High altruism helping behaviour”, “Moderate altruism helping behaviour” and “Low altruism helping behaviour”. Three thresholds were used for these three categories. Respondents who scored in the range of 3 to 6 were placed in the “High altruism helping behaviour” category, those who scored in the range of 7 to 11 were placed in the “Moderate altruism helping behaviour” category, and, finally, those who scored from 12 to 15 were placed in the “low altruism helping behaviour” category. Based on their individualised composite scores, a category was allotted to each respondent.

Category 2 Egoistic helping behaviour

- a) I help my fellow drivers in order to make themselves feel better emotionally.
- b) I help my fellow drivers whenever I am feeling sad of their state as a positive mood boost to make me feel happier later on.
- c) I help my fellow driver because of the motivation in me to eliminate the negative aversive state.
- d) I help my fellow drivers when the cost is low on my side and rewards are more on my side.

- e) I help my fellow drivers to prevent punishment from my friend or the group.

In order to have a composite score, the levels of agreements of each respondent were summed and further three categories, namely, “High egoistic helping behaviour”, “Moderate egoistic helping behaviour” and “Low egoistic helping behaviour”, were later formed. The range for the scores ought to be between 5 to 25. Three thresholds were used as follows: respondents who scored in the range of 5 to 11 were placed in the “High egoistic helping behaviour” category, those who scored in the range of 12 to 18 were placed in the “Moderate egoistic helping behaviour category,” and, finally, those who scored from 19 to 25 were placed in the “low egoistic helping behaviour” category. Based on their individualised composite scores, a category was allotted to each respondent.

Type of help rendered in this was operationalised as offering to a colleague who is in negative state of life (a needy situation) goal directed help, material help, physical help, or emotional support. These four types of help were measured on a 5 point ordinal scale, with 1 being “always,” 2 being “frequently”, 3 being “occasional,” 4 being “seldom” and 5 being “Never.” The variables included the following:

- a) I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty completing goal directed help (e.g.; car break down).
- b) I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty with unmet material desire (e.g.; a resource like money or spare tyre).
- c) I am at hand helping where an individual desires physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking driving errands when committed).
- d) I am at hand helping where an individual is in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer).

In order to have a composite score, the levels of frequency of each respondent were summed and further three categories, namely, “High propensity”, “Moderate propensity” and “Low propensity”, were later formed. Three thresholds were used as follows: respondents who scored in the range of 4 to

8 were placed in the “High propensity” category, those who scored in the range of 9 to 15 were placed in the “Moderate propensity category,” and, finally, those who scored from 16 to 20 were placed in the “low propensity” category. Based on their responses, a category was allotted to each respondent.

3.6 Data Collection

Data was collected after conducting a pilot study at the pirate taxi rank in Chelston. The pilot test was used as the final step in the questionnaire development (Churchill, 1979). To ensure the readability of the scenarios and wording used in the questionnaires, one focus group discussion was set-up for the pilot test. Twenty pirate taxi drivers answered the questionnaire and one focus group discussion was done on the same day. The questions in the questionnaire were further discussed after the focus group meeting to allow respondents render a feedback. The questions included what they thought of the research purpose and design of the questionnaires was like. The participants' comments on the questionnaire design were then used to make a few minor corrections concerning questionnaire wording. After the pilot test, the researcher made the final version of the questionnaire and focus group discussion points.

Data was collected using a survey questionnaire in-depth phenomenological interviews and focus group discussions. Data was collected in two phases. Phase I included the administration of a survey questionnaire. Phase II involved interviewing leaders at the taxi ranks and focus group discussions. Data was collected after explanation of the procedures by the researcher. All participants provided informed consent before participating in the study. The pirate taxi drivers were informed that their individual responses would remain confidential and that they could withdraw from the study at any time.

3.6.1 Phase I Data Collection

Phase II involved the administration of the survey questionnaire. Respondents completed the survey at their own time and were handed over to the team leader at the taxi rank. Usually the team leader at the taxi rank ensured that questionnaires were answered by those who were identified based on the sampling frame. The team leaders collected the completed responses in the envelopes and handed them to the research team personally. Eleven of the questionnaires could not be part of the analysis as they were excluded because of the missing data. The final sample for analysis comprised 169 questionnaires. The response was rather high 93% and this was higher than the recommended 80% (see Fincham, 2008).

3.6.2 Phase II Data Collection

Phase II involved the conduct of phenomenological interviews and focus group discussions. One to one unstructured narrative phenomenological interviews were conducted to assess phenomenological responses relating to conditions under which the helping behaviours are exhibited (arise or causal conditions; context (Where or when), intervening conditions drivers employ in these two types of helping behaviours. Based on the current understanding, no interview can be qualified as truly unstructured. However, certain interviews are disjointed in their nature of implementation that they qualify the tag name. This form of interview has its roots in the ethnographic tradition of anthropology (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree, 2006) and was opted to allow the researcher to probe when particular phenomena were not mentioned spontaneously. In studying certain aspects of social issues, researchers have to become part of what they are studying. Doing so enables them to observe, point out the lead subjects and informally ask them questions while they take notes. This form of interview needs to be conceptualised as the narrative interview (Stuckey, 2013). Although through different conceptualization, point out that the narrative mode of question is a type of unstructured interview (Jamshed, 2014; Muylaert et al., 2014). Significantly, narrative phenomenological interviews were used to allow respondents to bring out phenomena around helping behaviour which emerged from the life stories of the respondent and the situational context. This

type of interview encouraged and stimulated the interviewee subject (informant) to tell the interviewer something about helping events in the pirate taxi drivers working life and the social context of the taxi rank. Based on the idea of reconstructing social events from the point of view of informants, the influence of the interviewer in narrative was minimal (See Appendix II). Phenomenological interviews were done at the rank when the pirate taxi drivers were free. In total eight planned phenomenological interviews were conducted – two at each site with the Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson of the taxi rank. A further thirty three unplanned phenomenological interviews were conducted in the four settings as novel or sentinel events happened. The number is more than the expected according to the rule of thumb (see Dukes, 1984; Lincoln and Guba, 1985 ; Morse, 1994; 2000; Boddy, 2005; Parse, 2009).

Table 3.5: Rules of thumbs for Samples in Interview Studies

Author(s)	Recommendation
Boddy (2005)	Suggests an upper limit of 30 in-depth interviews, if researching a relatively homogeneous population
Dukes (1984)	Recommends 3 to 10 participants in a phenomenological study.
Kuzel (1999)	Recommends 5 to 8 participants in a homogeneous sample (or homogeneous subgroups within a sample) or 12 to 20 if looking for disconfirming evidence or to achieve maximum variation sampling
Lincoln and Guba (1985)	Recommend between 12 and 20 participants in interview studies
Morse (1994, 2000)	Morse (1994, 2000) Morse (1994) recommends at least 6 participants for phenomenological recommends at least 6 participants for phenomenological
Parse (2009)	Recommends 2 to 10 participants in order to achieve 'redundancy or saturation'

Focus group discussions were done with a selected group of pirate taxi drivers to discuss the topic in-depth, facilitated by the researcher as moderator. This method served to solicit participants' attitudes and perceptions, knowledge and experiences, and practices, shared in the course of interaction among themselves. The technique is based upon the assumption that the group processes activated during the FGDs help to identify and clarify shared knowledge within the community, which would otherwise be difficult to obtain

with a series of individual interviews. The FDGs allowed the investigator to solicit both the participants' shared narrative as well as their differences in terms of experiences, opinions, and worldviews during such 'open' discussion rounds.

3.7 Trustworthiness of the Study

Trustworthiness or rigor of a study refers to the degree of confidence in data, interpretation, and methods used to ensure the quality of a study (Pilot & Beck, 2014). The study could be quantitative or qualitative. Each paradigm has its own tenets of trustworthiness and below the researcher begins with the quantitative part and follows with the qualitative part.

3.7.1 Trustworthiness of the Quantitative Phase

Qualitative research, ensues from its own ontology and epistemology and embraces single reality and quality standards are very different from quantitative research. The researcher applied canonical standards of scientific quality inherent of quantitative research and these relate to qualitative research. These relate to veracity or correctness of the findings. In this way, readers may appreciate and accept as credible (valid) and truthful (reliable) what has been presented in the previous chapters of this study. The following are the steps the researcher ensured that the quantitative part attained trustworthiness. The most used terms are validity and reliability.

Although the concepts of validity and reliability are closely related, they express different properties of the measuring instrument. Generally, a measuring instrument may be reliable without being valid, but if a measuring instrument is valid, it is also likely to be reliable. However, reliability alone is not sufficient to ensure validity. Even if a test is reliable, it may not accurately reflect the desired behaviour or quality. For this reason, the researcher tested both the validity and reliability of the measuring instrument.

Validity

Validity refers to whether the measuring instrument measures the behaviour or quality of the dependent and independent variables which it intended to measure and is a measure of how well the measuring instrument performed its function (Anastasi and Urbina, 1997). Validity was determined by the meaningful and appropriate interpretation of the data obtained from the measuring instrument construct. In order for the research to yield beneficial results, the measuring instrument must measure what it claims. The use of a validated measuring instrument ensures that the findings obtained as a result of the analyses are valid. Noting that these instruments were not readily available, the researcher achieved this by operationalising the concepts as close to the descriptions of the reviewed literature using the logic of induction. as a result of the analyses. This was the first step to ensure that data that would be obtained was appropriate for the intended use of the measuring instruments (Whiston, 2012). The use of literature conferred content validity and Bollen (1989) defined content validity as a qualitative form of validity that evaluates whether the expressions contained in the measuring instrument represented the phenomenon intended to be measured. In line with this definition, it can be said that a content validity of a measuring instrument is a validity study that reveals the extent to which each item in the measuring instrument serves the purpose. To do this, the researcher had to develop a theoretical definition of the relevant concepts and determined the content (dimensions) of the main concepts.

Reliability

Reliability refers to the stability of the measuring instrument used and its consistency over time. In other words, reliability is the ability to measure instruments to give similar results when applied at different times. Of course, it is unlikely that the same results will be given every time due to differences at the time the measuring instrument is applied, as well as changes in the population and the sample. The reliability of the measuring instrument was

considered to be an essential consideration for the results of the study to be healthy.

Prior to the data analysis, this study conducted a construct check to assess the reliability and the discriminant validity of the scale measurement. Noting that there are different methods one could use to determine the reliability of the scales used in empirical research and among these, the most frequently applied methods are test-retest reliability, alternative forms, and internal consistency tests, the researcher opted for internal consistency tests involving alpha reliability coefficient). Although the Cronbach's alpha is interpreted in different ways in the literature, the generally accepted approach is presented in the table below (Nunnally, 1978).

