Emerging Areas of Volunteering

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Editor
Jeffrey L. Brudney

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EMERGING AREAS OF VOLUNTEERING

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INTRODUCTION

Jeffrey L. Brudney

Welcome to the future of volunteering — or at least a good part of that future.

Volunteering is a highly dynamic and exciting field. It is both responsive to societal trends and a leader of those trends. Just as the Internet and advanced electronic media have changed society, so, too has the world of volunteering adapted with opportunities to volunteer "virtually" through these means. As concerns over homeland security and terrorism suddenly shot to the forefront of U.S. public opinion and policy stemming from the tragic events of September 11, 2001, the federal government launched new volunteer initiatives aimed at community readiness and preparation, such as Freedom Corps and Citizen Corps. The "shrinking" of the planet as a result of progress in transportation and communications technology, as well as changes in global awareness and understanding, has led to volunteering cross-nationally becoming both more feasible and more commonplace. The growth of societal attitudes and behaviors embracing greater personal autonomy, choice, and individuation has been reflected in a sharp decline in traditional, ongoing forms of volunteer involvement and a concomitant increase in short-term, transitory — episodic — volunteering.

With its inherent capacity to give meaning and to give back, to benefit the perpetrator and the recipient, to reward individuals as well as groups and organizations, volunteerism is also a leader of social trends. For example, employee-based volunteer programs offer businesses and corporations, nonprofit organizations and government agencies an avenue not only to assist communities and causes but also to recruit, motivate, and retain paid staff. For individuals who seek a forum to exercise the strength of their policy convictions, to hone leadership skills, or to garner greater responsibility, volunteer service on nonprofit boards of directors presents an ideal opportunity to gain knowledge, contacts, experience, and influence.

Given the interpenetration of volunteerism with societal trends, the challenge lies not in identifying the many emerging areas of volunteering, but in paring a very long list of important developments to manageable proportions for in-depth scrutiny and analysis.

In the winnowing process, I greatly benefited from the able assistance of Katherine M. Finley, Executive Director of the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action, and Michael H. Hall, past ARNOVA Vice

President of Publications. The UPS Foundation graciously funded this project, and advanced some ideas of its own concerning appropriate coverage for a volume on contemporary trends in volunteering. In the end, we identified six areas that constitute the core subjects of this ARNOVA Occasional Paper. Each chapter deals with a topic that is under-researched, yet an important emerging area of volunteering:

- Employee-based volunteer programs
- Virtual volunteering
- Episodic volunteering
- Cross-national volunteering
- Board members as volunteers
- Volunteering in government programs

With these topical domains as our guide, we nominated an international group of recognized scholars as potential authors of the chapters (please see the "About the Authors" section in this volume). I am grateful that all of them accepted our invitation to participate in this volume. I then requested a proposal-abstract for each chapter, which was discussed and revised with the authors. Drafts of the chapters eventually followed; I reviewed and edited three drafts of each chapter to completion.

Preview

In the first chapter, Mary Tschirhart analyzes employee volunteer programs. Tschirhart explains that conceptual and terminological confusion plagues the field, and offers a broad definition of these programs intended to cumulate research findings and practice implications as organized efforts to provide community service by individuals with the encouragement and support of their employers. Over the past two decades the creation and diffusion of this mode of volunteering has accelerated rapidly, especially in the business world. Nevertheless, based on a comprehensive review of the literature, Tschirhart concludes that theoretical development in this area has suffered, and that further inquiry is needed not only in this aspect but also in many others, including the extent of employee volunteer programs; the benefits they hold for employees, their employers, and the community; the influences on employee volunteering; the effectiveness of recommended policies and practices in this field; and the generalization of findings both to different types of organizations and to different parts of the globe.

The second chapter, by Vic Murray and Yvonne Harrison, treats virtual volunteering, which they define as the application of information and communications technology to the process of volunteering. The authors point out that although use of this tool is not yet substantial, it is growing, and that the prospects for widespread, future application are significant. The chapter presents new research data on the nature and extent of virtual volunteering in Canada, and explores the limited U.S. empirical literature on this topic. Among the important issues addressed by Murray and Harrison are differences between virtual and more traditional volunteers, and between organizations that involve volunteers virtually and those that do not; the authors also

probe the satisfaction of both volunteers and managers of volunteer resources with virtual volunteering. The chapter concludes with a summary of practical guidelines for implementing virtual volunteer programs and the implications of these programs for the development of social capital.

In the third chapter, Nancy Macduff discusses "Societal Changes and The Rise of The Episodic Volunteer." Macduff identifies episodic volunteers as individuals who choose to provide short or occasional service, as opposed to offering their time on an ongoing, more "traditional" basis. She distinguishes short-term volunteering into three distinct styles: temporary, interim, and occasional. The data available suggest that the number of people preferring episodic styles of volunteering is increasing. Macduff relates this growth to broader societal trends toward more "reflexive" forms of social institutions and mores characterized by individuation, intensity, and short-term or fleeting involvement. She explores the likely impact of episodic volunteering on nonprofit organizations and the management of volunteers. Macduff concludes with sets of questions for nonprofit organizations, managers of volunteers, and academics designed to help smooth the transition toward blending long-term and episodic volunteers into a single volunteer program.

Chapter Four explores an emerging area of volunteering that has received scant attention in the research literature: volunteering across national borders. This lacuna notwithstanding, the authors, Justin Davis Smith, Angela Ellis, and Georgina Brewis, all of the Institute for Volunteering Research in London, show that the number of people engaging in cross-national volunteering has increased. They find both a movement toward more mutually beneficial forms of cross-national volunteering, as well as growth in short-term "vacation" or "tourism" volunteering centered more on the volunteer. The chapter examines the benefits as well as the drawbacks of cross-national volunteering for the key stakeholders involved: the volunteers; the sending and receiving organizations; and the host community. The authors take a critical look at the ways in which cross-national volunteering is emerging as a powerful force in globalized civil society, and conclude with some recommendations to guide policy and practice.

In Chapter Five, Robert D. Herman presents a systematic analysis of "Board Members of Nonprofit Organizations as Volunteers." Although those who contribute their time to boards of directors and those who participate in service delivery and organizational support functions without monetary compensation are equally volunteers, the research literature rarely goes beyond this bland observation to point out the similarities and differences of the two types and the potential implications. Herman's chapter breaks this pattern. He describes the scope and extent of volunteering to boards of directors, considers whether several recommended practices in volunteer management apply to board volunteers (and, for those that do not, considers why not), notes the possibility for tension between board and service volunteers, and observes that virtually no research has been conducted on the effects of board volunteering on board members or on the achievements of the organizations they oversee. The chapter concludes that although board and service volunteers are similar in several important respects (for example, in some demographics, motivations and incentives for volunteering, and the effectiveness of certain supporting volunteer

management practices), notable discontinuities exist as well. Status concerns are more salient to the selection of individuals for boards of directors, and the view sometimes expressed that service volunteers can be conceived as unpaid (part-time) employees for management purposes is less applicable to board volunteers, who are the ultimate authority in their organizations.

Chapter Six, by Sarah Jane Rehnborg, focuses on programs enlisting volunteers housed and/or sponsored by government agencies. Rehnborg correctly points out that volunteers are usually considered in the context of nonprofit organizations, and that volunteerism in the public sector has received significantly less attention. Nevertheless, her accounting demonstrates that the extent of volunteer involvement in government agencies and programs is robust. The chapter addresses the service continuum in government from traditional volunteerism to national service, including AmeriCorps and related programs. Rehnborg's examination of trends in public-sector, agency-based programs identifies service opportunities for episodic volunteers and the growing involvement of volunteers in fund-raising. The chapter incorporates volunteer initiatives emerging in the wake of the tragic events of September 11, 2001, such as the USA Freedom Corps, an amalgam of existing and new service programs designed to engage citizens in homeland security. The chapter, thus, illustrates how government can mold volunteerism to the concerns of a new administration.

In the final chapter, Beth Gazley presents a summary and analysis of the chapters and the implications the volume holds for research and practice. She discusses the commonalities among authors in their conclusions, and makes suggestions about approaches that could address some of the gaps in research identified by the authors. In particular, she concludes that future research should attempt to link these trends in order to understand their joint impact on management issues. Further, she notes the call made by several authors for greater attention to "volunteer management capacity," a developing concept that describes the infrastructure of volunteer management, or the array of human and financial resources supporting volunteers.

Acknowledgments

As stated earlier, to settle on emerging areas of volunteering is a challenge. To have the opportunity to develop a volume around these themes is a privilege.

I am grateful to The UPS Foundation for supporting this *ARNOVA Occasional Paper*, and to the Association for Research on Nonprofit Organizations and Voluntary Action for selecting me to serve as editor of *Emerging Areas of Volunteering*. I thank Katherine M. Finley and Michael H. Hall for their endorsement and for important guidance, especially during the formative stages of this volume.

I extend special thanks to Beth Gazley, Ph.D., at the School of Public and Environmental Affairs, Indiana University-Bloomington. Beth participated both in the review and editing of abstracts and successive chapter drafts, made numerous, useful comments and suggestions to the authors, and handled most of the communications with them. She took a lead role in assembling this volume and ensuring consistent format, appearance, style, and citation. Beth's skills are evident in the pages to follow.

Others assisted as well with *Emerging Areas of Volunteering*. I thank Aldo Davila and Tamara Nezhina, University of Georgia, for helping me to prepare the final versions of the chapters. I thank Kerry Brock, Indiana University-Bloomington, for exceptional work in editing the references and merging the many parts that constitute this *ARNOVA Occasional Paper* into a single whole. I am also grateful to Melissa Gibson, ARNOVA Communications, for her help in the final stages of manuscript preparation.

Most of all, I am grateful to the authors of the chapters, first, for their excellent contributions and, second, for keeping to an accelerated schedule of proposal, draft, submission, revision, and re-submission. The authors bring to this volume significant background, expertise, and distinction in their subject areas, and I believe that their contributions collect in one place the best scholarly information we have on these topics. They made my job as editor stimulating and enjoyable. Given what they have produced for *Emerging Areas of Volunteering*, I am confident that their chapters will have the same salutary effects on the reader.

Jeffrey L. Brudney
Athens, Georgia
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EMPLOYEE VOLUNTEER PROGRAMS

Mary Tschirhart

Employee volunteer programs, in which individuals provide community service with the encouragement and support of their employers, are widely promoted as offering benefits to employees, employers, and the community. This chapter reviews recent research findings on the extent and benefits of employee volunteering. It reveals that descriptive studies are the norm, and that there has been little attention to applying, developing, and testing theory. We are left with many unanswered questions about influences on and from employee volunteering, and the value of particular practices and policies used in employee volunteer programs. Also, it is unclear how well claims about employee volunteering apply across the globe and to employee volunteer programs offered by public and nonprofit sector employers. The author calls for rigorous research to improve our understanding of employee volunteering.

Introduction

The Home Depot, The National Wildlife Federation, Proctor & Gamble, Target, UPS, Levi Strauss, Freddie Mac, British Gas, Tucson Electric Power Company, and the Portland Trail Blazers all have been recognized for their employee volunteer programs. They are not alone in their encouragement and support of employee volunteering to address community needs. The popular press, corporate newsletters and press releases, and nonprofit and government organizations extol the virtues of volunteering through workplaces.

Over the last 20 years, numerous organizations have been established that promote volunteering through the workplace and offer resources for employee volunteer programs. Table 1 lists some of the organizations headquartered in the United Kingdom or the United States along with the date established and website address. Support organizations exist in other countries as well; for example, the Netherlands has Samenleving en Bedrijf (Business and Society) and Nederlandse Organisaties Vrijwilligerswerk (Dutch Organizations Voluntary Work) (Meijs & Van der Voort, 2004). These organizations serve a demand for knowledge and guidance on how to involve employees in volunteering. But why encourage volunteering by employees through workplace programs? What makes employee volunteering worthy of our special interest as scholars, policy-makers, and employers? Is there anything unique

about attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes associated with employee volunteering versus other types of volunteering? This chapter explores these questions and suggests areas for further research.