Table 3.6 The Classification of Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient

<i>Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient</i>	<i>Interpretation of Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient</i>
$\geq 0,9$	The internal consistency of the scale is high
$0,7 \leq \alpha < 0,9$	The scale has internal consistency
$0,6 \leq \alpha < 0,7$	The internal consistency of the scale is acceptable
$0,5 \leq \alpha < 0,6$	The internal consistency of the scale is weak,
$\alpha \leq 0,5$	The scale has no internal consistency

The researcher examined the factor loadings, composite reliability, Cronbach's α , average variance extracted (AVE) and R^2 by using statistical procedures to check the internal consistency of the variable. The factor loadings were checked, with values greater than 0.7 being retained showing internal consistency and items with loading values lower than 0.7 being dropped as unacceptable. As will be seen, the values were higher than the recommended value of 0.5, showing appropriate convergent validity. The values of variance inflation factors were lower than 4, indicating no serious problems with the multicollinearity issue.

Even though this study had a rigorous process of validating the data collection tool during the piloting process, the researcher went further to conduct a

reliability analysis based on exploratory factor analysis. This was done to assess further the consistency and stability in the results of the questions that were asked domain by domain (human social capital resources, physical capital resources, and organisational capital resources domains). The method of one test administration was used. The researcher desired to estimate reliability by focussing on how consistently the participants performed or scored across subsets of items on the single test/scale form. The reliability estimates generated the one test method that was used employed factor analysis to assess internal consistency.

Following the piloting experience factor analyses were conducted to examine the underlying reliability patterns of the measurement scales. The researcher employed Cronbach's α to measure the internal consistency of the variable. Following the analysis, inter item consistency was found to fall within the range of 0.70 – 0.92. The alpha reliability for the three main domains were as follows: Financial irregularities were 0.878; and influencers was 0.888. This confirms that the domains offered very high reliability (See Table 3.7). Based on this, common method bias should not be a serious threat in this study (Podsakoff et al., 2003).

Table 3.7: Factor Analysis Results of the Constructs of Antecedents

<i>Factors</i>	<i>Factor loading range for variables in each domain</i>	<i>Variance Explained</i>	<i>Reliability</i>
Financial irregularities	0.841 - 0.926	49.67	0.878
Influencers	0.816 - 0.926	39.07	0.888

Looking at the factor loading ranges for the variables in each domain shows that the scores of the participants are consistent across subsets of items on the single test/scale form. The researcher could conclude that that these items or subsets of items came from the same content domain and were constructed according to the same specifications the researcher has some confidence that this performance would generalize to other possible items in the content domain.

3.7.2 Trustworthiness of the Qualitative Phase

Since qualitative research, ensues from its own ontology and epistemology and embraces multiple standards of quality that are very different from quantitative research, I have applied canonical standards of scientific quality inherent of qualitative research. These relate to veracity or correctness of the findings. In this way, readers may appreciate and accept as credible (valid) and truthful (reliable) what has been presented in the previous chapters of this study. When attesting to the veracity and trustworthiness of this study, the researcher hopes that the criteria that are used by readers are not those that are applicable for quantitative research. Leininger (1992) and Hamberg et al. (1994) for example, advise that the established criteria for scientific rigour in quantitative research, like validity and reliability, could not be applied to qualitative studies to establish the trustworthiness of qualitative research findings. Criteria outlined by Lincoln and Guba (1985) are accepted by many qualitative researchers and are the ones that were employed.

Credibility

Credibility of the study, or the confidence in the truth of the study and therefore the findings, is one of the most important criterion (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Polit & Beck, 2014). This concept is analogous to internal validity in quantitative research. Credibility dealt with the confidence in how well the data addressed the intended focus (Polit & Beck, 2012). Thus, the researcher paid a lot of thought into how to collect the most suitable data for content analysis. Phenomenological interviews and observations were deemed very appropriate.

The study enlisted respondents using more than one type of purposive sampling to select persons who were deemed appropriate to render data on helping behaviour in the four collectives. There were times when events were very novel and in this case, the researcher conducted serendipitous sampling, phenomenological interviews and observations with some pirate taxi drivers and events. Apart from this, the researcher was engaged in prolonged engagement with participants coupled with taxi rank observations. These were appropriate to the study as it allowed the researcher to request the participants to be debriefing. The researcher was able to return as a matter of iteration to allow the participants to examine the data as it was being analysed it several

times. The researcher was able to enlist respondents for interviews and observations to allow data to be well saturated (Whittemore et al., 2001). This did not require determining the sample size *a priori* because there is no commonly accepted sample size for qualitative studies. The optimal sample depends on the purpose of the study, research questions, and richness of the data (Sandelowski, 1995; Burmeister, 2012).

The researcher-conducted pre-interviews as these helped to determine whether the interview questions were suitable for obtaining rich data that answer the proposed research questions. These were done at a taxi rank, which was not enlisted in this study.

Dependability

Dependability refers to the stability of the data over time and over the conditions of the study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Graneheim and Lundman, 2004; Polit & Beck, 2014). The study of a phenomenon experienced by a respondent may be very similar from time to time. In a study of pirate taxi drivers, however, conditions tended to change each day. The procedures for dependability included the researcher maintaining an audit trail of process logs of who was interviewed and observed in the helping behaviour. Process logs included the researcher's notes of all activities that happened each day at the taxi rank during the study and decisions about aspects of the study, such as whom to interview and what to observe. In addition, the researcher has rendered the details of the research so that the transferability of the results to other contexts can be assessed (e.g., see Moretti et al., 2011).

Authenticity

The authenticity of this study is about convincing readers, not only that the interpretation is drawn from the data, but also that the researcher had spent time in the field and had really experienced the "lived worlds" of the taxi drivers. In this study, authenticity has been met by conveying clearly depicting the processes of data collection and analysis, together with demonstrating the

researcher's thoroughness in these processes and qualifying anything that might compromise this, i.e. personal biases. The researcher has ensured that all the interpretive points made are linked back to some piece of evidence in the data. The researcher has also accounted for as much of the information and variation as possible, so that there is some degree of well argued "fit" between the information (and data), and the explanations he has reflexively offered to account for the interpretation offered of the data. It is no possible however, to account for every piece of data, but the researcher has endeavoured to capture some sense of the issues he had encountered; demonstrating that he searched systematically and conscientiously through the data and he did not ignore inconvenient emergent themes or findings (Hogg and Maclaran, 2008).

Transferability

The nature of transferability, the extent to which findings are useful to persons in other settings, has been dealt with to show how applicable the findings are to their situations (Polit & Beck, 2014). Though the researcher focused on the informants and their story without saying this is everyone's story, this study's transferability is seen with a rich, detailed description of the context, location, and people studied, and by being transparent about analysis and trustworthiness. The researcher has provide a vivid sub cultural thick descriptive picture of the taxi drivers that will inform readers of detail that could be used to extrapolate the findings (Koch, 1994; Graneheim & Lundman, 2004; Amankwaa, 2016).

3.8 Phase I Quantitive Data Analysis

Data was analysed by using SPSS version 21 (Inc., Chicago, USA). Univariate were initially performed with the main purpose being to describe the data and find patterns that exist within it. This helped later on in performing additional statistical analyses. the researcher used using Pearson's Chi square test, and Spearman correlation since most of our variables failed the normality tests. For all statistical analyses, $p < 0.05$ was considered significant.

3.9 Phase II Qualitative Data Analysis

As for the qualitative data, textual material was done using a combination of content analysis and Husserl's phenomenological way of thinking about crystallization (term Husserl called reduction) to experience the phenomenon. The researcher analysed the data phenomenological following three stages as informed by Maulidin (2003: 19) and these included (1) bracketing (*epoché*), which reveals the reality (phenomenon) without preconceptions; (2) crystallization eidetic: sorting out the essential aspects to be formulated into meaning, and grouping them into certain thematic codes; (3) the stage of synthesised themes into the narrative description. The researcher applied content analysis to determine the presence and meaning of concepts, terms, or words from written notes of phenomenological interviews and focus group discussions.

When analysing the qualitative data, the researcher used both induction and deduction (Lehmann, 2001; Fernández et al., 2002). Induction was applied to explore the data's interactive patterns in terms of concepts, insights, and understandings (Patton, 2002) that were emerging from the data; that is, as the inductively revealed themselves to the researcher. Deduction entailed the application of Derek Layder's use of extant theory to try to linking theory with empirical research. This entailed getting to the literature and applying altruistic and egoistic assumptions as well as helping motives linking these to what was in the interview and focus group discussion texts (Layder, 1998). This approach was used because Layder posits that a gap tends to develop between what the theory posits and what could be real (Layder, 1998:7-8). To bridge the gulf, he proposes 'adaptive theory' which "focuses on generating social theory or improving social theory in conjunction with ongoing empirical research". This means a rejection of a postmodernist concentration on description and 'local narratives' though without a return to a basic positivist position. Instead the recognition of increasing complexity in the social world should prompt us to seek more sophisticated explanations in order "to produce ever more adequate knowledge" (Layder, 1998:9).

The researcher focused his analysis on images and metaphors used to describe aspects of helping; affects and emotions expressed in the texts; impersonal vs. personal constructions of sentences; implicit meanings of phrases; discourses related to helping and their articulation/sequences in the text; cooperation and negotiation among participants in the discourse construction process (Weitzman and Miles, 1995; Silverman, 2000). The coding frame was constantly revised and updated as new data emerged during the data analysis process.

CHAPTER FOUR - FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This study was structured around three research questions and each had two objectives embracing the two worldviews. Noting that this is a mixed methods and embedded study, the data was presented with an embedded approach. Qualitative and quantitative data was presented in a trail.

4.3 Forms of Helping Behaviour

This section is addressing the first research question which is ‘What are the forms of helping behaviours are exhibited among pirate taxi drivers?’ The first form of helping behaviour is termed as unsolicited proactive helping behaviour, which refers to a driver’s voluntary actions that help resolve co-workers’ future task-related issues exhibited before being asked by the co-workers. The second form of helping behaviour is the unsolicited reactive helping behaviour, which describes a driver’s voluntary actions exhibited before being asked by co-workers with work-related issues when the employee perceives and/or sees that the co-workers may need help. The third form of helping behaviour being reactive helping behaviour, which is a set of voluntary actions that help pirate taxi drivers with task-related issues exhibited after being asked by co-workers. The data shows that pirate taxi drivers were less proactive to help. However, they had the propensity to be reactive when helping either unsolicited or solicited as these two forms had the highest frequency of instances as shown in Table 4.3a.