Table 1
Sampling of Support Organizations for Employee Volunteer Programs

Organization and Date Established	Website
Boston College Center for Corporate Citizenship US 1985	www.bc.edu/centers/ccc/
Points of Light Foundation US 1990	www.pointsoflight.org
Business for Social Responsibility US 1992	www.bsr.org
CityCares—Corporate Partners' Program US 1992	www.citycares.org
Business Volunteers Unlimited US 1993	www.businessvolunteers.org
The Corporate Citizenship Company UK 1997	www.corporate-citizenship.co.uk
Business in the Community—Cares Program UK 1998	www.bitc.org.uk
Committee to Encourage Corporate Philanthropy US 1999	www.corphilanthropy.org
Chamber of Commerce—Center for Corporate Citizenship US 2000	www.uschamber.com/ccc/
Business Strengthening America US 2002	www.bsanetwork.org
Volunteering England UK 2004	www.volunteering.org.uk

Many of the organizations in Table 1 offer statistics on the scope, nature, and benefits of employee volunteering. This chapter presents some of their and others' recent claims and findings about employee volunteerism. As Cihlar (2004) notes in his review of research on employee volunteer programs, there are few rigorous studies, and most claims are based on anecdotal evidence. Many of the research reports on employee volunteerism are purely descriptive and based on limited samples. There is a dearth of studies using theoretical models to explain or predict the adoption, type, and outcomes of employee volunteer programs and the attitudes and behaviors of individuals who participate and do not participate in these programs. There is also a strong normative tone to writings about employee volunteers with little attention to the possibility that employee volunteer programs may have unsavory aspects, or that some practices and policies are ineffective in achieving desirable ends. Additional research can help in exploring the strategic, operational, and ethical challenges involved in employee volunteer programs and aid in the development of models explaining their existence, nature, and outcomes.

Description of Employee Volunteer Programs

Definition of an Employee Volunteer Program. An employee volunteer program consists of the formal and informal policies and practices that employers use to encourage and help employees to volunteer in community service activities. The

program is sanctioned by the employing organization. It may be managed within the organization, under a contract with an established nonprofit agency, or through an independent organization chartered by the employer to support volunteering by employees and retirees. Employee volunteer programs exist in nonprofit and government organizations as well as business organizations, although almost all the literature focuses on programs in the for-profit sector.

Employees serving their communities through an employee volunteer program do not perform the service as part of their formal job descriptions, although there may be an expectation by their employer, particularly for higher-level employees, that they will participate in certain program events and serve in volunteer positions in the community. To further business interests and for other reasons, many CEOs serve on nonprofit boards and encourage their top executives to do the same. Some employees believe volunteering as a representative of their employer is mandatory, and certain programs expect volunteering from some employees (Hall, McKeown & Roberts, 2001; Walker & Pharoah, 2000; Witter, 2003). Participation and performance in volunteer projects are sometimes included in formal performance appraisal systems (Business Volunteers Unlimited, 2003; Meijs & Van der Voort, 2004; Witter, 2003).

Pressure to participate in employee volunteer programs and performance of volunteer work on company time call into question the extent to which some employee volunteer programs are involving only "volunteers" in service activities. Meijs and Van der Voort (2004) suggest a typology for employee volunteer programs with two dimensions. The first dimension is whether the employee or the employer chooses the organization/cause that is supported through the activity. The second dimension is whether the activity is performed on the employee's own time or the employer's time. It is an empirical as well as a conceptual question whether the activities that have the greatest "voluntary" nature are those performed on the employees' own time and chosen by the employee. Currently, it is not clear how employee volunteer programs break out on these dimensions, and if distinct patterns in attitudes, motivations, intentions, behaviors, and outcomes exist within and across each two-dimensional category.

To be inclusive, this chapter will consider all employers that provide resource support and encouragement to at least some of their employees wishing to serve their communities outside of their formal job roles as having an employee volunteer program. Within this encompassing label, there is diversity in the management structure of the programs, the activities performed, and the incentives and supports offered. The lack of detail in surveys of employee volunteer programs makes it impossible to identify and describe the most common type.

The variety of terms used to discuss employee volunteer programs makes it challenging to compare research study results (Cihlar, 2004; Meijs & Van der Voort, 2004; Rochlin & Christoffer, 2000). Employee volunteer programs may be treated as one possible element under the corporate social responsibility, corporate philanthropy, corporate citizenship, community relations, corporate social performance, corporate community investment, business in society, public affairs, corporate social responsiveness, and corporate social initiative labels. Employee volunteer programs go by a variety of names including corporate community involvement, workplace

volunteering, employee involvement, employer-supported volunteering, and community service through the workplace. In the U.K., "charity of the year partnership" is a term used to describe a variety of approaches to the adoption of a charity by a business. Employee volunteer projects in which the employees work cooperatively with nonprofit or government organizations to address social ills may be called public-private partnerships or relationships, corporate community partnerships, new social partnerships, or intersectoral partnerships. With the diversity of terms in use, and inadequate descriptions of research samples, it is difficult to know what research findings to appropriately compare.

Management of Employee Volunteer Programs. Employee volunteering is managed by employers through a variety of organizational forms. Employers differ in who decides employee volunteer policies, practices, and activities, with some employers encouraging wide participation of employees and others limiting decision control to specialized staff members or top executives. Service activities undertaken by employees within the auspices of the program may or may not be designed, initiated or managed through the employer or employees. Employees coordinating volunteer activity inside the organization may cooperate or collaborate with outside organizations or work alone to create new projects and manage existing ones. An employer's management of employee volunteer activity may be limited to asking employees to fill out forms if they are using company time for volunteer activity and to report their volunteer hours and activities so they can be acknowledged by the employer. Toward the other end of the continuum of management infrastructure, the employer may have staff that actively recruit and reward employee volunteers and coordinate specific tasks for them to perform. There may even be trained liaisons throughout the organization responsible for facilitating the volunteer activity of their units.

Austin (2000) offers a typology for cross-sectoral partnerships that can be adapted to employee volunteer projects. Employee volunteer projects may fit one of three stages of cross-sectoral partnership: philanthropic, transactional, and integrative. With philanthropic partnerships the company gives resources to a nonprofit with little assistance or coordination by the nonprofit. For example, the company may have a fundraising activity and give the proceeds to a charity. The management of the project is by the employer. With a transactional relationship, both the company and the nonprofit invest management and financial resources in a project, but both partners are pursuing their own interests and goals. For example, a company may send employee teams to work on a house-building project set up by Habitat for Humanity. There is little collective decision-making between Habitat staff and the company to design and implement the event. It is more a matter of exchange than active collaboration. Integrative partnerships are active collaborations in which goals and processes are highly integrated to pursue a shared vision. Integrative partnership projects may go beyond what each partner would envision alone and may actually transform the partners' understanding of social problems. For example, The Nature Conservancy no longer sees the Georgia-Pacific Corporation as an adversary. As its relationship with the Corporation evolved, the Nature Conservancy began to see how the two could work together to address environmental and economic concerns, and now the two jointly

manage forested wetlands in an integrative partnership (Austin, 2000).

Employee Volunteer Activities. Employees may volunteer individually, in teams, and in organization-wide efforts. They may work with retirees, family members, and community partners. Service activities may involve ongoing projects such as tutoring at schools and loans of executives, or short-term special events such as participation in a fundraising walk for a charity. Activities may be performed within the employer's facility, for example, in the stuffing of backpacks with school supplies for distribution to children, or off-site, through direct contact with service recipients in nursing homes, homeless shelters, and parks.

Employers vary in how much diversity they allow in their employee volunteer activities. Organizations with employee volunteer programs may limit encouragement and support of employee volunteer activities to those matching specific causes or organizations. These causes can be tied to the mission of the organization. For example, a health insurance organization may emphasize employee volunteering for health-related events such as blood drives, wellness training, and walks to raise money for medical research. Some proponents of employee volunteer programs emphasize use of the programs to help meet strategic business objectives (e.g., Austin, 1997a). For example, the programs can help reduce mission-related costs by lowering health insurance claims by encouraging healthier behaviors. Program activities can also be used strategically to support employee development needs, for instance, by giving employees experience in leadership roles. The activities can be chosen for media interest and visibility in alignment with marketing and public relations strategic objectives.

Some writers suggest that companies are increasingly focusing volunteer service activities where they can best support business interests and leverage core competencies such as accounting or software expertise (e.g., Dutton & Pratt, 1997; Hess, Rogovsky & Dunfee, 2002; Muirhead et al., 2002). Activities also may be chosen to avoid controversy and appeal to the widest array of employee interests. By contrast, there are employers that place few restrictions on employee volunteering and attempt to place all of it, no matter its nature, under the corporate umbrella. Anecdotal evidence suggests that volunteering for religious organizations is typically excluded from employee volunteer programs. Some companies rely on the personal preferences of top management or staff to guide choices of employee volunteering opportunities (Business Community Connections, 2004). Still others actively engage with community partners in the selection of volunteer projects.

Employee Volunteer Incentives and Supports. Case studies and examples of employee volunteer programs demonstrate a range of incentives and supports. Employers may encourage and support employee volunteering through informal and formal policies, practices, and structures. Examples of policies and practices include flex time for volunteering, paid days off to volunteer, cash grants to organizations where employees volunteer, guidelines for use of company time and resources to support volunteering, and volunteer recognition events. Employees may help guide and manage volunteer projects as members of advisory committees and team liaisons,

or as staff hired to support the employee volunteer program. Employers may present existing volunteer opportunities to employees through volunteer fairs, special newsletters, and other mechanisms. Given the range and depth of possible incentives and supports in an employee volunteer program, it is difficult to offer more than a vague outline of possible practices and policies utilized in these programs.

Benefits of Employee Volunteer Programs

Despite their diversity, employee volunteer programs are widely promoted as having numerous benefits for employees, employers, and the community. But few of these claims are backed with rigorous empirical research. The studies the author found, most of which are cited below, individually tend to have sampling problems and limited generalizability, but as a whole they suggest that employee volunteer programs are perceived to have positive benefits by employees, company leaders, representatives from nonprofit community agencies, and the general public. Evaluations of employee volunteering are often conducted by consultants on programs within a single company. Findings from many of the surveys that use more than a single company site are published by organizations with vested interest in showing positive effects of employee volunteering. An additional concern is that studies often report perceptions, rather than rely on hard data. Perceptions may not match reality, as Galaskiewicz (1985) found in his study of corporate donations. Still, the relatively consistent findings among studies of employee volunteering suggest that there are real, or at least perceived, benefits from employee volunteer programs.

Employee-Related Outcomes. Employee volunteer programs are reputed to have a variety of effects on employees that are positive for employers. Numerous studies have found that employee skill development is perceived by employee volunteers and company leaders to be an outcome of employee volunteering (e.g., Business Strengthening America, 2003; Business Volunteers Unlimited, 2003; The Corporate Citizenship Company, 1998; Geroy, Wright & Jacoby, 2000; Graff, 2004; Pancer, Baetz & Rog, 2002; Tuffrey, 2003). In her dissertation, Shaffer (1994) found that skills valued by managers (communicating, socializing, coordinating, and agenda skills) are perceived to be, and can be, developed through volunteer service work by employees. Employee volunteering is found to improve employees' internal and external networking (Business Strengthening America, 2003) and foster team-building (Points of Light Foundation, 1998). Volunteering with employer supports may be more likely to result in skill gain than volunteering without employer support; in one survey, nearly-one half of employees who received volunteer support from their employer report they gained skills applicable to their jobs (Hall, McKeown & Roberts, 2001). Less than a third of volunteers without employer support say they gained skills they could apply to their jobs.

Employee attitudes, behaviors, and intentions appear to be affected by employee volunteering. Higher employee morale is associated with volunteering through the workplace (Business Strengthening America, 2003; Pancer, Baetz & Rog, 2002; Points of Light Foundation, 1998; Tuffrey, 2003). Employee community involvement

through volunteer service positively influences employees' pride in their company (Austin, 1997b, Business Strengthening America, 2003; Pancer, Baetz & Rog, 2002; Tuffrey, 2003). Remarkably, employees do not have to participate in their employer's volunteer program in order to have positive feelings about their employer (Tuffrey, 2003). Employees of companies with volunteer programs are more likely to recommend their companies as good places to work than employees in companies that do not support volunteerism (Walker, 2001). Those who are involved in the volunteer program are more likely to recommend their employer to potential employees than those who are not involved (Tuffrey, 2003).

Some studies highlight the more personal benefits that employees gain from volunteering. These benefits include reduced stress, greater feeling of balance in life, enhanced self-esteem and feelings of self-worth, positive feelings of having made a difference in the lives of others, increased appreciation for what one has, and greater respect for those in need (Pancer, Baetz & Rog, 2002). Austin (1997b) notes the personal fulfillment that employees find through volunteer activities. Increased self-confidence may also result from volunteering through the workplace (Tuffrey, 2003).