Table 4.3a: Distribution of forms of helping behaviour n = 169

Form of helping behaviour	Always		Frequently		Occasionally		Seldom		Never	
	Frequency		Frequency		Frequency		Frequency		Frequency	
	n	%	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help	29	17.2	41	24.3	33	19.5	42	24.9	24	14.2
Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that the my friend or friends need help at the rank	78	46.2	36	21.3	14	8.3	29	17.2	12	7.1
Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank	69	40.8	16	9.5	6	3.6	49	29.0	29	17.2

The data generally shows that vehicle ownership has no association with the form of helping behaviour. However, solicited reactive form of helping behaviours has a significant association with the voluntary in nature in helping when asked by a friend or friends at the rank irrespective of type of ownership.

Table 4.3b Chi-Square Tests of forms of helping behaviour

<i>Private owned or personal</i>	<i>Value</i>	<i>df</i>	<i>Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)</i>
Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that the my friend or friends need help at the rank	2.333	4	.675
Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank.	11.384	4	.023
Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help	1.355	4	.852

4.4 Types of helping behaviour

The researcher profiled the type of helping behaviour of pirate taxi drivers in terms of egoistic or altruistic behaviour based on the conceptual map as described in Figure 1.1 in chapter 1). Egoistic and altruistic behaviour were assessed and each is described below.

Egoistic behaviour

When the researcher assessed egoistic helping behaviour, the data shows that more than three quarters of the pirate taxi drivers $n = 133$ (78.7%) exhibited low egoistic helping behaviour, as compared to a quarter $n = 33$ (19.5%) who exhibited moderate egoistic helping behaviour. A paltry $n = 3$ (1.8%) exhibited high egoistic helping behaviour (See Table 4.4a). These observations were further analysed using composite scores as they were constructed on Likert scale to determine the whether they could be graded as (a) high egoistic helping behaviour (b) moderate egoistic helping (c) low egoistic helping behaviour. A Likert scale is composed of a series of four or more Likert-type items that are combined into a single composite score/variable during the data analysis process. Combined, the Likert items are used to provide a quantitative measure of a character or personality trait. In order to make this determination since the

initial preferences were ordinal, the Likert items for each respondent were summed up. The minimum and maximum scores were set between 5-20. The three categories scores were as follows: 5 - 9 were graded as low altruistic helping behaviour, 10 -15 were graded as moderate altruistic helping behaviour and 15-20 was graded as high altruistic helping behaviour. The sample score in this study was 9.6 ($\pm$ 2.4 SD) and this was within the low category of egoistic helping behaviour (See Table 4.4c).

Table 4.4c: Level of helping behaviour

	Descriptives					
Helping behaviour	Frequency		μ	SD	Min	Max
Egoistic Helping Behaviour	n	%	9.6	2.4	5	18
▪ Low egoistic helping behaviour	133	78.7	-	-	-	-
▪ Moderate egoistic helping behaviour	33	19.5	-	-	-	-
▪ High egoistic helping behaviour	3	1.8	-	-	-	-

The researcher assessed whether there was any difference in helping behaviour on the basis of level of education and from figure 4.4a. The error bars are not all in a line straight line which represents variation of the corresponding coordinates exhibiting the outlined sample standard deviation of 2.4 in the data set as shown in figure 4.4a below.

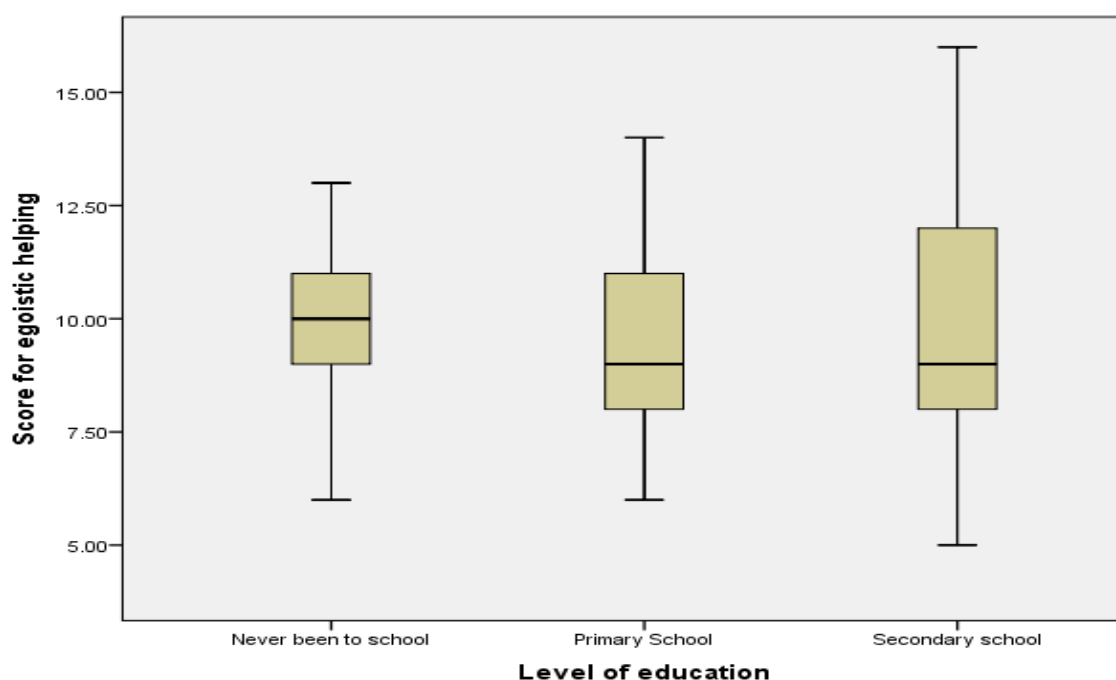


Figure 4.4a Differences in egoistic behaviour by education

The differences can be further affirmed from the descriptives below in Table 4.4d which show unequal group means.

Table 4.4d Differences in Egoistic Behaviour by Area of operation

Level of education			Statistic
Score for egoistic helping	Never been to school	Mean	9.8400
		Median	10.0000
		Std. Deviation	1.67531
	Primary School	Mean	9.3636
		Median	9.0000
		Std. Deviation	2.36339
	Secondary school	Mean	9.6600
		Median	9.0000
		Std. Deviation	2.27512

The pattern was the same for area of pirating as shown in Figure 4.4b as the error bars are not all in a line straight line which represents variation of the corresponding coordinates exhibiting the outlined standard deviation of in the data set.

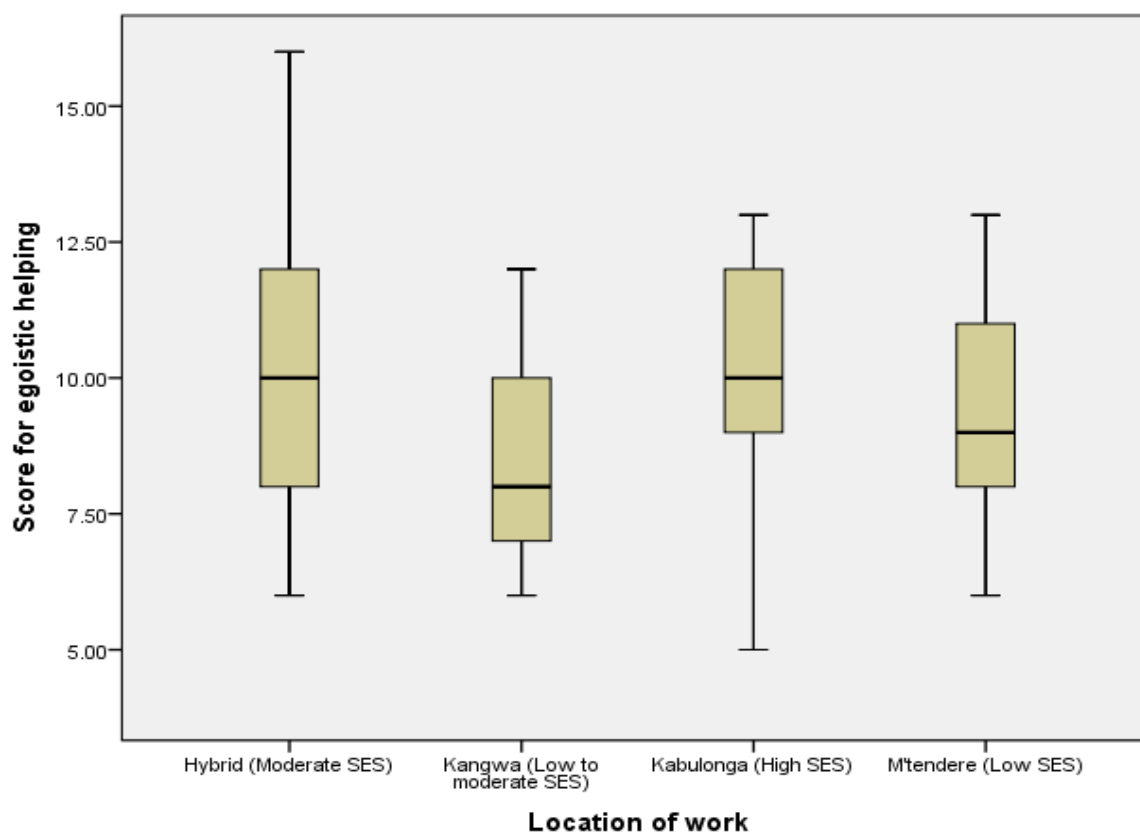


Figure 4.4b Differences in egoistic behaviour by area of pirating

The differences can be further affirmed from the descriptives below in Table 4.4e which show unequal group means.

Table 4.4e Differences in Egoistic Behaviour by Area of Pirating

	Location of work		Statistic
Score for egoistic helping	Hybrid (Moderate SES)	Mean	10.1020
		Median	10.0000
		Variance	5.760
		Std. Deviation	2.40004
	Kangwa (Low to moderate SES)	Mean	8.5000
		Median	8.0000
		Std. Deviation	1.79605
	Kabulonga (High SES)	Mean	10.0750
		Median	10.0000
		Std. Deviation	2.41138
	M'tendere (Low SES)	Mean	9.4583
		Median	9.0000
		Std. Deviation	1.84458

Accounts relating to Egoistic helping behaviour

There were very few instances when drivers expressed one's self-directed desires being concerns for oneself. Those who were in a position to help did not show selflessness but concern for self. If they helped, it is because they were compelled by fear of being labelled unhelpful and subsequent individualised or group based sanctions.