Community-Related Outcomes. Some studies find that communities are helped by employee volunteering. For example, participants in a General Mills program felt their volunteering improved the nature and quality of community agency services (Thomas & Christoffer, 1998). Healthier communities are perceived to be an outcome of employee volunteering in studies by Business Strengthening America (2003) and Business Volunteers Unlimited (2003). Pancer, Baetz, and Rog (2002) report a range of outcomes of employee volunteering: enhanced sense of community among volunteers, improved community environment, enhanced life for community members, and new philanthropic contributions to community organizations. Employee volunteers report gaining a broader understanding of social issues (Tuffrey, 2003) and their community (Thomas & Christoffer, 1999), which may be of benefit to communities. Some business executive volunteers see their expertise and managerial perspective as benefits to community agencies (Austin, 1997b). Also, employee volunteer programs can give nonprofits credibility through the corporate name and help in the attraction of additional support (Austin, 1997b; Pancer, Baetz & Rog, 2002). One study finds that community partners largely agree that business support will become significantly more important to the nonprofit sector in the coming five to 10 years, and that developing relationships for corporate volunteers is a priority for them (Business in the Community, 2002).

The overwhelming sentiment found in publications on employee volunteering is that communities benefit from it. However, there may be negative effects of corporate social responsibility initiatives on communities (Avishai, 1996; Freeman & Liedtka, 1991; Hyland, Russell & Hebb, 1990; Margolis & Walsh, 2004; Reich, 1998). Tschirhart and St. Clair (2004) review how employee volunteer programs may positively and negatively affect a community's access to resources, ability to solve problems, members' sense of community, and member commitment to the community. Avishai (1996) and Reich (1998) argue that corporate social initiatives can help government neglect its responsibilities. Corporations may provide "band-

aids" that allow social problems to continue without effective protest and fundamental change. By providing some alleviation of social problems, interest group pressures are diminished. For example, by providing computers and school supplies to children in impoverished school districts, employee volunteer programs can inadvertently reduce pressure on government to provide more education funding. Corporations may be taking on tasks that government traditionally has performed, changing expectations and understandings about sector responsibilities. For example, by employee volunteers acting as staff for reading and health education programs in public schools, the public may come to see less need for paid, professionally-trained teachers in these areas in the schools.

Wood (1991) suggests that it is important to question how much a firm's motives affect how its resources are distributed in a community and, ultimately, the social outcomes. Social problems addressed through corporate initiatives and the approach used to address them may have more to do with customer or employee interests, or marketing and public relations strategies than community needs (Benjamin, 2001; Freeman & Liedtka, 1991; Kanter, 1999; Silver 2001). The Points of Light Foundation found that 81% of responding businesses used their volunteer program to support core business functions (Points of Light Foundation, 2000). In addition to being biased by corporate interests, corporate answers to social problems may be based on economic efficiency approaches that do not adequately address the complexity of the problems and do not involve key stakeholders in the development of the approach to the problem (Freeman & Liedtka, 1991).

There is a danger that nonprofits may modify what they do in order to attract corporate support. If they desire corporate financial or in-kind gifts, for example, nonprofits may feel compelled to find a use for employee volunteers and to devote precious resources to keeping the employee volunteers happy. This may lead to mission drift, with certain activities offered primarily as an opportunity for employee volunteer involvement, or activities developed with volunteer satisfaction as a higher priority than service to clients. However, Logsdon, Reiner and Burke (1990) suggest that mutual benefits can be achieved if nonprofits use community needs assessments in order to develop programs that are useful to the community but that will appeal to corporate strategic interests.

A key question is whether communities gain, maintain, or lose resources with employee volunteer programs. Meng (2002) demonstrates a way to empirically examine this question but is unable to come to strong conclusions due to data limitations. Another study found that employer support was associated with more volunteer hours per person, and that employees who had support to modify work hours contributed more volunteer hours than employee volunteers without this particular support (Hall, McKeown & Roberts, 2001). Employees may serve their community more or in different ways if left to their own devices. On the other hand, employee volunteer programs may involve individuals who otherwise would not volunteer. Price (2002) suggests that the convenience of company-organized volunteer projects is a significant attraction for busy middle class and other professionals who might otherwise not volunteer. Career-related incentives and peer pressure are other reasons that employer volunteer programs may add to the volunteer pool and total volunteer hours performed.

Employer-Related Outcomes. Advocates for employee volunteering often connect corporate social responsibility to financial and market outcomes. But, typically, studies do not measure employee volunteer practices or policies as part of their measure of corporate social responsibility. Some advocates for employee volunteer programs assume that if employee volunteering enhances corporate reputation, and corporate reputation enhances the bottom line, then employee volunteering enhances the bottom line. Another argument is that employee volunteering results in cost-savings due to increased retention and lowered absenteeism. In addition, employee volunteering improves the bottom line by enhancing productivity and innovation through skill development and team-building. A link between employee job motivation and employee volunteering is also sometimes embedded in implicit models.

We know little about the costs and benefits to employers of running employee volunteer programs. Rigorous empirical research may help to get at the actual impact of employee volunteering, and specific volunteer program aspects, on the bottom line. Possible mediators to include in such studies are depth and breadth of employee participation, project type, availability of resources, and program supports and incentives.

Some studies have found a connection between employee volunteering and increased retention, recruitment, and lowered absenteeism, all of benefit to employers (Business Volunteers Unlimited, 2003). Perceived community relations performance, which may be enhanced through employee volunteering, can positively influence job seekers (Backhaus, Stone & Heiner, 2002). However, the effect of community relations on attractiveness of a company may be influenced by familiarity with the company (Luce, Barber & Hillman, 2001). In addition to helping with recruitment, employee volunteering can help develop new business, innovations, markets and community goodwill (Austin, 1997b; Rochlin & Christoffer, 2000). Community involvement can help firms learn about trends and issues that may affect their businesses (Logsdon, 1991). Studies by Business Strengthening America (2003) and Business Volunteers Unlimited (2003) indicate that good customer relations and customer satisfaction may be linked to employee volunteering. Some company leaders report a direct correlation between employee volunteering and profitability (Points of Light Foundation, 1998). Most of these studies reflect perceptions of respondents, rather than hard data on the benefits to employers of employee volunteering.

Studies find a positive link between organization reputation/image and employee volunteering (Austin, 1997b; Business Community Connections, 2004; Business Strengthening America, 2003; Pancer, Baetz & Rog, 2002; Rochlin & Christoffer, 2000). In a 1998 survey of 1,000 Americans, 37% of respondents said corporations would impress them most by having their employees volunteer versus donating a large sum of money or products and services (Rochlin & Christoffer, 2000). However, the effect of employee volunteering on corporate image may not be consistent across the globe. Meijs and Van der Voort (2004) claim that the perception of employee volunteering is somewhat negative in the Netherlands. Rather than fulfill a public expectation and thus help preserve the license to operate as Rochlin and Christoffer (2000) suggest, Meijs and Van der Voort found in their study that employee volunteering can meet with public disapproval. Negative perceptions are based on the idea that companies are "showing off" and inappropriately controlling the private lives

of employees. Severe negative reactions from Dutch employees occur when a company only recognizes and accepts some types of volunteer activities and not others, and when employees who volunteer are given career advantages (Meijs & Van der Voort, 2004).

Relevant to a discussion of benefits to employers is the still active debate on the role of business in addressing social ills. Models of corporate social responsibility typically treat philanthropic projects as discretionary activities that are less important than a corporation's economic, legal, and ethical responsibilities (Wood, 1991). Employee volunteer programs use company resources that perhaps could be put to more direct use in maximizing shareholder wealth. Margolis and Walsh (2003), among others, discuss arguments for and against corporate social initiatives. To touch on this nuanced literature, the main questions relevant to employee volunteering are: Does employee volunteering help to maximize shareholder wealth, and is the maximization of shareholder wealth necessary in order to justify the use of employee volunteer programs by business firms?

Employee Volunteering Numbers and Trends

Existing survey data are inadequate to determine the extent of employee volunteer programs, or the depth and breadth of employee participation. Studies are inconsistent in their methods and findings. Study reports are often missing detail on the sample and methodology employed to collect data. Table 2 presents illustrative recent studies that try to capture how much employee volunteering exists. The studies highlighted are limited to the United States, United Kingdom, and Canada, though employee volunteer programs exist throughout the world (Rochlin, Bliss, Bruce & Coulson, 2001).

The studies in Table 2 reflect the challenges in collecting data on employee volunteering. Most of the studies rely on convenience samples and suffer from non-response bias. As Cihlar (2004) notes, respondents are likely to have more involvement in employee volunteer programs than non-respondents, biasing the figures upward. Also, it is important to look at the population from which data are drawn. For example, the Center for Corporate Citizenship used participants in its seminars as subjects for its Community Involvement Index and found that 85% of the respondents' companies have employee volunteer programs. Companies in the sample are more likely than the average company to have an employee volunteer program given the investment in corporate social responsibility and employee development shown by their seminar attendance. Finally, the definition of what constitutes an employee volunteer program, and the scope of programs, are likely to be inconsistent across samples and organizations.

Table 2
Recent Study Findings on Extent of Employee Volunteering

Study	Sample	Findings
2001-2002 Survey of Corporate Involvement (Guthrie, 2004)	2,776 U.S. Businesses	About 40% have an employee volunteer program but varies by city
2001 Home Office Citizenship Survey (Attwood, 2003)	15,475 Welsh and English individuals	4% volunteered in employer programs in last 12 months (7% of those employed, 21% of those in companies with programs)
Community Involvement Index 2003 (Witter, 2003)	151 seminar attendees	85% of respondents have an employee volunteer program
National Survey of Giving, Volunteering & Participating (Hall, McKeown & Roberts, 2001)	14,724 Canadians age 15 and older	47% of volunteers who had an employer said received support for volunteering from employer
2003 Report to the Nation (Business Strengthening America (BSA), 2003)	About 200 BSA member organizations	50% of employees participate in employee volunteer program, 83% of responding companies provide volunteer opportunities
VeraWorks Inc. Study (Vera Works, 2002)	104 Fortune 500 firms	82% have employee volunteer programs
The Consulting Network (Coy and Jenkins, 2003)	100 large companies	90% have employee volunteer programs
State of Corporate Citizenship in the U.S. (Center for Corporate Citizenship, 2004)	515 US Chamber of Commerce businesses	53% believe public expects them to contribute time and money to address community needs, 55% support their employees volunteering (27% to large extent, 28% to moderate extent)
Prudential Financial Company Sponsored Volunteerism Survey (Xu, Haydon, O'Malley & Bridgeforth, 2002)	647 employed U.S. adults, random sample	54% report employer encourages volunteerism, 42% that employer sponsors volunteer programs, of those with programs 80% participate
Website Study (Cihlar, 2004)	125 Fortune 500 websites	94% of Fortune 50 and 55% of remaining Fortune 500 websites say employees volunteer

Claims about trends suffer from the same problems as claims about the prevalence of employee volunteer programs. Sampling and measurement weaknesses abound. Comparability across questionnaires, even those from the same researchers, is not always clear from research reports. In addition, without more data points, it is difficult to know the strength and character of trend lines. To briefly review this research: Witter (2003) found a drop in loaned executives and volunteer incentive programs in 2002 from 2001 and 2000. Prudential studies show a drop from 1998 to 2002 in those reporting that their employer encourages volunteerism, but the number with employers sponsoring volunteer programs was about the same (Xu, Haydon, O'Malley & Bridgeforth, 2002). However, the number of employees participating in employer programs increased. A 2002 Conference Board Report suggests a growth in employee volunteering with companies replacing traditional philanthropy with strategic service programs (Muirhead, Bennett, Berenbeim, Kao & David, 2002). A Canadian study suggests that employer support to modify work hours to accommodate volunteering and recognition for volunteering increased from 1997 to 2000 (Hall, McKeown & Roberts, 2001).

Employee volunteering can be found around the globe. Some multi-national companies have programs in all or many of the locations where they do business (Logan, 2004; Rochlin, Bliss, Bruce & Coulson, 2001). Multinationals headquartered in the United States may be leading the way in spreading these programs around the world (Logan, 2004). Logan argues that there is little employee volunteering in locally-owned companies in developing and post-communist countries. Given the lack of sound empirical data on the extent of employee volunteering in the United States, it is not surprising that there is no thorough empirically-based comparison of the United States with other countries on employee volunteer programs. Still, more than one writer places the United States at the forefront of employee volunteering (Cihlar, 2004; Logan, 2004; Meijs & Van der Voort, 2004). The United Kingdom is also presented as a leader in employee volunteering (Cihlar, 2004).

Research on Management of Employee Volunteer Programs

A wide array of manuals and other resources are available to employers interested in establishing or enhancing an employee volunteer program. The guidance appears to be based on rules of thumb and adaptations of practices from general human resource management and public relations, rather than research that specifically examines whether particular practices and policies used for strategic leadership and operational management of employee volunteer activities actually produce desired outcomes and avoid unintended consequences.

Research findings on management practices for employee volunteering are not drawn from tests of hypotheses. Most merely count types of policies or practices to support employee volunteering, such as: paid time off for volunteering; commitment to volunteering in annual reports; adapting work hours to accommodate volunteering; annual recognition ceremonies; training for volunteer work; volunteer teams; volunteer liaison positions; volunteer fairs to present opportunities; evaluation of performance as a volunteer; strategic planning; paid professional support staff; name and logo for the

volunteer program; regular communications; employee advisory committees; incentives such as matching grants for volunteering; use of equipment or facilities; and, encouragement of family participation in volunteer projects (for example, Bridgeforth, 2002; Business Volunteers Unlimited, 2003; Canadian Centre for Philanthropy, 2004; Hall, McKeown & Roberts, 2001; Thomas & Christoffer, 1999; VeraWorks, Inc., 2002, Witter, 2003; Xu, Haydon, O'Malley & Guthrie, 2004). As a whole, these studies demonstrate that no practices or policies are universally adopted.

The body of research shows that there are many possible locations for coordination of employee volunteering. Typical locations include the CEO office, and marketing, human resources, community relations, and public relations departments. Guthrie (2004) finds that 28% of companies with employee-supported volunteering have a special department dedicated to philanthropic and charitable activity. It is unclear whether the home of the program affects goals, strategies, attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes related to employee volunteering. Benjamin (2001) provides one of the more comprehensive surveys of program details and identifies key challenges for program administrators: limited amount of staff time, lack of clear policies, and disbursed authority.

Conclusion

Employee volunteering is a research area desperately in need of theory. A deeper, more theoretical understanding of employee volunteering can help guide policies and practices. Descriptive studies, especially those with limitations on generalizability, can only take us so far in our understanding. Better baselines on what companies are doing and how many employees are volunteering can help in the identification of trends but, standing alone, they do not help us understand why the trends are occurring. We need empirical models and investigations that help us see the underlying dynamics behind the establishment and implementation of employee volunteer programs as well as employees' participation and performance in them. Research can help uncover influences on employee volunteering at the micro and macro levels. We also need to take a more rigorous and balanced look at outcomes, searching for unintended consequences and long-term effects, as well as the achievement of project and program objectives.

More research is needed to determine if employee volunteering has a complementary, neutral or substitutive relationship on total volunteering as well as the relative quality of employee volunteering versus other types. We know little about the costs and benefits to nonprofit agencies of working with employee volunteers. Nonprofit agencies draw volunteers from many sources. Compared to other institutions offering volunteers such as schools and places of worship, is it worthwhile for nonprofits to work with employee volunteer programs? What do nonprofits gain and lose by having employers as intermediaries or silent partners for some of their volunteers? More research is needed to gain insight on nonprofit agencies' attitudes, behaviors, and outcomes related to employee volunteering.

We also need to examine more closely the causes that are supported by employee volunteer programs. This may help us see if and how employee volunteer programs

are influencing the approaches, institutions, and resources focused on particular public problems and issues. Are controversial causes and those involving a complex array of partners ignored? Do favorite causes have an overabundant supply of employee volunteering resources relative to their and others' needs? Are nonprofit organizations selecting causes and crafting projects with an eye to their attractiveness to employee volunteer coordinators looking for short-term engagements that can involve a large number of employees? Is this affecting the nonprofits' pursuit of other projects less suited to employee volunteer programs? In addition, are employee volunteer programs influencing the public's and government's agenda? Are employees taking advantage of the convenience of employer-coordinated projects without considering where, ideally, they would like to expend their volunteer time and effort? Are employee volunteer programs' approaches to public problems more likely to be band-aids than government approaches?

Given the overwhelming positive sentiment toward employee volunteering, at least in the United States and the United Kingdom, it is likely that employer encouragement and support of volunteering will continue, if not grow. And, if advocates and consulting organizations have their way without a change in orientation, there will continue to be an emphasis on making the business case for employee volunteering. More for-profit companies may seek strategic leverage from employee volunteering to support business interests. This is not necessarily a problem if community partners and government are aware of how business goals may shape services offered and effectively work to see that their own goals are not undermined and that priority community needs are addressed.

Not all employee volunteering is through for-profit employers, however. Government and nonprofit organizations also may encourage and support employee volunteering. By neglecting other types of employers with employee volunteer programs, we may give undue weight to business influence in communities. Currently, research and practitioner publications on employee volunteering are heavily biased by their almost exclusive focus on business settings.

We should not ignore important legal and ethical issues related to the boundaries between work and volunteer activity. This is especially true when employees are encouraged by employers to perform volunteer service work that is the same or similar to their formal job tasks. For example, nurses may be asked to volunteer to give blood pressure screenings or talks on wellness. An amorphous boundary between work and volunteering may be more common in government and nonprofit employment settings than in for-profit settings. However, in businesses emphasizing use of core competencies in service activities, employees may be asked to perform the same type of work they do in their job for their volunteer activities. Also, evaluation by employers of employees' volunteer performance raises the question of whether the volunteer service is job-related.

Rigorous scholarship is needed to enhance the growing, but currently, largely a-theoretical literature on employee volunteering. Employers have an abundance of materials and consultants to guide development of employee volunteer programs, but these resources largely treat programs as having only positive benefits, few costs, and are biased to for-profit employers. This chapter suggests the kind of work that has

been done — and could be done — to further our understanding and potentially improve policy and practice.

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VIRTUAL VOLUNTEERING

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Virtual Volunteering (VV) is the application of information and communications technology (ICT) to the process of volunteering. Though still not in widespread use, its potential as a tool for both managers of volunteer resources and volunteers unable to find what they want by traditional means is great. This chapter examines the various dimensions of VV and presents new research data on the nature and extent of VV in Canada (with references to the limited U.S. empirical literature on the topic). It also looks at how virtual volunteers differ from more traditional volunteers, and differences between voluntary organizations that make use of VVs and those that do not. The question of how satisfied both volunteers and managers of volunteer resources are with the VV experience is also addressed. The chapter concludes with a summary of practical guidelines for starting a VV program and a discussion of the possible future of VV, especially its potential for growth and the nature of its impact on the development of social capital.

Introduction

Virtual volunteering (henceforth to be known as VV) is the term coined to describe the use of information and communications technology (ICT) to permit some part of the volunteering process to be carried out at a distance from the organization. While "volunteering at a distance" is not new, the application of computers using the Internet and web-based technology to volunteering is quite recent. As a result, VV has gained considerable attention in volunteer management circles as a possible "solution" to declining rates of volunteering and an antidote to widespread feelings of isolation and alienation among certain segments of society (Tyler 2002, 2003; Tech Soup, 2003; Camlot, 2003).

The literature on VV contains many useful guidelines on how to develop and manage this rype of volunteering (to be discussed below), but very little research into the nature and extent of it. Nor is there much information on the influences that give rise to it or the *impact* it is having on volunteering and volunteer programs.

This chapter will explore eight aspects of virtual volunteering:

1. What is virtual volunteering?
2. Why is it important?

3. How much and what kind of VV is going on?

4. What kinds of people are engaging in VV, and how do they differ from "traditional" types of volunteers?

5. Are some kinds of nonprofit organizations more likely to use VV than others?

6. How satisfied are volunteers and volunteer managers with their VV experience?

7. What recommendations can be made to managers of volunteer programs who would like to introduce or enhance information and communications technology applications in their organizations?

8. Finally, what is the likely future of VV? Here we will discuss such questions as: What will be the likely levels of supply and demand for virtual volunteers? And does VV have the potential to impact the goal of increasing social capital—the development of mutual trust and respect among members of civil society?

What Is Virtual Volunteering?

As noted above, virtual volunteering (VV) is the application of information and communications technology to the process of volunteering. The volunteering process can be viewed from the point of view of a volunteer or the manager of a volunteer program. For an individual who volunteers, the process is one of, first, deciding to volunteer; next, selecting the organization with which to volunteer; then, deciding on the specific form of volunteer work; and finally, actually carrying out that work. In "traditional" volunteering, each step in the process is usually carried out through face-to-face interaction with those in the voluntary organization. In the case of virtual volunteering, however, ICT can be utilized at each step in the process after the initial decision to volunteer. It is now possible to locate potential volunteer positions on the World Wide Web, interact with the manager of volunteers to go through the selection process and actually carry out the work itself at a distance using ICT.

From the point of view of managers of volunteer resources, the process is similar. They must decide on the nature of the volunteer work to be done, then locate a pool of potential volunteers (recruitment), select those they want, put them to work, and oversee their performance. Again, ICT can now enter the picture at each stage of this process. By contrast, managers of volunteer resources who are *not* involved with VV may well use computers and various software programs in their work, but they do not attempt to locate, select, train or supervise volunteers at a distance (i.e., in a non-face-to-face manner) using the ICT tools of the Internet or the World Wide Web.

For the purposes of this chapter, we will be focusing on two aspects of the volunteering process:

1. The use of ICT in finding volunteer work by volunteers and recruitment by volunteer managers; and

2. The use of ICT in actually carrying out volunteer work at a distance, again, from the point of view of both the volunteer and the volunteer manager. These two dimensions create four types of volunteers and volunteer managers as shown in Table 1.

Table 1
Types of Virtual Volunteering

How volunteer work is performed:	How potential volunteers are recruited: Online searching	Traditional Methods
Virtually	Complete Virtual Volunteering	Virtual/Traditional Volunteering
Traditionally	Traditional/Virtual Volunteering	Complete Traditional Volunteering

Type 1: The "complete" virtual volunteer or volunteer manager uses ICT to find work (or volunteers) *and* uses ICT (or has ICT positions) where work can be performed virtually in whole or in part.

Type 2: The "traditional/virtual" volunteer, or volunteer manager, uses traditional methods to *find* work (or recruit volunteers) but *performs* it (or has it performed) virtually.

Type 3: The "virtual/traditional" volunteer, or volunteer manager, uses ICT to find work (or to recruit volunteers) but performs it (or has it performed) traditionally.

Type 4: The "fully traditional," or non-virtual volunteer or volunteer manager, does not use ICT to find volunteer opportunities (or volunteers) *or* in the performance of volunteer work.

Why Is Virtual Volunteering Important?

We will see in a moment that VV is not yet (as of 2004) in large-scale use and, because of this, some may feel it is of only minor importance in the big picture of the state of volunteerism today. However, the use of personal computers and their Internet applications continues to grow at a tremendous rate. Currently, an estimated 49% to 51% of the households in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2004) and 63% of the population over the age of 18 in the U.S. have physical access to ICT (Madden & Rainie, 2003)[1].

Given this situation, the use of ICT for locating larger pools of potential volunteers and creating positions that make it easier to volunteer is a logical development. Furthermore, ICT has great potential in allowing people who might never be able to volunteer because of an inability to travel or other reasons (such as disabilities, domestic responsibilities, etc.) to perform useful work at a distance. In

[1] This said, it must be noted that a "digital divide" still exists--not all sectors of the economy or population groups have equal access to ICT and, of those that do, not all are using it to the same degree (Murray and Harrison, 2002; Manzo and Pitkin, 2002; Staeyeart, 2002; Madden and Rainie, 2003; Lenhart et al, 2003; Robinson, Dimaggio and Hargittai, 2003). For example, Staeyeart (2002, p. 200), reports that ICT access is "following patterns of social stratification," including more access by the rich than the poor, by men more than women, and by the more educated than the less educated.

general, the more ICT use permeates all levels and sectors of society, the more important it will become as a resource for both volunteers and volunteer managers.

How Much and What Kind of VV Is Going On?

With regard to the use of ICT in volunteer recruitment, since 2000 there has been a steady growth in volunteer opportunity matching services at both national and local levels. "Volunteer Match" (www.volunteermatch.org) in the U.S. and the Volunteer Opportunities Exchange (www.voe-reb.org) in Canada are examples of services that allow potential volunteers to find opportunities online and volunteer managers to locate and contact possible recruits who have indicated an interest in volunteering. Similarly, many Volunteer Centres in cities across North America have created their own online volunteer opportunity matching services for their local areas, and more and more individual nonprofit organizations have incorporated these features within their websites.[2]

The question remains, however, as to how much these online services are actually being used and, once volunteers have been selected, how many are doing their work "virtually," at a distance using ICT applications. Regrettably, there is not a lot of information available on these questions. Brudney (2004) summarizes what little is known. In the U.S., the Independent Sector organization has published regular reports over the years on *Giving and Volunteering in America.* Its 1999 report noted that only 1% of those sampled learned about volunteer opportunities through the Internet, but nothing was said about how many of them subsequently engaged in virtual volunteer work. By the time of the 2001 Report, the number who learned about volunteer opportunities through the Internet had tripled to 3%. Among those who had Internet access (i.e., were on the "enabled" side of the digital divide), 13% used it to find volunteer work and, of those who did, 4% reported that they had performed that work virtually through the Internet in the previous year.