Those who were in a position to show their helping behaviours at times said.

People here do not just help. They do so to get a favour in return. You will hear them mentioning it...I helped you last time with a spare tyre and now you cannot help me...

Others spoke about people being ready to pay back.

I would not help anybody if they were not prepared to help me so.

Expecting some return was echoed by some.

There has to be something in my helping. In our culture (Nsenga) we say kaselo wela kaselo noya (Give someone a plate of food, the next time the plate returns ought to have food).

One emphasised indebtedness to those being helped.

When I offer to help, I see no reason in letting those I help to be aware that they are also indebted for my deeds. However, the returned help may not be of equal measure at all.

Helping was at times linked with the sense of feeling good or for pleasure.

It feels just good to help you know. ...I mean pleasurable.

These excerpts show the self as critical in helping. Egoistic behaviour was rather uncommon though it was useful in this sub culture.

Altruistic behaviour

When the researcher assessed altruistic helping behaviour, the data shows that more than three quarters of the pirate taxi drivers $n = 119$ (70.4%) exhibited high altruistic helping behaviour, as compared to less than a quarter $n = 28$ (16.6%) who exhibited low altruistic helping behaviour. Twenty-two (13.0%) exhibited moderate altruistic helping behaviour (See Table 4.4f).

Table 4.4f: Level of Altruistic Helping Behaviour

<i>Helping behaviour</i>	<i>Descriptives</i>					
	<i>Frequency</i>		<i>μ</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>Min</i>	<i>Max</i>
<i>Altruistic Helping Behaviour</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>	12	2.5	3	15
▪ Low altruistic helping behaviour	28	16.6	-	-	-	-
▪ Moderate altruistic helping behaviour	22	13.0	-	-	-	-
▪ High altruistic helping behaviour	119	70.4 %	-	-	-	-

The researcher assessed whether there was any difference in altruistic helping behaviour on the basis of level of education and from figure 4.4c below, the error bars are not all in a line straight line which represents variation of the corresponding coordinates exhibiting the outlined sample standard deviation of 2.5 in the data set.

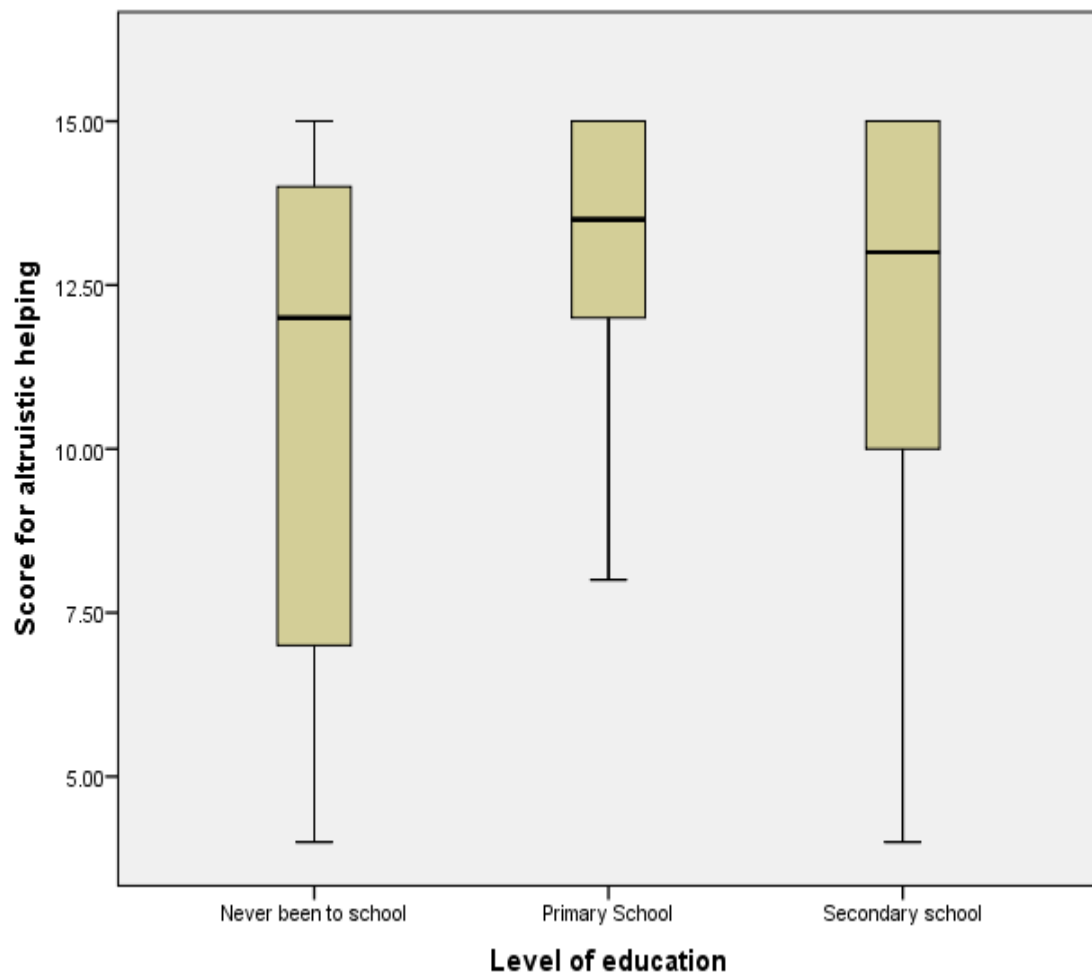


Figure 4.4c Differences in altruistic behaviour by education

The differences can be further affirmed from the descriptives below in Table 4.4g which show unequal group means. The sample score was 11.9 (± 3.2 SD) and this was within the high category of egoistic helping behaviour.

Table 4.4g Differences in Altruistic Behaviour by Area of Operation

Level of education		Statistic
Score for altruistic helping	Never been to school	Mean
		10.6400
		Median
		12.0000
		Std. Deviation
		3.88244
	Primary School	Mean
		12.9545
		Median
		13.5000
		Std. Deviation
		1.95239
	Secondary school	Mean
		11.8100
		Median
		13.0000
		Std. Deviation
		3.43980

The pattern was the same for area of pirating as shown in Figure 4.4d as the error bars are not all in a line straight line which represents variation of the corresponding coordinates exhibiting the outlined sample standard deviation in the data set.

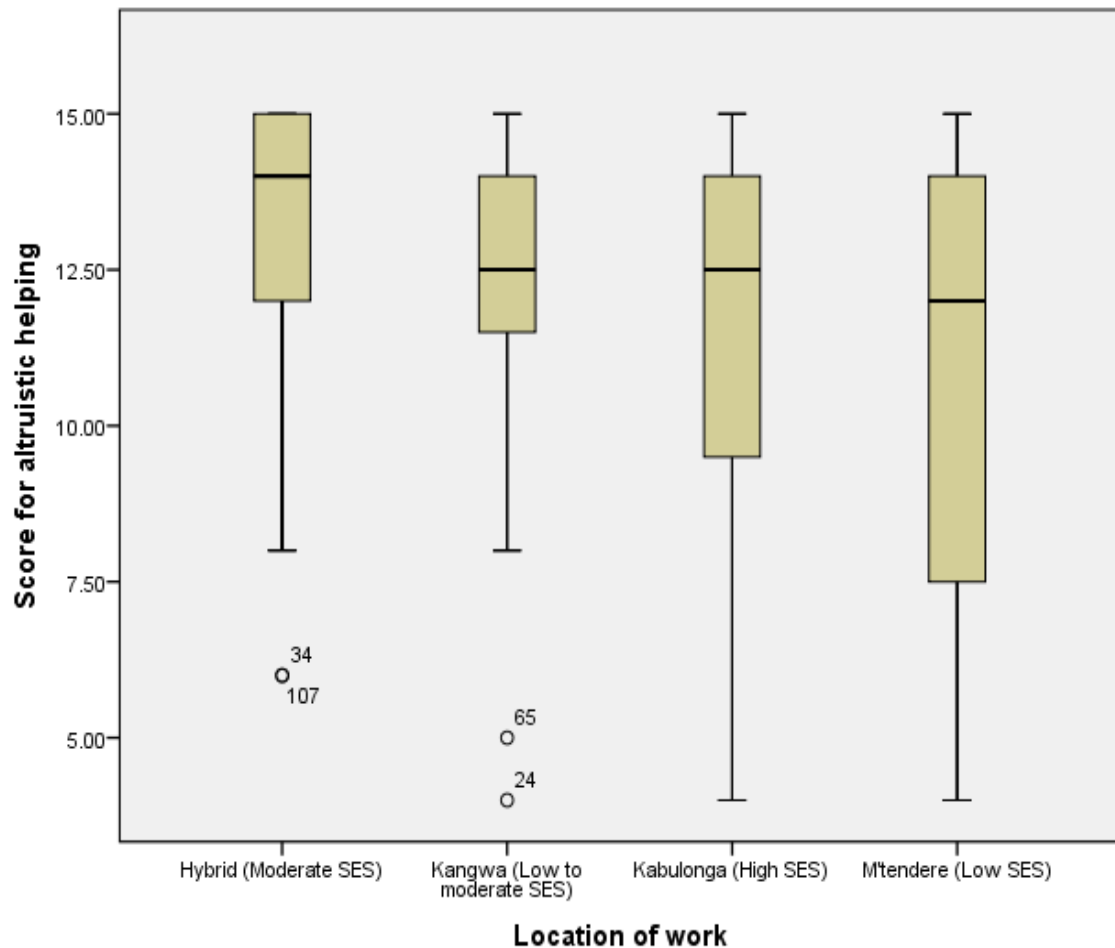


Figure 4.4d Differences in altruistic behaviour by area of pirating

The differences can be further affirmed from the descriptives below in Table 4.4h which show unequal group means.