In Canada, the authors of this chapter carried out several surveys of potential volunteers, actual volunteers and managers of volunteer resources between 2001 and 2003[3]. One group consisted of 226 prospective volunteers using a local online volunteer opportunity service operated by the Victoria (BC) Volunteer Center, to be referred to hereafter as the "local" sample. This group was also contacted four months later to learn what they had actually done in the way of volunteer work. Fifty-two of them responded to this follow-up. They will be referred to hereafter as the "follow-up" sample. Another group consisted of 1,745 prospective volunteers using the national Volunteer Opportunity Exchange (VOE) operated by Volunteer Canada, which we will call the "national" sample. Similarly, 282 of this group responded to a follow-up survey four months later, and are also included in the "follow-up" sample.

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[2] The most complete list of online volunteer opportunities can be found at the website of Service Leader, the main source of information on virtual volunteering: http://www.serviceleader.org/new/virtual/2003/04/000028.php

[3] Though the surveys were related in that they all dealt with ICT use, the questions were not all the same for each sample; hence, the results to follow draw on different combinations of survey data based on commonality of questions.

Finally, 195 people who volunteered "on-site" in Victoria BC responded to a mail questionnaire asking about their volunteer experiences. They will be known as the "traditional" sample.

On the other side of the coin, two groups of managers of volunteer resources (MVRs) were surveyed about the extent to which they used ICT in their programs and its perceived impact. One group consisted of 129 MVRs in Victoria (to be known as the MVR 'local' sample) and the other was 365 MVRs from across Canada (the MVR 'national sample') who were on the Internet mailing list of Volunteer Canada, the national umbrella association of volunteer centers. Note that, except for the 'traditional' volunteers and a sample of local MVRs, all the participants in these studies were known users of ICT in some form; i.e., they were on the 'enabled' side of the digital divide, so it is already a biased sample when they are used to estimate the extent of virtual volunteering. Obviously, those with no access to computers and the Internet would not be participating in VV in any form.

Our data provided some answers to the following questions:

■ Regarding how many prospective volunteers found volunteer work using an online search system, of the 1,745 respondents who had tried the national system, only 93 (5%) said that this led to an actual volunteer job of some kind.

■ Of those who did find work through an online system, 62% engaged in a *combination* of virtual and traditional volunteer work.

■ Among the 334 users of the online systems, both nationally and locally, who responded to our follow-up questionnaire four months after the first survey, 149 (45%) of them had made contact with an organization, 105 (31%) had found volunteer work, and 65 (19%) had obtained that work through online sources. Of those who volunteered, only 14 (13%) reported that the work they found was virtual.

■ Of the 195 traditional volunteers surveyed by mail in Victoria, 11 of them (6%) said they used the Internet to find their positions. Thirty-three of them (18%) reported doing some combination of virtual and traditional work. The majority (82%) carried out only traditional, 'on-site' kinds of volunteer work.

■ The extent of "complete virtual volunteering" (where ICT was used both to find and perform volunteer work) in the traditional and follow-up sample groups was very low with only 4% of traditional and 8% of follow-up volunteers engaged in this way.

■ It is also possible to look at the data from the point of view of managers of volunteer resources (MVRs). Of the 494 MVRs surveyed, 235 (64%) of the national sample and 71 (55%) of the local sample reported using the Internet as a way of trying to find prospective volunteers.

■ In terms of the availability of VV jobs for these people, 124 (34%) of the national sample and 42 (33%) of the local sample said they had some positions that could be performed virtually. And, of those who said they had such positions, 72% said they had made between one to five placements into them. This suggests that use of online recruitment systems was an effective way to fill virtual volunteer positions.

■ We found that a majority of both national and local managers (64% and 55%, respectively) were using ICT to find volunteers. However, large percentages of the national and local samples (43% and 49%, respectively) had no openings for virtual volunteers. Over a quarter (29% and 26%) were completely virtual, and very few

managers were of the type that had virtual openings but did not use ICT in some way to fill them (6% and 7%). Less than a quarter (23% and 18%) were of the traditional type who did not use ICT in any way.

In summary, it can be seen that, as of 2004, the extent of virtual volunteering was still minimal. The U.S. data showed only 3% of volunteers using the Internet to find positions, though the trend was growing. The Canadian data indicate that, among users of the national online volunteer opportunity matching sites, few had found positions through them (only 5% of the national and 12% of the local and follow-up samples), and most of them ended up doing a combination of on-site and virtual volunteering. In other words, "complete virtual" volunteers were still quite rare. On the other hand, the finding that more MVRs were starting to use ICT in one way or the other suggests that future demand for complete virtual volunteering could grow.

What Kind of Work Is Done by Virtual Volunteers?

Again, research-based information on this question is scant. Aside from our empirical data noted above, most of it is in the form of anecdotal reports from individual users of volunteer resources (e.g. Tyler, 2003) and recommendations of possible VV tasks from experts on volunteering. Chief among the latter is Service Leader, located in the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, Austin (www.serviceleader.org), formerly headed by Jayne Cravens (who has since gone on to direct volunteering for the United Nations (www.unv.org). But there are also others such as Timebank U.K., a British volunteer promotion site (http://www.timebank.co.uk/aboutgiving/virtual.htm). Below is a list of suggestions for VV work posted on Timebank's website:

- Researching on the web
- Tracking relevant legislation
- Giving specialist advice
- Creating databases
- Designing a website or newsletter
- Providing translation facilities
- Providing telephone or e-mail mentoring
- Supervising or moderating a chat room, news group or e-mail discussion group

Turning to the kind of work that is actually being done virtually, the best source of data is that from our samples. Respondents could choose from a list of 10 possibilities. Table 2 shows the results for the national and local samples of managers of volunteer resources and the national sample of prospective volunteers using the national volunteer matching service. As can be seen, the top three types of virtual volunteer assignments reported by managers of volunteer resources were "desktop publishing" (national 14%; regional 20%), "Website development and maintenance" (national 12%; regional 21%) and research (national 13; regional 18%)[4].

[4] Though our respondents were asked to report only on "virtual" tasks, it should be noted that many of them, such as desktop publishing, fundraising, etc., *could* have been performed on site as well. We have no idea how many might have been doing these tasks both at home *and* at the organization's office.

Table 2
Types of Virtual Volunteer Work Performed

Type of Virtual Volunteering	National MVRs (n=365) %	Local MVRs (n=129) %	National Volunteers (n=1,745) %
Desktop Publishing	14	20	9
Developing/Maintaining Websites	12	21	6
Research	13	18	6
Fundraising	8	11	3
Other	7	10	47
Direct Service Delivery	7	7	13
Developing Manuals	7	7	3
Policy Development	4	4	3
Distance Training	2	2	5

Nearly half (47%) of the national volunteer group reported that they were carrying out some "other" type of virtual assignment than those in the 10 categories that our previous research had suggested were the most common. Unfortunately, our online questionnaire did not permit respondents to explain what these "other" virtual tasks were. To get a sense of what might be included in "other," we looked for clues in how local managers of volunteer resources and the traditional volunteer group described their tasks when asked to elaborate on the "other" category in their surveys. For them, "other" virtual volunteering included three cases of database entry and management; three cases of virtual volunteer management including online recruitment, scheduling and coordination; three cases of project management including event and community mapping projects; and, one case each of online technology support, language translation and accounting.

What Kinds of People Are Engaging in Virtual Volunteering? Do They Differ From Traditional Volunteers?

Among the interesting questions here are whether the various types of virtual volunteers are different demographically from those who do not use ICT in volunteering. Regarding gender, more women than men were using online services in looking for volunteer work in both the local (76%) and national groups (68%) in Canada.[5] Regarding age differences, the national online users were significantly younger than the local online and traditional groups. This may be due to the fact that the local population in Victoria, B.C., is significantly older than the Canadian national average, whereas the national sample is more reflective of the age distribution of the country as a whole.

[5] These figures are not that different from Canadian national surveys of volunteering, which show slightly more women than men volunteering — 28% vs. 25% (www.givingandvolunteering.ca).

We found education to be a key variable. University-educated volunteers were significantly more likely to have used some ICT to find and/or perform their work (74%) than volunteers who had used only traditional methods (56%). This suggests there is a digital divide between those who have high levels of education and those who do not. For those without university education, this means that opportunities to apply skills or to develop new ones through volunteering will likely be confined to traditional types of volunteer work.

With respect to employment, the "e-enabled" prospective volunteers from the national and local online groups were more likely than the traditional group to be unemployed (local 32%; national 35% compared to 8% in traditional group). This could be a reflection of the age differences between the groups, and the fact that younger volunteers are also more likely to still be students. In addition, completely virtual volunteers who used ICT both to find and perform volunteer work were more likely to see volunteering as an activity that might lead to employment (66% of them were motivated by this purpose, compared to 30% of those who were only partial virtual volunteers, and 16% of the completely traditional group).

Other Differences Between Online Users and Traditional Volunteers. We also analyzed the background characteristics of the various groups in our study. We looked at the extent of their prior volunteering experience, their experience using ICT in general, and their general attitudes toward ICT.

We found that users of the local and national online recruitment systems were more likely to be new to volunteering than were the traditional volunteers (64% local; 67% national). This finding is also supported by the fact that over three-quarters (81%) of the national online users reported they were first-time visitors to Volunteer Canada's website.

While online recruitment system users were more likely to be newer to volunteering, they were, surprisingly, more likely than the traditional group to have devoted more time to volunteering (more than five hours per week). Annualized as 260 hours a year, this is also much higher than the 162 hours the "typical" volunteer contributed in Canada (Hall, McKeown & Roberts, 2001).

When examining other background characteristics of volunteers, we found that having ICT skills was a significant factor in ICT usage. More specifically, the more ICT skills our respondents said they had, the more likely they were to have reported using online recruitment systems to look for volunteer opportunities and, once they found them, the more likely they were to use ICT in their work.

In summary, online searchers for volunteer positions are of both sexes but younger and more likely to possess a university education than traditional volunteers. Though most are employed, a greater number are not when compared to the traditional group, probably reflecting the younger population using this service, who are more likely to still be students and perceive volunteering as good experience for future careers. These online service users were also, on average, newer to volunteering but put in more volunteer hours and had more prior experience with ICT.

Are Some Kinds of Nonprofit Organizations More Likely to Use Virtual Volunteering Than Others?

Even though the demand for virtual volunteers is relatively small, we were interested in whether certain types of voluntary organizations were more likely to be "out front" in adopting this new form of volunteering. We looked at organizational features such as sector (e.g., social services, the arts, health, etc.), budget size and size of volunteer programs (represented by the number of volunteers). We also looked at the size of volunteer program budget, how much money was allocated to information and communications technology in the volunteer program, and the extent to which organizations provided specialized support and had formal policies and guidelines covering information and communications technology matters.

Interestingly, none of these organizational factors was associated at a statistically significant level with the use of ICT in recruiting volunteers or using them virtually. Thus, it appears that other factors must influence whether a volunteer program decides to try virtual volunteering.

Another possible explanation for the differences in ICT usage patterns is the background of managers of volunteer resources (MVRs). We looked at characteristics such as their age, gender, education, prior work experience, and computer experience and skills. We also looked at the attitudes of MVRs toward the use of ICT in general and volunteering in particular.

Only two of these characteristics had any significant association with virtual volunteering: the amount of prior work experience as managers of volunteer resources and their attitudes toward virtual volunteering. Managers in the national sample with *less* than five years' experience as MVRs tended to use more types of ICT in their positions than did managers with more experience. In addition, managers with positive attitudes toward virtual volunteering were significantly more likely to have adopted ICT in their work (or, conversely, those who had had good experiences with ICT in some other situation were more likely to develop positive attitudes toward it). When controlling for attitudes, we found that job experience was only a significant factor among managers with positive attitudes. These findings suggest that those who are positive about ICT changes and relatively new to volunteer management are more willing to experiment with new kinds of methods to carry out the work of their volunteer program.

How Satisfied Are Volunteers and Volunteer Managers With Their Virtual Volunteering Experience?

How Satisfied Are Potential Volunteers With Online Volunteer Opportunity Services? The users of the online systems for finding volunteer work were relatively satisfied with their experiences using these systems. Eighty-six percent of the national sample (using Volunteer Canada's volunteer opportunity matching service) and 81% of the local sample (using Volunteer Victoria's online matching service) felt the system they used provided them with the information that they needed. In terms of how well these systems matched their preferences to available jobs, 62% of the national sample

and 54% of the local sample were satisfied that the system provided them with a suitable match (rated "good" to "excellent"). In the follow-up sample, contacted four months after the initial contact, 44% of the local group and 49% of national group were satisfied to the extent that they said they would be likely to use online recruitment services again.

Very few of the traditional group had used either of the online services and, of those who had, most (82%) found them unsatisfactory. This group was also asked about their attitudes toward ICT in general. A negative overall attitude was held by 51% of them, which may suggest that pre-existing negative attitudes can inhibit the development of positive attitudes toward the use of ICT in volunteering.

How Satisfied Are Volunteers With Doing Their Volunteer Work 'Virtually'? Data on this question were available only for the sample of traditional volunteers[6]. Thirty-three percent of them had tried virtual volunteering and, of those, 68% reported that it had worked out successfully and that they would try it again. Those who had positive attitudes toward the value of ICT in general were significantly more likely to have used more ICT in volunteering.

How Satisfied Are Volunteers With the Way They Use ICT Tools in Their Work? The traditional volunteers were also asked a general question about their use of the Internet and the World Wide Web in their volunteer work. Of those who had used it, 42% were completely satisfied with it, and 58% felt improvements could be made. Of those who felt improvements could be made, 30% would like to use the Internet more, and 27% would like to be able to volunteer virtually. This suggests that the demand for VV positions is likely to grow.

How Satisfied Are Managers of Volunteer Resources With Online Recruitment Services? Only 22% of the national sample of managers of volunteer resources and 53% of local managers were satisfied with the use of their respective online recruitment services. The difference in satisfaction between the samples could be reflective of differences between the two online recruitment systems. The national system is a direct interactive system with no assistance provided by its sponsor, Volunteer Canada. Volunteer Victoria, which sponsors the local system, assists MVRs with the task of posting their volunteer opportunities online.

How Satisfied Are Managers of Volunteer Resources With Their Virtual Volunteers? Volunteer program managers were asked to compare the dependability and quality of work of virtual volunteers with that of on-site volunteers. Eighty percent of them reported that they found no difference in dependability. About 10% said that virtual volunteers were more dependable, while another 10% said they were less dependable. Eighty percent of the MVRs reported that they found no difference in the quality of work of the two groups, while 16% felt their work was of higher

[6] The reason for this was that the studies of the users of the online recruitment services focused only on the nature and extent of their use of the service rather than their satisfaction with virtual volunteer jobs. As it turned out very few of them actually obtained such jobs.

quality, and 4% found it to be of lower quality.

How Satisfied Are Managers With ICT in General? In addition to specific questions about virtual volunteering, MVRs were asked several questions about the overall use of information and communications technology in their volunteer programs. Interestingly, 67% of the national and 83% of local samples said, "there are improvements I would like to make." The most commonly mentioned improvements (raised by over 50% of those responding) were: "More volunteer management software"; "More training and technical assistance in this area"; and "A more interactive website."

MVRs were *also* asked what was preventing them from making the kind of improvements they wished for. As might be expected, chief among the barriers to ICT improvement were "time" and "money," reflecting the often frequent conditions of strapped resources that exist in volunteer programs.

What Recommendations Can Be Made to Managers of Volunteer Programs Who Would Like to Introduce or Enhance Information and Communications Technology Applications in Their Organizations?

Without doubt, the most comprehensive guide for MVRs in developing and implementing a virtual volunteer program is that provided online by Service Leader at the University of Texas, Austin (Serviceleader.Org, 2000). Most of the advice available on this website is captured in *The Virtual Volunteering Guidebook* written by Susan Ellis and Jayne Cravens (2000), available free online from the above site. From this publication and our own research, the following are a few key recommendations for managers of volunteer resources who wish to develop an effective virtual volunteering program that will help locate volunteers who cannot be physically present in the organization and/or allow for work to be performed at a distance through ICT:

- Attitude is key: Check out what others are doing to learn about the potential for VV and see its benefits as well as costs.
- Develop a plan that shows the benefits, costs and risks of (a) online recruiting, and (b) virtual volunteer positions[7].
- Start small and grow the program gradually to test the value of VV for the organization. Try a "pilot program" first to develop and test the plan, as well as to learn and adapt to the new technological environment over time with minimal disruption.
- Develop position descriptions for virtual volunteer jobs. Specify what the job responsibilities are, how they will be carried out, the kind of qualifications required for doing them, reporting relationships, and how the work will be supervised. Again, it is best to "think small" at first by creating "byte sized" VV assignments that are not too

[7] For example, because of new anti-terrorism legislation enacted in the U.S., Canada and other countries, the VV plan should cover risk management in the same way as is required for onsite volunteering (Carter, 2004).

complex and can be done in a short period of time. This allows the manager of volunteer resources to assess the work and allows the volunteer to obtain (hopefully) frequent positive feedback and recognition. Those who perform well can gradually have their responsibilities increased (if they would like).

■ Once the VV positions have been developed and the qualifications for them have been decided, develop a recruitment plan that, in addition to careful screening, includes a targeted search of sites where VVs are most likely to be found (e.g., online recruitment sites, listserves, associations of fundraisers).

■ Remember that VVs need to be communicated with as much, or more, than onsite volunteers so they will feel in the picture regarding your organization and the value of their work. Similarly, they need recognition. Just as with onsite volunteers, praise works best, but it must be provided at a distance via email and telephone. For those who like to be part of a network, think about ways VVs can communicate with others doing similar work. Try to build an "online community" in the same way good MVRs build an onsite community with traditional volunteers.

■ Provide as much orientation and training to VVs as to traditional volunteers. For those who cannot get to the agency, training will have to be tailored to delivery at a distance. Depending on the type of VV position and the size of the VV program, the use of web-based e-learning technologies may be appropriate. Additional training may be needed in online behavior or "netiquette," as well as in liability prevention.

■ Evaluate VV work. Regardless of the type of VV, evaluation and monitoring of work should be performed on a regular basis. Online surveys can be used to obtain feedback from VVs and those they work with so that the MBR can catch and fix problems before they become serious.

■ Make sure technical assistance is available to VVs, who may experience difficulties because of software or communications systems (or other) problems.

The experienced manager of volunteer resources reading the above guidelines for implementing successful VV programs may be struck by the fact that these recommendations are very similar to what is needed in implementing a traditional, onsite, volunteer program. This is essentially true, with two critical differences. One is the need to develop the creativity to imagine where virtual volunteering can be utilized. To think that it is only of value in tasks that involve the application of the Internet and the World Wide Web is unduly limiting. As elaborated in the discussion above, there are many areas of volunteer activity that could be adapted to VV.

The other difference between managing virtual and onsite volunteers is that more conscious effort must be devoted to communicating with them. Whereas a great deal of motivation and supervision of onsite volunteers can be provided in face-to-face situations, this is not possible with virtual volunteers. Every communication with them needs to be deliberately planned and thought through, at least until online interaction becomes as easy and comfortable as working face-to-face.

Conclusion: What Is the Likely Future of Virtual Volunteering?

<u>What Will Be the Future Demand for Virtual Volunteers?</u> As of 2004, it cannot be denied that, despite considerable publicity, virtual volunteering had not

become all that prevalent in the U.S. or Canada. Does this mean it has no future? Not at all. Indeed, although the numbers of volunteers taking on virtual volunteering positions have been comparatively small to date, our research shows that a large number of potential volunteers were looking for such positions through the online volunteer opportunity matching sites, but not finding them. This suggests that the problem may not be so much one of supply as it is of demand. This lack of demand could exist for several reasons:

1. A lack of capacity (funds, skills) for developing VV positions and recruitment and management systems.

2. Negative attitudes toward this new technology that lead some MVRs to reject VV without trying it.

3. A genuine shortage of volunteer work that lends itself to being adapted to being carried out virtually.

4. Fear because VV may put charitable and nonprofit organizations at risk because of new demands from anti-terrorism legislation (Carter, 2004).

No doubt all four scenarios are at work, though future research is needed to determine which are the most prevalent. Whatever might be the case, it is likely that they are interlinked so that one place to start increasing demand is for MVRs to appreciate the potential for VV (i.e., develop positive attitudes), which might spur them to creatively examine existing and potential volunteer activities in terms of how they might be performed virtually. They would also be motivated to learn about ways of recruiting volunteers using the Internet. Armed with a plan for developing VV capacity in this way, they would then be able to approach the leaders of the organization to persuade them to approve implementation.

What About the Future Supply of Virtual Volunteers? It must be remembered that the "digital divide" still exists. A number of segments of the population do not have convenient access to ICT or adequate skills to utilize it. Typical of those on the "non-enabled" side of the digital divide are the poor, those with low levels of literacy and numeracy, and those whose language or culture create barriers to use. Clearly, if virtual volunteering expands, it will be slow to reach these people. As a result, organizations that are interested in involving them in their volunteer programs should not focus on VV — though they may wish to contribute to efforts to help the non-enabled gain access to ICT and to train basic "computer literacy."

Even though the demand for virtual volunteers may not be large at present, it is likely to grow in the future. What do we now know about how to build the supply of potential virtual volunteers? Regarding recruiting at a distance, the potential of national online volunteer opportunity matching systems appears not to have been reached as yet. Further research is needed into why these systems have not been more successful in placing volunteers. From our research, it appears that one problem may be the reluctance of managers of volunteer resources to proactively search the lists of potential volunteer profiles contained in them. This could be in part because the present systems do not automatically produce a list of appropriately matched potential volunteers when an organization inputs its requirements in the way of positions and qualifications needed to fill them.

Another reason for the comparatively low use of online volunteer recruitment systems may be that some managers of volunteer resources fear that it will become *too* successful and want to avoid dealing with an onslaught of prospective volunteers. Obviously, further research is needed to test this kind of speculation. In any case, skilled volunteer management is needed to ensure that prospective volunteers seeking these kinds of volunteer opportunities have satisfactory experiences when looking for them (Cravens, 2000).

Aside from the major national online recruitment systems, there may be greater potential for building the supply of recruits in the use of local volunteer opportunity sites operated either through a volunteer center or as part of an organization's website. These are especially useful when one is trying to attract volunteers willing to do "traditional," on-site work but who like to look for opportunities online. (Though, if explicit virtual volunteer positions are posted online, and the site is publicized beyond the local area, perhaps, through national associations, these locally-based online recruitment sites might also attract "complete virtual volunteers" as defined in Table 1).

With respect to the supply of people willing and able to fill specifically *virtual* volunteer positions, it might be best to look first among current volunteers. We were surprised to discover how many of our 'traditional' volunteers were doing some work "virtually" in addition to on-site work, and how many of those using the national online recruitment systems also reported doing locally-based virtual volunteering. The best general source for complete virtual volunteers, however, is probably among individuals posting their availability on national online volunteer opportunity matching systems since most will have already committed themselves to the possibility of working at a distance through ICT tools.

Once potential recruits for virtual work have been found by whatever means, they need to be carefully, screened, selected, and trained. It is also important to communicate with them and provide recognition of their contribution as actively as one would any other volunteer. The difference is that all this will require the imaginative use of information and communications technology tools since it will have to be carried out at a distance (see Gilbert, 2003, for an excellent resource on how to get the most from e-mail).

The Future Role of Virtual Volunteering in Increasing Social Capital. It has long been recognized that volunteering has many benefits and impacts beyond the obvious one of helping others. From the point of view of the volunteers, it provides many potential benefits, from improving their career-related skills to building valued relationships. From the point of view of society as a whole, it is a major means for building social capital — the mutual trust and respect that citizens have for one another that forms one of the basic values of civil society (Coleman, 1990). As Putnam (2000) has argued, if social capital diminishes, the very roots of a healthy democracy are threatened.

According to Putnam (2000), there has been a steady decline in social capital since the 1970s. People have become less involved with community-based activities. This contention has been disputed by some (e.g., Costa & Kahn, 2003), and others have sought to qualify the broad generalization in terms of its applicability to all

geographical areas and all sectors of society (e.g., Keisler & Kraut, 1999). It is our position, however, that there is certainly some truth to Putnam's general thesis so it is important to consider the extent to which the use of computers and the Internet in volunteering might increase or decrease social capital.