Table 4.4h Differences in altruistic behaviour by area of pirating

	Location of work		Statistic
Score for altruistic helping	Hybrid (Moderate SES)	Mean	13.1020
		Median	14.0000
		Std. Deviation	2.38262
	Kangwa (Low to moderate SES)	Mean	12.1250
		Median	12.5000
		Std. Deviation	2.73272
	Kabulonga (High SES)	Mean	11.3500
		Median	12.5000
		Std. Deviation	3.85340
	M'tendere (Low SES)	Mean	11.1042
		Median	12.0000
		Std. Deviation	3.53848

Accounts relating to altruistic helping behaviour

When the pirate drivers were interviewed about their helping behaviour, they appeared to be more altruistic than egoistic in helping. In their accounts, there was an urge for voluntary action which was intended to benefit a co-worker without their expectation of receiving any rewards from the helpee. Some drivers were more committed to meet the needs and welfare of others even when not asked and those who did so were predominantly Christians. They expressed induction to help by virtue sympathy responding to the Ubuntu culture which has been internalised in the subcultural as well as main culture's norms/principles consistent with helping others. Some were not shy to express their helping behaviours.

One emphasised the need to pay the cost for helping:

I do not see any cost to me if someone asked me to help them... who would rejoice to see a colleague in need and you shy away? That is not how we are brought up.

Others went a distant to offer emotional help and give money to co-workers:

One example of emotional behaviour is ... *'I am not saying that there no people at this rank who come in handy. Quite a number are very helpful. When you have a funeral, each will give you something and they will be there at the burial'*

An example of monetary help is.... 'They could lend you money without any interest or even give you some money though we do not make enough due to competition'.

It did not matter who was being helped:

For me it does not matter whether it is a relatives or a friend, I help out of inner conviction...ex-expecting nothing in return.

These excerpts show the self as extended beyond the present moment into social space. Because altruistic behaviour is so common and so useful in human society, it seems to the researcher that culture tends to produce it. Several mechanisms for biological evolution of altruism have been proposed.

4.5 Dominant Types of Help Rendered

This section profiles the fourth research question which is 'What is the dominant type of help that is rendered by pirate taxi drivers? The researcher decided to further assess propensity to help by describing what type of help was rendered by the pirate taxi drivers' The researcher looked at the four types of help rendered and used a five point Likert Scale (Table 5). The scale is coded as follows 1 for always, 2 for frequently, 3 for occasionally or neutral, 4 for rarely, and 5 for never. Taking occasional as the median or neutral position, the researcher saw that pirate taxi drivers had less propensity to render help when it comes to a colleague having difficulty completing goal directed help (e.g.; car break down) and when a colleague desired physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking customer driving errands when committed). The dominant form of help rendered involved an individual was in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer) and where an individual had difficulty with unmet

material desires (e.g.; a resource like money or spare tyre) since these had the highest value sum scores of always and frequently (Table 4.5a).

Table 4.5a: Dominant Type of Help Rendered

Type of help rendered	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty completing goal directed help (e.g.; car break down).	27 (16%)	21 (12.4%)	15 (8.9%)	48 (28.4%)	58 (34.3%)
I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty with unmet material desires (e.g.; a resource like money or spare tyre).	62 (36.7%)	35 (20.7%)	19 (11.2%)	28 (16.6%)	25 (14.8%)
I am at hand helping where an individual desires physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking customer driving errands when committed).	22 (13%)	42 (24.9%)	39 (23.1%)	47 (27.8%)	19 (11.2%)
I am at hand helping where an individual is in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer).	55 (32.5%)	45 (26.6%)	41 (24.3%)	17 (10.1%)	11 (6.5%)

While the dominant form of helping involved an individual was in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer) and where an individual had difficulty with unmet material desires (e.g.; a resource like money or spare tyre), this study shows that the pirate taxi drivers demonstrated a kind of favouritism in helping behaviour. Favouritism was rather more in two of the favouritism types which included helping those who were characteristically like the pirate taxi drivers in terms of work culture and adherence to social norms of cooperation (Table 4.5b).

Table 4.5b: Type of Favouritism

Type of help rendered	Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
I help those who are characteristically like me in terms of a common belief	33 (19.5%)	24 (14.2%)	15 (8.9%)	46 (27.2%)	51 (30.2)
I help those who are characteristically like me in terms of work culture	27 (16%)	55 (32.5%)	28 (16.6%)	25 (14.8%)	34 (20.1%)
I help those who are characteristically like me in terms of values	37 (21.9%)	38 (22.5%)	38 (22.5%)	25 (14.8%)	31 (18.3%)
I help those who are characteristically like me in terms of adherence to social norms of cooperation	60 (35.5%)	22 (13.0%)	17 (10.7%)	51 (30.2%)	19 (11.2%)

4.6 Reasons/Motives of the elicited Helping Behaviours

This section is associated with the third research question which is why do taxi pirate taxi drivers engage in the exhibited helping behaviours? This question in essence has two world views and as such two parts are presented. The first part is grounded in the positivist tradition relying on Popperian the rationalist epistemology. It is testing the hypothesis outlined in Figure 1.1. The second part is a rendition of lived experiences at the taxi rank and also describes further conditions under which taxi drivers exhibit altruistic and egoistic helping behaviours (covering how helping behaviour arises or causal conditions; context (Where or when), intervening conditions drivers employ in these two types of helping behaviours like.

The first part relating to the hypotheses is presented. From the conceptual map (see Figure 1.1), three sets of hypotheses will be tested and these are:

H₀₁: Form of solicitation is not linked to type of helping behaviour (egoistic and altruistic behaviour).

H₀₂: Form of solicitation has no correlation with type of help rendered (Goal directed help, Material help, Physical help and emotional support).

H₀₃: Helping behaviour has no correlation with type of help rendered (Goal directed help, Material help, Physical help and emotional support).

The first Hypothesis

The researcher wanted to see how the forms of helping behaviour in terms of solicitation related with type of helping behaviour (egoistic and altruistic behaviour). In essence hypothesis 1 was assessed which is **H₀₁:** Form of solicitation is not linked to type of helping behaviour. There were three forms of solicitation that were identified in the conceptual framework and these are:

- a) Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help;
- b) Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank;
- c) Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank.

Type of helping behaviour included egoistic and altruistic helping behaviour. The researcher begins by examining altruistic behaviour.

The model summary below shows the R and R² values. In this case, 84% can be explained, which is high. The first table of interest is the Model Summary table, as shown below in Table 4.6a:

Table 4.6a: Model Summary for altruistic behaviour

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.290 ^a	.084	.067	3.14930	.084	5.035	3	165	.002

a. Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactivehelping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help, Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank

b. Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactive helping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank,

c. Unsolicited proactive helping: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help.

The next table is the ANOVA table, which reports how well the regression equation fits the data (i.e., predicts the dependent variable which is altruistic helping) and is shown below. The ANOVA table indicates that the regression model DOES predict the dependent variable significantly. We know this because when we look at "Regression" row in red and go to the "Sig." column. This indicates the presence of statistical significance of the regression model that was run. Here, p is 0.002 which is less than 0.05, and this indicates that, overall, the regression model is statistically significant and predicts the outcome variable solicited reactive (i.e., it is not a good fit for the data). One could say that solicited reactive behaviour predicts with certainty altruistic behaviour (Table 4.6b).

Table 4.6b: ANOVA^a

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	149.803	3	49.934	5.035	.002
Residual	1636.481	165	9.918		
Total	1786.284	168			

a. Dependent Variable: Score for altruistic helping behaviour

Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactive helping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited proactive helping: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help, Unsolicited reactive helping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank

The Coefficients table (Table 4.6c) provides us with the necessary information to predict delayed banking from the theory, as well as determine whether the three predictor variables contribute statistically significantly to the model (by looking at the "Sig." column). Furthermore, we can use the values in the "B" column under the "Unstandardised Coefficients" column, as shown below.

Table 4.6c: Coefficients^a

Model	Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	T	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
	B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1 (Constant)	9.778	.728		13.433	.000	8.340	11.215
Unsolicited proactive behaviour: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help	.252	.189	.104	1.329	.186	-.122	.625
Unsolicited reactive behaviour : My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank	.128	.215	.051	.593	.554	-.297	.552
Solicited reactive behaviour: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank.	.444	.178	.220	2.490	.014	.092	.797

a. Dependent Variable: Score for altruistic helping behaviour

Importantly from Table 4.6c, note that two of the **b** coefficients are positive numbers and the scores for the predictors are not associated with altruistic helping behaviour. The column “Sig.” holds that **b** coefficients are statistically not significant since the p-values are larger than 0.05 except for the paired variables Solicited reactive behaviour and altruism (see the sig value **p** = 0.14) my actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank. The conclusion of this linear regression is that the adjusted R squared tells us that our model does not do a great job in predicting causation except for only one variable of solicitation, which is solicited reactive behaviour. On top of that, our **b** coefficients of the other two variables are all not statistically significant and do not make perfect intuitive sense.

The next model summary below is about egoistic helping behaviour and it shows R and R² values. In this case, 9% can be explained, which is very low. The first table of interest is the Model Summary table, as shown below in Table 4.6d:

Table 4.6d: Model Summary for Egoistic helping

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.097 ^a	.009	-.009	2.22442	.009	.525	3	165	.665

a. Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help, Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank

b. Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank, Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help.

The next table is the ANOVA table, which reports how well the regression equation fits the data (i.e., predicts the dependent variable which is altruistic helping) and is shown below. The ANOVA table indicates that the regression model DOES NOT predict the dependent variable significantly. We know this because when we look at "Regression" row in red and go to the "Sig." column. This indicates the presence of statistical significance of the regression model that was run. Here, p is 0.665 which is more than 0.05, and this indicates that, overall, the regression model is NOT statistically significant and DOES NOT predict the outcome variable egoistic helping behaviour (i.e., it is not a good fit for the data). One could say that solicited reactive behaviour does NOT predict with certainty egoistic behaviour (Table 4.6e).

Table 4.6e: ANOVA^a

Model	Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Regression	7.798	3	2.599	.525	.665 ^b
Residual	816.426	165	4.948		
Total	824.225	168			

a. Dependent Variable: Score for egoistic helping

b. Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help, Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank

c. Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank, Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help

The Coefficients table (Table 4.6f) provides us with the necessary information to predict solicited behaviour with egoistic behaviour , as well as determine whether the three predictor variables contribute statistically significantly to the model (by looking at the "Sig." column). Furthermore, we can use the values in the "B" column under the "Unstandardised Coefficients" column, as shown below.

Table 4.6f: Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	T	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	10.170	.514		19.781	.000	9.155	11.185
	Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help	-.060	.134	-.036	-.446	.656	-.324	.204
	Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank	-.172	.152	-.101	-1.132	.259	-.471	.128
	Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank.	.028	.126	.021	.226	.821	-.220	.277

a. Dependent Variable: Score for egoistic helping behaviour

Noting that the p values are higher than the p value 0.05, one would take it that solicited helping behaviour does not predict egoistic behaviour.

The second Hypothesis

The researcher wanted to see how the forms of helping behaviour in terms of solicitation related with type of helping behaviour (egoistic and altruistic behaviour). In essence hypothesis 2 was assessed which is **H₀₂**: Form of solicitation has no correlation with type of help rendered (Goal directed help, Material help, Physical help and Emotional support). The three forms of solicitation that were identified in the conceptual framework are:

- a) Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help;
- b) Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank;
- c) Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank.

Type of help rendered included Goal directed help, Material help, Physical help and Emotional support).

The model summary below shows the R and R2 values. In this case, 84% can be explained, which is high. The first table of interest is the Model Summary table, as shown below in Table 4.6g:

H0₂: Form of solicitation has no correlation with type of help rendered (Goal directed help, Material help, Physical help and Emotional support).

Table 4.6g: Model Summary for type of help rendered

Model	R	R Square	Adjusted R Square	Std. Error of the Estimate	Change Statistics				
					R Square Change	F Change	df1	df2	Sig. F Change
1	.159 ^a	.025	.008	2.19463	.025	1	.159 ^a	.025	.008

a. Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactive helping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited proactive helping: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help, Unsolicited reactive helping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank

a. Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactive helping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited proactive helping: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help, Unsolicited reactive helping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank

Table 4.6h: ANOVA

Model	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1 Regression	20.586	3	6.862	1.425	.237 ^b
Residual	794.703	165	4.816		
Total	815.290	168			

a. Dependent Variable: Score of type of help rendered

b. Predictors: (Constant), Solicited reactive helping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank., Unsolicited proactive helping: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help, Unsolicited reactive helping: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank

a. Dependent Variable: Score of type of help rendered

Table 4.6i: Coefficients^a

Model		Unstandardised Coefficients		Standardised Coefficients	T	Sig.	95.0% Confidence Interval for B	
		B	Std. Error	Beta			Lower Bound	Upper Bound
1	(Constant)	9.754	.507		19.230	.000	9.754	.507
	Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help	-.163	.132	-.100	-1.239	.217	-.163	.132
	Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank	.115	.150	.067	.765	.445	.115	.150
	Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank.	.133	.124	.097	1.066	.288	.133	.124

a. Dependent Variable: Score for level of type of help rendered

Importantly from Table 4.6i, note that two of the ***b*** coefficients are positive numbers except for one, and the scores for the predictors are not associated with type of help rendered. The column “Sig.” holds that ***b*** coefficients are statistically not significant since the p-values are larger than 0.05.

The conclusion of this linear regression is that the adjusted R squared tells us that our model does not do a great job in predicting the variable of solicitation and type of help rendered. On top of that, our ***b*** coefficients of the other three variables of forms of helping behaviour are all not statistically significant and do not make perfect intuitive sense.

The third hypothesis

H₀₃: Helping behaviour (Egoism and altruism) have no correlation with type of help rendered (Goal directed help, Material help, Physical help and emotional support).

While help was rendered to complete goal directed help (e.g.; car break down), where an individual has difficulty with unmet material desires (e.g.; a resource like money or spare tyre), where an individual desires physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking customer driving errands when committed) and where an individual was in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer), a Spearman's rank-order correlation was run to determine the relationship between 169 pirate taxi drivers egoistic and altruistic helping behaviour and types of helping behaviour.

For egoism, there was a weak downhill negative linear relationship with two types of help (physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking driving customer errands when committed and emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer) that were rendered which were statistically significant (See Table 4.6j).

For altruism, there were variations in linear relationship as shown in tables 4.6k and 4.6l. In all cases there were correlations ranging from weak to strong and uphill or downhill.

Table 4.6j: Spearman correlation altruistic helping behaviour and types of help rendered

			Score for egoistic helping
Spearman's rho	Score for altruistic helping	Rho	1.000
		Sig. (2-tailed)	-
		N	169
	I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty completing goal directed behaviour (e.g.; car break down)	Rho	-.021
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.784
		N	169
	I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty with unmet material desire (e.g.; a resource like money or spare tyre)	Rho	.060
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.437
		N	169
	I am at hand helping where an individual desires physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking driving customer errands when committed)	rho	-.018
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.812
		N	169
	I am at hand helping where an individual is in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer).	rho	-.008
		Sig. (2-tailed)	.922
		N	169

Table 4.6k: Summary of correlation of altruistic helping behaviour and types of help rendered

I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty completing goal directed behaviour (e.g.; car break down)	A weak uphill (positive) linear relationship
I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty with unmet material desire (e.g.; a resource like money or spare tyre)	A weak downhill (negative) linear relationship
I am at hand helping where an individual desires physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking driving customer errands when committed)	A weak downhill (negative) linear relationship
I am at hand helping where an individual is in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer).	A strong downhill (negative) linear relationship

4.7 Motives for helping

Qualitative researchers look at motives from a Schutzian and Weberian point of view. Motives are about planning an action or executing an action. These actions could be those to be realised in the future functions on the basis of a specific reflexivity, since one imagines a project as completed in the future perfect tense. The point to reach is what will have been realised after one's acting, and this project establishes the "in-order-to motive" of one's action (Schutz, 1997: 86). As opposed to this, "because motives" (Schutz, 1997: 91) are based on convictions resulting from socio-historical circumstances in which the individual actor is involved; these motives influence the decision to realize a project and can only be discovered by investigating and exploring those factors that preceded the past decision (Barber, 2010). This temporal framework of motivation is the basis of this section. These motives are classified as because motives and in order to motives. While motives are classified as such, the text demonstrated that sub motives were due to the drivers striving to gaining rewards, granting them empathic joy, making them better citizens and avoiding punishments from the group and from co-workers.

Below, the researcher deals with the motives for helping.

Gaining rewards

Pirate taxi drivers opted to help each other because they hoped to be rewarded in some way individually by the group or from those they helped or those who saw and appreciated their helping behaviour. Those who offered help showed that their helping behaviour was motivated by how much help they would receive from co-workers. They engage in helping behaviour because they believed that they will receive help from co-workers in an unspecified future date. The drivers spoke of the following as rewards for helping.

Personal benefits

There is this personal benefit you get in future when you help you know... knowing that the person you have benefited owes you help also. So you do not lose out when you help.

Some help was labelled as spiritual by some drivers

I'm happy to operate at this rank. I have operated elsewhere and I have not found what happens here. This is where I am surrounded by group help...there are well-intentioned spiritual self-help colleagues who are committed to helping people live their best lives. You help them they also help you more than you expect. After all we have this group contribution monthly to help each other when one has a problem.

A feeling of goodness was one reason for helping.

I have this personal theory that help others and you will receive more rewards. I think those of us who commit to acts of unselfishness on behalf of making the taxi rank a better place do so because it makes us feel better about ourselves. Something within us doesn't feel good enough/valuable enough/worthy enough unless we're devoted to helping others. Like me, I go out and help people, and people tell me how I have saved their lives, and then I feel more worthy.

Empathic joy

Linked with rewards, there was a sense of empathic joy or the pleasure one has at relieving a friend who had some difficulty. There were moments drivers spoke about how empathetic and sympathetic when one lost a relative, or found themselves in precarious situations like theft of a motor vehicle, loss of a loved one or terrible motor vehicle damage. It meant that the driver would not recover too soon to enable them perform their social roles. These situations led the drivers either individually or collectively get attuned to render help which made them have opportunity to experience empathic joy. This seemed to motivate some drivers to help others. This is evident from the following excerpts.

One spoke of the pure impulse to serve

For me, I think it's part of human nature to feel the impulse to ease the suffering of other people.... At this rank, everyone is vulnerable. One day you experience someone losing a loved one, the other day someone loses a car at gun point.

Or your friend will lose the car. The owner will just say bring back the car. Those who find themselves in such a situation require help. You actually feel good when you step in and say my friend here is the car you can have two trips.

Others had personal theories to account for their behaviours

This is all just my theory, but I now think we're often motivated to do good things because everyone here is trying to feel more worthy by coming in to help. Under the circumstances we operate, you just have to serve others impulsively from a pure, clean heart to ease the suffering of others. It just makes you feel good as a human being.

Instances of self-sacrifice were rather common and the following was notable.

Volunteering your time, car and self or energy to help others doesn't just make the world better—it also makes you as a person better.

Help for no gain was noted to be contagious and fulfilling. This kind of help appeared to yield the help seen in formal organisations. These were in essence voluntary actions aimed at helping another driver with task related issues.

One had this to say.

I have seen here that when one person performs a good deed, it causes a chain reaction of other helping acts. People have been performing feats of generosity after observing another do the same. Because of this, you will see others taking errands happily on behalf of their friends when their car is on the rocks (meaning in the garage or broken down). This kind of helping has had ripple throughout this community, inspiring others to make a difference.

Collectivist Helping Behaviour

Most pirate taxi drivers understand that their primary duty is to do the work that is assigned to them by the vehicle owners or that they desire to do and deliver work that is acceptable and beneficial to them, to their employer and even to the collectivity (The taxi rank community). The researcher observed that there were demonstrable helping behaviours one would see in an organizational resembling citizenship behaviour. This that behaviour that deals with the actions that are not necessary related to pirating. In organisational practice, these would not be critical to the job, but benefit the team and encourage even greater organizational functioning and efficiency. However, the taxi drivers considered these to be critical for greater collectivity functioning and efficiency.

This is typically categorised as a “going above and beyond,” or “giving their all.” They look at their job as more than just a pay check and strive to do all they can to make their work environment run smoothly; even if it has a minimal connection to their current duties. Such behaviour was altruistic, showed courtesy, brotherliness, conscientiousness, avoiding punishment and civic virtue. The following were the drivers expressions of collectivity helping behaviour

Altruism

In this business setting, this would likely take the form of a worker choosing to help a co-driver finish raise what is called cash in...the money agreed between the driver and the employer of what ought to be cashed in a week. They would lend each other money when in deficit or help with a car even though the work does not necessarily relate to what they need to get done in their regular workday.

One expressed altruism as follows *‘I am just interested you know...not seeing my friends in trouble. I help out without expecting anything in return’.*

Another remarked

There are numerous times that I help when I am asked. I have given my car to these friends when they are in dire need. If they have challenges to meet the target to pay the owner.

Brotherliness

This meant a driver deciding to stay in good spirits even when something does not go their way like being denied assistance, or when something that creates a considerable amount of annoyance or frustration happens while at the rank. In a regular business setting, this could be exemplified by a driver refraining from complaining or gossiping about a failed help. One had this to say

There is nothing you can do when your friend refuses to pick your customer...when you have another customer. You just have to be good inside you. I mean keep your spirits high. No pressure you know.