Putnam himself (2000) and others (Kraut et al., 1998) say that working at a computer alone at home may increase feelings of isolation and alienation because it reduces time spent in face-to-face interaction. Others point out the opposite, that time online can enhance civic engagement if structured properly because it can lead to an increase in contacts with others and the building of social networks (Hampton, 2003; Wellman et al., 2001; Shaw, Kwak & Holbert, 2001; Pierce & Lovrich, 2003). Shah et al. (2002), when examining the impact of ICT use on social capital, concluded that "time spent online has a positive relationship with attendance at public gatherings and civic volunteerism" (p. 964). In addition, as our own research revealed, there are very few "complete" VVs. Most of those surveyed provide a mix – they find positions online but work onsite, or vice versa.

This phenomenon is not dissimilar to the situation pertaining to the involvement of people in religious activities. Contrary to the fears of some church leaders that the availability of online prayer sites and other sites for interaction on matters of faith would reduce normal church attendance, it appears that those using these sites are *more* involved in their local churches than traditional church members (Hoover, Clark & Rainie, 2004).

It is our contention, therefore, that, should various types of virtual volunteering continue to grow, they will tend to build social capital, not further erode it, especially if those managing virtual volunteer programs "do it right" in the sense of ensuring that VVs learn about and contact those they are working with and serving. This brings us back to the point made earlier about the importance of managers of virtual volunteers having to more consciously plan their program and communications strategies with VVs.

In general, "doing it right" requires learning how to manage the new kinds of volunteer relationships that have been made possible through ICT. Most volunteer managers who make use of ICT do so *in addition to* using traditional methods to find and oversee volunteers.

To be effective users of ICT, managers of volunteer resources must manage their programs within both traditional and "e-business" models. Of course, it is a challenge to develop the capacity to implement innovations such as VV. However, as we have noted above, it is one well worth undertaking for the benefit of society in general, those receiving service, the organization needing volunteer help, and the individual volunteer.

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SOCIETAL CHANGES AND THE RISE OF THE EPISODIC VOLUNTEER

Nancy Macduff

Episodic volunteers, those providing short and occasional service, are increasing in number according to reports of Independent Sector. *Not all such short-term volunteering is the same, but rather falls into three styles: temporary, interim, and occasional. Examples of such volunteering are described in this chapter, along with current research, which sheds light on the motivations and demographic characteristics of the short-term or episodic volunteer. The author explores the societal shifts driving the move toward short duration service and its potential impact on nonprofits and management of volunteers. She also gazes into the future and asks questions of nonprofit organizations, managers of volunteers, and academics designed to help smooth the transition toward blending long-term and episodic volunteers into a single volunteer program.*

Introduction

Beginning in the late 1980s, this author started writing about the changes in the way people were volunteering in westernized countries. This interest stemmed from reports by managers of volunteer programs that more volunteers were declining long-term positions in favor of shorter assignments. Hard numbers soon augmented the unscientific reports of this change in the way people volunteered. In a 1989 study of volunteering by the National Volunteer Center (now part of the Points of Light Foundation), there was high interest in volunteer work of shorter duration. Fully 79% of those not volunteering said they would volunteer if given a short duration task (National Volunteer Center, 1989).

Fast forward to the 2001 Independent Sector Survey in which 44% of adults in the United States over the age of 21 said they gave time to an organization or cause in the past year (Toppe, Kirsch, & Michel, 2002). More than two-thirds (69%) were "periodic" volunteers, meaning they volunteered at a scheduled time that recurred at regular intervals (for example, daily, weekly, or monthly). According to Weber (2003, p. 2), "the other 31% were episodic volunteers who contributed their time sporadically, only during special times of the year, or considered it a one-time event." The Independent Sector data from 2001 suggest that the respondents to the 1989 survey who asked for short-term volunteer assignments eventually got their wish. For

millions of volunteers in the United States, volunteering is of short duration.

When did the idea of volunteering episodically or short-term begin? Not in 1989! Short-duration or single event volunteering is as old as volunteering itself. The 19th century had the wealthy elite sponsoring masked balls for charities like Hull House, the 1950s had mothers serving as activity leaders for week-long Cub Scout day camps, and farmers have been building barns for their neighbors for centuries. No doubt, indigenous populations in the "New World" had their episodic volunteers as well.

Definitions

"Short-term" is an inaccurate term for the myriad ways in which individuals give volunteer service that is not long-term or continuous. A more accurate description of this "style of volunteering" (Hustinix, 2004, p. 5) comes from the term "episodic." The dictionary defines episodic as (Ehrlich, Flexner, Carruth & Hawkins, 1980): made up of separate, especially loosely connected episodes; of or limited in duration or significance to a particular episode, that is, temporary; occurring, appearing, or changing at usual irregular intervals, that is, occasionally.

> **Ep-i-sod-ic/,ep e-'sad-ik;** 1: made up of separate, especially loosely connected episodes 2: of or limited in duration or significance to a particular episode, TEMPORARY 3: occurring, appearing, or changing at usual irregular intervals, OCCASIONALLY

Because not all volunteers who provide short-term service disappear at the end of their duties, the author created a classification for volunteer positions to more accurately distinguish between styles of episodic volunteering. One class was based on "duration" of service required for the positions, including three types of episodic volunteers (Macduff, 2004). The first episodic class is *temporary.* A temporary episodic volunteer gives service that is short in duration, usually for a few hours or a day at most. These are people who help pass out water to runners in a marathon, cook hamburgers at a party for homeless children, or arrive at a beach to clean refuse. They do not return and are not otherwise engaged in the organization, and are rarely members.

Corporations and businesses are increasingly offering temporary volunteer opportunities for employees. Examples include:

- Building a playground for a child care center
- Working on a house-building project for low-income people
- Raising money through a fun-run or golf tournament

The second form of episodic volunteering is the *interim* volunteer. This is someone who gives service on a regular basis for less than six months. A student who interns at a social service agency for a semester to gain experience in her or his chosen profession is an interim episodic volunteer. A task force working on a special project for three months is also interim. By contrast, someone serving on a committee that meets once per month all year long is not an episodic volunteer. This service is continuous.

The third class is the *occasional* episodic volunteer, one providing service at regular intervals for short periods of time. This is someone who works every year on the annual wine-tasting event to raise money for an animal shelter or symphony orchestra, but only on the one event. Her or his service might be a month or two in duration or just the evening of the event. But the manager of volunteers can count on this person returning year after year. Examples include:

- Work at the registration table at a statewide Special Olympics track and field event year after year
- Periodic service as auctioneer for a gala fundraising dinner for a symphony orchestra
- Coordinate annual cookie sales for the local Girl Scout Council

To develop effective strategies to recruit and sustain volunteers, it is essential to understand what episodic volunteering is and how it differs from long-term volunteer service — which for many decades has been the norm for most organizations. A chart developed by Hustinix (2001, p. 65) shown as Table 1 below highlights the difference between "classic volunteerism" and the newer forms of giving service. In terms of time commitment, these categories--temporary, interim, and occasional--seem akin to those of the Macduff (2004) taxonomy.

Table 1
Classic Volunteerism vs. New Volunteerism*

	Classic Volunteerism	New Volunteerism
Culture	Identifies with traditional cultural norms	Individualization
Choice of organization	Based on: Traditional cultural identifies Great loyalty Delegated leadership Solid structure	Personal Interest Weak ties Decentralized structure Loose networks
Choice of field of action	Based on: Traditional cultural identities Inclusion and exclusion	Perception of new biographical similarities Taste for topical issues Dialogue between global and local
Choice of activity	Based on: Traditional cultural identities Needs of the organization Idealism	Balance between personal preference and organization's needs Cost/benefit analysis Pragmatic

(continued)

Table 1 (continued)
Classic Volunteerism vs. New Volunteerism*

	Classic Volunteerism	New Volunteerism
Length and intensity of commitment	Long term (unlimited in time) Regular Unconditional	Short term (clearly limited in time) Irregular or erratic Conditional
Relationship with the beneficiary	Unilateral, 'altruistic', 'selfless'	Reciprocal

* *Table 1 Reprinted with Permission of* Voluntary Action

Temporary, interim, and occasional volunteers are familiar to most managers of volunteer programs. Informally, most programs accommodate individuals who wish to serve in short-term assignments. Most organizations have a range of volunteer positions--some long-term, continuous (usually filled by the organizers and leaders of the project or program) and some episodic. By contrast, the stated mission of some organizations is to recruit only those interested in episodic assignment. These organizations act as brokering agencies, placing people in community organizations for episodic service. The various "City Cares" organizations began with this focus, although they currently provide information to subscribers on both long-term and episodic volunteering opportunities (Nunn, 2000).

In a 1999 study of volunteers at the Phoenix, Ariz., "Make a Difference" program, 53% of those surveyed were serving in the occasional category of episodic volunteering, 22% were temporary, and 18% interim (Dietz, 1999, p. 67). Of the respondents, 79% were female, with an average age of 35, although overall ages ranged from 18 to 71.

Dietz applied the six motivational factors on the Volunteer Function Inventory (Clary & Snyder, 1991) to two studies of long-term volunteers and a test sample of episodic (i.e., short-term) volunteers to determine the differences. In both cases, "values" were the driving motivational factor for the majority of both long-term and episodic volunteers. In the studies of the long-term volunteers, "esteem" was second, followed by "understanding." The episodic volunteers reversed those two categories in terms of importance (Dietz, 1999, p. 54-55). Dietz's study supports the idea that episodic volunteering may be driven hy self-interest, but is no less "compassion"-motivated (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 174).

A 2000 study of 652 Flemish Red Cross volunteers sheds additional light on the frequency of episodic volunteering. Of the sample, 21.3% were episodic volunteers. Of that group, 94.2% served once or several times a year, 78.8% gave four hours or less of service, and 21% gave five to 12 hours of service. In the episodic category, 17.9 % report giving service for 0 to 2 years; with 23% reporting ten years of service (Hustinix, 2004, p. 39). The author of the Red Crnss study does not distinguish episodic volunteers as temporary, interim or occasional, although it would seem that the Flemish Red Cross has all three types of episodic volunteers, with a substantial proportion being occasional and serving year after year (Hustinix, 2004, p. 18).

Traditionally, most volunteer programs have been organized around the long-term, continuous-service volunteer. As McCurley and Ellis (2003, p.2) observe, "Organizations viewed volunteers as unpaid staff." Recruiting, screening, supervision and recognition activities were designed around the volunteer who continues to serve the organization for a long time on regular schedule. The episodic volunteer was welcome, but had to fit into the existing systems. It was the "regular volunteer" or "member" who was the focus of most attention and recruiting and managerial efforts. The prevailing attitude was that short-term volunteers were somehow not as valuable.

Whence Cometh the Episodic Volunteer? Collective and Reflexive Volunteering

Currently, both episodic and long-term volunteers exist in most volunteer programs. Hustinix (2004, p. 5) refers to the choice a volunteer makes as a "style of volunteering or SOV." She asserts that these styles are coexisting, and that one is not currently replacing the other. It is true, however, that the systemic shift in the nature of volunteering toward episodic is in part an indicator of a larger societal movement that includes volunteering as well as other social institutions (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003). The more traditional social institutions and mores are referred to as "collective." By contrast, "reflexive" is the term used to describe social institutions and mores that are characterized by individuation, intensity, and short-term or fleeting involvement. These terms refer to the larger social context in which volunteering occurs.

Collective volunteering began with the advent of the modern era in organizations with a clear "chain of command" or hierarchy, with divisions of labor depending on the position in the organization. Democracy prevailed, with elected leaders representing the members. There was "social or ideological continuity" in these organizations (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 175). From a purely social standpoint, the rules were known and adhered to. There was a collective way of living with clear delineation of what constituted "family" (nuclear), sex roles, and rules governing marriage (Beck, 1994, p. 3).

In this environment, the volunteer operates in an organization with activities deeply rooted in community, tradition, a sense of duty, or obligation. Sometimes religious belief or ideology dictated altruistic behavior. The highest goal of the group was a "dedication to the common good" (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 174). The Elks or Knights of Columbus reflect this type of organization.

Volunteers in the collective organization carry out tasks or services that have been decided by others, and are usually supervised by others in the group. The individual need not write her or his own "volunteer script", but rather do what is good for the organizational community. Often these groups are characterized by community and class homogeneity (Beck, 1994; Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003). This collective organizational infrastructure provided a "home" or place to belong, and does to this day. "There are rules for belonging--kinships, class, ethnicity, gender" (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 171). Codes of conduct, written and unwritten are the norm, with a focus on "community."