Conscientiousness

Relating to conscientiousness, numerous events were recounted when drivers went above and beyond the tour of duty. Some serviced their friends' cars while at the rank for free to ensure group or team goals are exceeded while others stated that they were in a habit of developing a new way to approach a process or procedure even when a role was not outlined in their collectivity that drivers could exemplify the act as a trait. The excerpt below would suffice.

We did not have a fund to help each other in the event of a problem and Joshua proposed a kind of local bank...this s working very well. You can be assisted when you have a genuine problem. I mean as the constitution says.

Another had this to say

I am willing to help with servicing vehicles at no cost or just a minimal fee even in this competitive world. Others would not do it to capitalise on other people's misfortune or lack of skill.

Civic Virtue

Some drivers tended to represent the collectivity with in a positive light. This could occur within or outside of the business. The drivers were able to engage in this type behaviour by speaking favourably about others and about the collectivity to customers and participating in projects at the rank in planning or attending social events like funerals, sickness and marriage ceremonies.

You see the taxi rank is just a village. You cannot just stay away from a friend's funeral without a proper reason. We visit each other when one is sick or even when one is in the cells for a traffic or non-traffic offence.

Avoiding punishments

The drivers spoke about the benefits to their collectivity that involves punishment, where the actions of members negatively impacted others. They submitted that punishment could be a mechanism through which the subcultural or collective social norms, or what constitutes appropriate behaviour within groups, would be enforced. The excerpts below suggest that members are

motivated to altruistically punish to enforce social norms and that punishment does indeed result in more prosocial actions in those who were punished. Prosocially-motivated punishment in this way can be viewed as an altruistic behaviour that ultimately helps others.

The following came out consistently as acts that attracted punishments and required avoidance. One form of punishment was related to the violations to the contributory scheme which provided rewards. One had this to say.

You would not be helped financially by the association if you did not pay your monthly subscription.

Those who demonstrated anti-social behaviour were individually or collectively sanctioned. The following scenario would suffice.

If you appeared to be self-centred or indifferent to colleagues, you will not be assisted when you are in need.

Violations of informal rules which were deemed proper tended to attract sanctions and there were a number of such norms including failing to follow agreed rules of helping behaviour like following the queue to fill the car.

Those who skipped the queue were deemed not to be helpful and would be banished for a day. They would not be allowed to pick any passengers from the rank.

4.8 Summary of the Chapter

The summary of the findings are that pirate taxi drivers were less proactive to help. However, they had the propensity to be reactive when helping either unsolicited or solicited as these two forms had the highest frequency of instances. More than three quarters of the pirate taxi drivers $n = 133$ (78.7%) exhibited low egoistic helping behaviour, as compared to a quarter $n = 33$ (19.5%) who exhibited moderate egoistic helping behaviour. A paltry $n = 3$ (1.8%) exhibited high egoistic helping behaviour. The sample score was 9.6 (± 2.4 SD) and this was within the low category of egoistic helping behaviour.

More than three quarters of the pirate taxi drivers $n = 119$ (70.4%) exhibited high altruistic helping behaviour, as compared to less than a quarter $n = 28$ (16.6%) who exhibited low altruistic helping behaviour. Twenty-two (13.0%) exhibited moderate altruistic helping behaviour. The sample score was 11.9 (± 3.2 SD) and this was within the high category of altruistic helping behaviour. The dominant form of help rendered helping where an individual was in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer). While the dominant form of helping was, this study shows that the pirate taxi drivers demonstrated a kind of favouritism in helping behaviour. Favouritism was rather more in two of the types of helping behaviour and this included helping those who were characteristically like the pirate taxi drivers in terms of work culture and adherence to social norms of cooperation. Solicited reactive behaviour predicts with certainty altruistic behaviour as $p < 0.002$. Solicited reactive behaviour does not predict with certainty egoistic behaviour as $p > 0.665$. There was a weak downhill negative linear relationship between egoism and the four types of help that were rendered. For altruism, there were variations in linear relationship with the four types of help that were rendered, which were not statistically significant. The motives for helping thematically included helping for the sake of gaining rewards, as an aspect of empathic joy, to demonstrate brotherliness, as a conscientiousness inherent activity, as a matter of civic virtue and avoiding punishments from group members.

5.1 Introduction

The discussion chapter presented here in allows the researcher to delve into the meaning, importance and relevance of the findings. The researcher does this by first presenting the key findings, explaining as well as evaluating what the findings state, showing how these findings relate to the literature based on each research question and making an argument in support of the overall conclusion later on.

5.2 Key Findings

In this section, the researcher presents the meaning of the findings and he does this by using a reflexive approach rendering a critique and situating the findings within the related literature and theories of altruism and egoism.

5.3 Meaning of the findings

In this section, the meaning of the findings is discussed according the research questions and theories used in the study.

First, it was interesting to note that pirate taxi drivers were less proactive to help and yet they had the propensity to be reactive when helping either unsolicited or solicited. With reference to solicited reactive helping behaviour, this is a product of functional motives that were evident even during the interviews. Pirate taxi drivers are generally reactive when it comes to helping. The drivers tend to helping in the absence of the recipient's solicitation. The four study sites have shown the existence of this component of human prosociality which is assisting one another even when help is unsolicited, including situations in which the helpee is unaware of a problem and thus cannot indicate that intervention is necessary (Warneken and Tomasello, 2008; Jaeggi et al., 2010; Warneken, 2013). One would assume that that unsolicited proactive helping

behaviour in this sub culture is not exhibited as a means to satisfy the helper's personal needs and/or to establish obligated reciprocity because successful satisfaction of personal needs and/or creation of obligated reciprocity can cause the helper's effort in exhibiting unsolicited proactive helping behaviour to fade away. The researcher has a contention that unsolicited proactive helping behaviour could be motivated by factors within the confine of the helper's personality traits and dispositions, which tend to be stable, consistent, and persistent. These personality traits and dispositions, therefore allow the pirate taxi drivers to carry out unsolicited proactive helping behaviour consistently even when they expect no functional benefits that could be obtained by exhibiting such form of helping which is a feature of altruism.

Regarding solicited reactive helping behaviour is only exhibited after the recipient's solicitation. Thus, the nature of solicited reactive helping behaviour seen in this study is rather low and it suggests that the helper driver does not show poor levels of concern for the recipient's well-being and task performance. Specifically, although solicited reactive helping behaviour is considered an altruistic act, drivers were not in a position to help most of the times when not requested or when help was not expressed even when the helper may have already perceived and/or seen the need for helping. As such, it seems that solicited reactive helping behaviour involves little nature of concern for others in this study, and that the helper engages in such a passive form of helping behaviour.

The types of interpersonal helping behaviours are next. The fact that more than three quarters of the pirate taxi drivers $n = 133$ (78.7%) exhibited low egoistic helping behaviour and more than three quarters of the pirate taxi drivers $n = 119$ (70.4%) exhibited high altruistic helping behaviour shows that the groups live in the study settings live for each other. This study points to the fact that egoism has a link with the two types of help (physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking driving customer errands when committed and emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer) that were rendered which were statistically significant. This presupposes not a selfless concern for the

welfare and wellbeing of others who are not related to the drivers in any way (a friend or stranger). This type of helping appears not to be embedded in the ethical doctrine of many religions and cultures, which advocate that everybody has a moral obligation to benefit others without them considering what they would gain. There was a high sense of volunteerism which could be regarded as a kind of moral resources and can significantly contribute to the social capital in this subculture (see Andrew et al., 2012).

On the other hand, self-benefits are not a feature of these taxi driver subcultures. Surely humans are able to help others only to benefit from it themselves and when the ultimate goal is self-benefit motivation is considered as egoistic.

Concerning the dominant type of help that is rendered by taxi drivers, the dominant form of help rendered helping where an individual was in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer). This shows that the taxi drivers were empathetic or had 'emotional contagion'. In this study, empathy was an induction process that reflected an innate ability to perceive and be sensitive to the emotional states of others, which is coupled with a motivation to care for their well-being (see Decety, 2014). Phenomenological interviews showed that empathy has implications in interpersonal relationships (Konrath and Grynberg, 2013). For example, empathic helping included examples such as ... *'I am not saying that there are no people at this rank who come in handy. Quite a number are very helpful. When you have a funeral, each will give you something and they will be there at the burial'*

With regards to why do pirate taxi drivers engage in the exhibited helping behaviours, the fact that solicited reactive behaviour predicts with certainty altruistic behaviour, the motives are numerous and this is expected ranging from personal benefits, empathy collectivist helping behaviour brotherliness, conscientiousness, civic virtue and avoiding punishments. The results suggest that helping other people pro socially is ubiquitous in the daily life of these pirate

taxi drivers. However, there are variations among the motives from person to person since people vary considerably in the extent to which they help others (Amato, 1983, 1990; Hein et al., 2010), as well as with respect to whom they actually help (Amato, 1990; Nielson et al., 2017; Rameson, et al., 2012). In this study, taxi drivers from time to time and from helpee to helpee. Helping behaviour was important to uphold cooperation on the level of peer connections as well as on a societal level at large and this has been shown in the literature where helping was altruistic and prosocial (Nowak, 2006; Padilla-Walker et al., 2015).

Overall, it was not expected to see the exhibited levels of egoistic and altruistic helping behaviour in this sample. Altruistic helping behaviour is expected to be pervasive in social life and yet egoistic behaviour appeared so. It can be speculated that pirate taxi drivers who were egoistic were unwilling to help as they did not want to self-sacrifice. For those who helped altruistically, we could assume that the stakes for sustaining morality were high and non-premeditated (see Schmid, 2010). The helpers acted more or less spontaneously and perhaps even unthinkingly whenever they decided to help, following well-established routines in their everyday lives. We can affirm this only for altruistic helping behaviours as these were acting as a full person (Gade, 2012).

Accounting for the theory of egoistic helping behaviour

As for the dominant form of egoistic helping behaviour, this research suggests that egoistic helping behaviour may have been driven by a personal desire to enhance self-welfare. Findings also imply, however, that egoistic behavioural actions among pirate taxi drivers are relatively more likely to be motivated by self-centred concerns. This study shows that egoism which indeed ought not to be dominant within the context of close relationships in an African setting was a finding that was expected as shown in formal settings (Batson 1987; Martin 1994). Perhaps the self-benefits related to helping could result from helping a person for whom one feels empathy. Such help can (a) reduce one's empathic arousal, which may be experienced as aversive; (b) enable one to avoid possible social and self-punishments for failing to help; and (c) enable one to

gain social and self-rewards for doing what is good and right. As it was mentioned in the results section, there are numerous motives that might influence a single egoistic act and for this reason it is challenging to interpret the true motivation behind the egoistic acts.

Accountog for Altruistic helping behaviour

Though altruism is “one type of helping act that is the highest level of quality in a helping relationship, it was not expected that it would be lower in frequency as egoism. It was expected that helping at times did not require offering no external reward as shown in formal collectives and perhaps even a cost, to the helper (Macaulay and Berkowitz, 1970; Simmons 1991). In this study, it can be hypothesised that volunteerism which was spoken about in interviews was linked with the expression of altruism. Volunteers devote their time to providing services to others without payment which is what this study has shown in part volunteerism could be regarded among pirate taxi drivers as a kind of moral resource and can significantly contribute to the social capital in civil societies (Andrew et al., 2012). The findings from this study obviate from some research. For instance, there is some research which has shown that some cultures tend to be guided by altruistic predispositions because of their collectivistic values. For instance Liu and Cohen’s (2010) and Sun et al. (2011) and Li et al. (2019) have shown that the Chinese are keen to altruistically help others without expecting direct or indirect personal rewards.

Type of help rendered

While pirate taxi drivers do not mind helping colleagues who had some difficulty with unmet material desires (e.g.; a resource like money) and who had emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer), they seemed to mind when it comes to helping others who desired to complete some goal directed help (e.g.; car break down) and rendering physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking customer driving errands when committed). It appears that due to the depressed economy in Zambia, the norms of altruistic individualistic Ubuntu culture are becoming more and more salient in this informal context.

These findings which show a high inclination for egoistic helping disfavouring altruistic helping in the same individualb(Organ and Ryan, 1995; Melody et al., 2009).

CHAPTER SIX - CONCUSSIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter wraps up the research and gives the final impression of the work that has been done. It clearly states the answer to the main research question, which was ‘Why do pirate taxi drivers engage in the exhibited helping behaviours?’ In this chapter, the limitations and significance of the study in terms of showing what new knowledge this thesis has contributed are discussed. Recommendations for future work on the topic are suggested.

6.2 Answer to the Main Research Question

The thesis has affirmed that pirate taxi drivers engage in the exhibited helping behaviours predominantly for egoistic and not for altruistic reasons. The motives for helping in altruistic and egoistic situations thematically included helping (a) for the sake of gaining rewards, (b) as an aspect of empathic joy, (c) to demonstrate brotherliness, (d) as a conscientiousness inherent activity, (e) as a matter of civic virtue and (d) avoiding punishments from group members.

6.3 Limitations and Implications for Future Research

This study has several limitations. First, though the researcher measured the pirate taxi driver’s helping behaviours through the survey questionnaire and collected evidence of lived experiences through team leaders, although using data from these leaders could have appeared ideal, factors such as leader and subordinate orientation may have affected the views that were elicited. Therefore, future research could improve on the methodology by including non-leaders. Second, the mediating mechanisms between distal factors and type of helping behaviour and forms of helping behaviour were not analysed and

empirically tested in this study. Based on self-determination theory (Deci and Ryan, 1985), the researcher is proposing future research to explore this option. Third, the study did not distinguish the relationship between form of helping behaviour as well as type of helping behaviour versus proactive vs. reactive helping behaviour as was done by Lee et al. (2019) to see whether unsolicited helping behaviour differed from providing help when solicited. Therefore, this is also a direction warranting further research. Fourth, this research had not controlled the effect of pirate driver's hierarchical positions in terms of founders of the taxi rank and leaders, this would be another limitation. Therefore, future research needs to control hierarchical positions.

Finally, noting that this was a cross sectional study, further research using experimental methods is being proposed to examine whether predominant egoists and predominant altruists would render particular help. The next logical step in future research would be to collect data from a much larger and more representative sample of pirate taxi drivers in the country. Additional research in this regard will be needed given the normative tone of this paper and its inherent limitations.

6.4 Significance of this Study

This research makes several contributions. The most significant is that by helping behaviour theory as the foundation, a theoretical model was empirically tested that considers the potential influence of helping and the patterns of helping. This study is the first of its kind to test the two theoretical assumptions in an informal setting and as such contributes to the research on pro social behaviour which previous research desired to consider (Zhu and Akhtar, 2014; Hirst et al., 2016; Nadler and Chernyak-Hai, 2014).

There are potential benefits of this study and the following are notable. Being a premiere study on in Zambia and as such, its methods can be replicated. The study has documented how people help and why they do so. The study is likely to spur academic and practice discussions in the discipline of sociology. In

terms of research, since this is a premier study, the methodology could be used by other researchers to replicate studies or to undertake a much wider informative research. Finally, the study also contributes to the literature on individual behaviour motives which remained unknown.

6.5 Practical Implications

The findings indicate that collectives ought to increase their individual cooperative behaviour intentions and thus improve their altruistic helping behaviour. The study suggests that the pirate taxi drivers' competitive behaviour intentions could be discouraged by sharing these results with the respondents, thus leading to higher proactive helping behaviour. Therefore, collectives could create a work environment with a low level of competition and egoism (Fletcher and Nusbaum, 2010) and a high level of cooperation and altruism (Chatman and O'Reilly, 2004). Through such initiatives, sub cultures or collectives like pirate taxi ranks could be areas to increase individual and group proactive helping behaviours, and thus contribute to achieving the goals of a group.

6.6 Conclusion

This study has reported the findings of the first mixed methods inquiry on the construction of helping behaviour in a sub culture of which the focus was on pirate taxi drivers. This study intended to construct interpersonal helping behaviours that are exhibited among pirate taxi drivers. The construction interpersonal helping behaviours are such that pirate taxi drivers exhibited more egoistic helping behaviour and less of altruistic helping behaviour. The dominant form of help rendered helping emotional and solicited reactive behaviour predicts with certainty altruistic behaviour. The study has added to the dearth of literature, which has not paid to helping behaviour in informal business competitive situations. Specifically, the current data suggest that proactive and reactive helping can be detected in small-scale informal societies

of an urban setting. Although this behaviour may be interpreted in a variety of different ways, these results support the theoretical model suggesting that prosocial and reactive altruistic behaviours exist across taxi driver homogenous social groups, despite the existing social economic differences in the locations where they operate.

In specifying the motives underlying helping behaviour in informal collectives like pirate taxi drivers, the current findings may have implications for understanding the very foundation of human helping behaviour in African settings.

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Appendix I – Ethical Approval



**THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA
DIRECTORATE OF RESEARCH AND GRADUATE STUDIES**

APPROVAL OF STUDY

5th August, 2020

REF. NO. HSSREC: 2018-JUN-046

Omedy Mweene
University of Zambia
IDE/UNZA-ZOU
P. O. Box 32379
LUSAKA

Dear Mr. Mweene,

**RE: "THE CONSTRUCTION OF INTERPERSONAL HELPING BEHAVIOURS
EXHIBITED AMONG PIRATE TAXI DRIVERS: AN EMBEDDED MIXED
METHOD DESIGN"**

The University of Zambia Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee IRB has approved the study noting that there are no ethical concerns.

On behalf of The University of Zambia Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee IRB, we would like to wish you all the success as you carry out your study.

In future ensure that you submit an application for ethical approval early enough.

Yours faithfully,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. Mwanza', written over a horizontal line.

Dr. J. Mwanza
Dip. Clin. Med. Sc., BA.M.Soc., PhD

**CHAIRPERSON
THE UNIVERSITY OF ZAMBIA HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE IRB**

CC: Director Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies
Assistant Director (Research), Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies
Assistant Registrar (Research), Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies
Senior Administrative Officer (Research), Directorate of Research and Graduate Studies

Appendix II – Survey Questionnaire

Age.....

Level of education

- a) Never been to school
- b) Primary level
- c) Secondary level
- d) Tertiary
- e) College/Univerusty

Estimated income per month

Location of work

- a) Hybride
- b) Kanngwa
- c) Kabulonga
- d) Mtendere

Number of years as a pirate taxi driver

Ownership of vehicle

- a) Privately,
- b) self
- c) coporatevely owned

I help my fellow driver devoting my time to providing services expecting a reward in form of reimbursement for that assistance.

Always	Frequently	Occasionaly	Seldom	Never
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I help my fellow driver devoting my energy to providing services expecting a reward in form of similar assistance.

Always	Frequently	Occasionaly	Seldom	Never
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I help my fellow drivers to improve their situation hoping to gain some benefits from

Always	Frequently	Occasionaly	Seldom	Never
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I help my fellow drivers to get social approval

Always	Frequently	Occasionaly	Seldom	Never
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I help my fellow drivers as a matter of gratitude

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I help my fellow driver because of the motivation in me to eliminate my distress than that of those I am helping

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I help my fellow drivers to command respect

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I help my fellow drivers to prevent punishment from the group

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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Unsolicited proactive: I have a tendency to respond to the needs of my friends before being asked as I see that the co-workers may need help

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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Unsolicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I perceive and/or see that my friend or friends need help at the rank

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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Solicited reactive: My actions are voluntary in nature and I help a friend or friends when I am asked by a friend or friends at the rank.

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty completing goal directed behaviour (e.g.; car break down)

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I am at hand helping where an individual has difficulty with unmet material desire (e.g.; a resource like money or spare tyre)

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I am at hand helping where an individual desires physical help (e.g.; fixing a tyre, taking driving customer errands when committed)

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I am at hand helping where an individual is in emotional distress (sickness or conflict with colleagues or customer).

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I help those who are characteristically like me in terms of a common belief

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I help those who are characteristically like me in terms of work culture

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I help those who are characteristically like me in terms of values

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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I help those who are characteristically like me in terms of adherence to social norms of cooperation

Always	Frequently	Occasionally	Seldom	Never
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Fear of being judged as unhelpful by other members of the group plays a role in my helping behaviour

Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Disagree	Strongly agree
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Appendix III – Indepth phenomenological interviews

- 1) Please tell me about yourself?
- 2) At this rank, taxi drivers may be in a position to help each other, in what ways do you help each other?
Probe for the following if not mentioned spontaneously.
 - (a) Egoistic and altruistic helping
- 3) Please describe for me what you offer as help and what you are offered as help?
- 4) People help for varying motives. From your experience at this rank, please share with me
 - (a) Your personal motives for helping.
 - (b) Other drivers' motives for helping.
 - (c) The group's motives for helping.