Men's clubs of the 1950s are one of the best examples of this type of volunteering. These community-based organizations were a source of professional pride. Membership, and certainly leadership, was to be aspired to as these activities displayed publicly a man's reliability, community commitment, and power. This type of volunteering often became a stepping-stone for those on a particular career path or with hopes of status enhancement (Beck, 1994; Giddens, 1994; Lash, 1994).

While men were joining Rotary, Elks, and Lions, many women were playing out their roles in high-powered organizations devoted to community betterment. From garden clubs to hospital volunteer associations, women defined themselves as something more than housewife, achieving similar benefits as their club-joining mates (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003).

Reflexive Volunteering

Some social historians suggest that westernized countries are in the midst of a move to a new state of social evolution. The shift in behavior is often referred to as reflexive (Beck, 1994; Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003). Several authors suggest that this move from collective to reflexive behavior began in the 1960s (Beck, 1994).

Unlike its predecessor — social change characterized by revolutionary outbursts — the post-modern era has crept in on "cats-paws" (Beck, 1994, p. 3). This "silent" revolution has not been borne in upheaval and agony, but rather by such things as the growth in wealth, employment security, loss of rivals, change in the nature of the problems faced by individuals, and the speed of technification (Giddens, 1994; Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003). The change in gender roles for women is likely the most dramatic illustration of this quiet but dramatic revolution.

Collective styles of volunteering occur in organizations characterized by a member-based structure, with strong institutional ties. Reflexive volunteering is usually program-based and, most often, self-organized (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003). Beck (1994, p. 2) maintains that these shifts are about the "dissolving of the contours of the industrial society." The contour change seems also to be changing democratic decision-making institutions (parliaments, congresses, legislatures, senates, etc.) and, perhaps, the tenor and substance of political debate (Beck, 1994).

The shift Beck refers to is illustrated by the volunteer behavior that characterized the U.S. Presidential primary campaign of Howard Dean in 2003-'04. Instead of the highly "top-down" organizational structure typically seen in political campaigns, Dean's campaign introduced a "secret call" to draw in the formerly apolitical (Shapiro, 2003, p. 58). Those who went to Vermont to help elect Dean were largely young, but also comprised "senior citizens in RVs, and middle managers from Microsoft" (p. 58).

The structure of the Dean campaign for national office was described as having a "thin veneer of Official Adults," with hundreds, if not thousands of younger, reflexive volunteers doing what needed to be done (Shapiro, 2003, p. 58). For those unable to go to Vermont, 900 unofficial Dean groups sprang up around the country. Volunteers appointed themselves the leaders and undertook all the activities of traditional campaigns, such as leafleting, knocking on doors, attending local Democratic party meetings, and the like.

According to some theories, this shift in the behavior of volunteers occurs because the individual in the 21st Century is left to cobble together his or her own biography, often providing the staging, including multi-level, multi-form, and multi-dimensional types of volunteer activities (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 170). Reflexive (episodic) volunteering comes about because the individual in the postmodern era is a "reflection" of the change in institutional conditions. For example, workers in the United States and other countries have a much larger range in the way they work than in the past: part-time, flextime, contract, consultation, job-sharing, and traditional full-time work. This all relates to the duration of time served, also an important component of classifying volunteer positions (Macduff, 2004).

The post-modern era is characterized by ambiguity and precariousness in life. People who thought they would work for the same company for life are laid off and, in some cases, lose pension benefits. Children do not join the same groups to which their parents and grandparents belonged, and often move thousands of miles from the home of their birth to create a new life biography. The 21st century has the individual as the solo artist, creating his or her own experiences, and this performance includes the selection of the style of volunteering.

Fish or Cut Bait: Must It Be One or the Other?

Although most of the authors writing on this shift in the institutions of society agree that reflexive volunteer behavior is here to stay, by no means do they indicate that collective or member-based volunteering is dead. It is not a "fish-or-cut-bait" question. There is not a rigid division between the styles of volunteering, one better than another, but rather a continuum that reflects the traditional collective categories at one end and the more reflexive forms at the opposite.

Currently, a mixture of volunteering styles exists within many organizations. For example, most hospitals have a flexible volunteer program allowing for episodic or short-term volunteer positions as well as long-term positions. This program exists alongside the traditional hospital "auxiliary" with lifelong members and a traditional hierarchy. Still, the episodic form of volunteering seems to be gaining ground in terms of numbers — if the concerns of managers of volunteer programs are an accurate barometer of the change.

Individuals are concocting "volunteer cocktails" which include a blend of collective and reflexive forms of volunteering. Often, the individuals oscillate between styles of volunteering (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 170). The cause of this unwillingness to "fish or cut bait" on the part of some volunteers is due to the tension in their lives between the "heteronymous [subject to external laws of growth] and autonomous life biography" (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 170). They may feel secure in work, but know that all work in the post-modern era comes with inherent precariousness. Hence, their choices about volunteering have distinct social roots. On the one hand, they might posit, "If I am unsure about my career and work choice, I might choose a volunteer opportunity that provides a place of purported stability." On the other hand, though, they may choose a reflexive style of volunteer position *because* life is

uncertain. While no one can be certain of the particular choices, volunteer program managers must be aware of them.

The Impact of Reflexive Volunteering: Nonprofits, Volunteers, and Civil Society

The changes in volunteering have created the need for more reflexive types of positions, hence a new type of thinking by managers of volunteer programs. Episodic volunteer positions, described earlier, provide the opportunity to recruit people not attracted to more traditional volunteer positions. In fact, the reflexive volunteer might want to develop his or her own position description in consultation with the manager of volunteer programs. Projects can be short in duration or on an ad hoc basis. They can be limited in time and commitment (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003; Macduff, 2003). Personal motivations dictate the types of activities in which the individual might want to volunteer. And the organization matches these motivations to the mission and its needs for assistance.

The growth of "virtual volunteering," providing volunteer service through the Internet, is an example of the global nature that reflexive volunteering can take. Just as students are earning college degrees via the Internet, so people in India can volunteer for organizations in Denver. There is a growing connection in the reflexive world of local action and global concerns (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003; Giddens, 1994).

The collective organization is finding that the commitment of individuals to something that is centralized and market-driven is often reduced to a vicarious commitment. People pay their dues, but limit their participation to short-term projects (Macduff, Hanson, Anderson & Pirtle, 2000). Some nonprofits are dependent on paid-staff involvement, with roles for volunteers very narrow. This is because previously, in collective volunteering, the involvement of the person was seen as work done by an amateur, albeit one with good intentions. The do-gooder has been marginalized by the growth of trained professional staff. Paid workers do the heavy lifting, while volunteers are relegated to positions on the fringe (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003).

It is important to remember that despite the blending of types of volunteering, there are negative impacts as well. One is the potential demise of the local community. It is not the disappearance of "place," but rather the disappearance of tradition. For example, the St. Patrick's Day Parade is held, but with transgender groups or gay and lesbian groups marching. This can appear to some as the flouting of tradition. Tradition does not go away, but can be replaced by fundamentalism. These are the "formulaic truths," without regard to the consequences (Giddens, 1994, p. 101). In volunteer programs, someone says, "Since 1973, we have been training volunteers for 40 hours before letting them see a client. It works, so why would we change now?"

The good news is that reflexive forms of organizing nonprofits and volunteer programs have some benefits. By challenging the "old order" and concepts of what makes a good citizen, there are more choices for people to engage with their community (Ellison, 1997, p. 713). The door is open to a vast array of people getting

involved at the grassroots level not only in traditional causes but also in contemporary ones, for example opposing construction of freeways through wetlands, questioning the safety of chemical plants or mining operations, or suing to halt logging in a fragile ecosystem (Beck,1994; Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003). While some managers of volunteer programs see the future as grim, it appears that it will only be different from the past.

Organizational Change and Survival

We live in a world of risks, both global and personal, in which cell phones, the Internet, and satellite communication have put people in possession of expanded education, mobility, and the ability to operate independently (Beck, 1994). The new social order means daily encounters with changes in political and economic environments, which lead to questioning and revisions in thinking, identity, and loyalty (Ellison, 1997, p. 698).

This systemic change in the culture means that there are likely to be shifts in the relationship between volunteers and their organizations. One indicator of this change is the growing appeal of "brokering" organizations. Brokering organizations are characterized by being structured to stand between the volunteer and the organization for which the volunteer service is being rendered. Hence, the reflexive volunteer need have little or no contact with the "parent" organization. Service can be given without the risk of joining a collective organization with dues, membership expectations, or leadership from on high. Corporate volunteer programs are likely the largest brokering organizations for episodic volunteer opportunities. Corporations such as AT&T, United Parcel Service (UPS), Washington Mutual, and hosts of others provide employee volunteers to build houses, construct playgrounds, work at athletic fundraising events, or donate foodstuffs to homeless shelters. Usually, the volunteers continue to receive their salary while engaging in these activities. The employee volunteer signs up through work, never seeing the manager of volunteers from the organization for which the service is being rendered. The individual avoids the screening process and membership requirements of the host organizations. And, usually, there are a variety of choices of kinds of volunteer organizations and/or programs to choose from. This allows the individual to write his or her own volunteer life script or biography.

To survive, nonprofit organizations need to adapt structurally and in the ways in which volunteers are organized and managed. There is a need for greater flexibility and acceptance of the episodic forms of volunteering described above. Those who volunteer episodically are tolerated in most nonprofit organizations, but the "real work" is done by volunteers who serve in the collective manner of long-term, continuous service (Macduff, 2003). New ways and systems for managing volunteers must be attuned to the reflexive social environment. "Reflexive volunteers demand a considerable amount of flexibility and mobility to allow them to shift between activities and organizations according to biographical whims" (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 174).

Some researchers expect the line between volunteers and paid staff to blur. The

demands on today's nonprofit for services is so great that the organization may require volunteers to do things currently done exclusively by staff. Volunteers possessing high levels of skills will likely be needed at the same time that the way in which they are contributing their time to organizations is changing (Beck, 1994; Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003; Macduff, 2003).

The Challenge Ahead

This "silent" shift in the nature of volunteering raises questions for nonprofit organizations, managers of volunteer programs, and for researchers in the academy. Answers to any or all of these questions have the potential to ease the transition to inclusion of new forms of volunteering, such as episodic, along with more traditional styles of volunteering in host organizations.

Questions for Nonprofit Organizations:

■ What might be the impact of volunteering in a nonprofit organization if senior managers (including boards) conceptualized volunteers as solvers of organizational problems rather than fillers of low-level, fuzzy, and indefinite long-term jobs?

■ Does the current nonprofit governance structure provide a comfortable "fit" for managing the reflexive social institution, where the workers (paid and unpaid) will ebb and flow?

■ What about the hierarchical structure that flows from executive director to staff to volunteer? What if staff did the routine work and volunteers wrestled with policy decisions?

■ Are boards engaging their own members in short-term strategic discussions and work rather than the traditional roles of governance?

Questions for Managers of Volunteer Programs:

■ Count separately the episodic volunteers and the continuous service volunteers and the hours donated by each group. Where are you spending your volunteer program budget?

■ What if a consortium of organizations in a given community allowed volunteers to sign up once, with one application form for all of them? Then, once a month the volunteers would receive information on available volunteer tasks or positions at all the participating organizations.

■ There has been a dramatic increase in brokering organizations. Could this mean that reflexive volunteers want a barrier between the volunteer services they give and a direct connection to the organization for whom they are giving the service?

■ What benefits and detriments might arise from allowing volunteers to write their own position descriptions?

■ Should managers introduce a reward system with certain benefits that could only be earned by those giving episodic service?

Questions for Researchers:

■ Is research underway on organizations that want to rebuild collective forms of volunteerism? What do organizations need to do to build community and foster collective goals? If collective and reflexive volunteers are to coexist in the same volunteer program, how can the collective organization reorganize for greater organizational health?

■ "Research on volunteers usually takes on a monolithic approach, using 'catch all' phrases or reducing it to one of its multiple dimensions. As a result, the volunteer picture remains fragmented" (Hustinix & Lammertyn, 2003, p. 171). Is research available on styles of volunteering? Do both episodic and traditional long-term volunteering receive attention in the literature?

■ What kind of research can be done to help organizations that wish to change from a collective model to a reflexive? For example, what is the likely fate of fraternal organizations? Fraternal organizations and, in particular, their long-term volunteers, have demonstrated stubborn resistance to change. They are heavily invested in traditional roles and the organizational structures that sustain them. They are aging and, in many cases, literally dying. Is there any way to keep fraternal organizations from dying? Should they be allowed to fade, clearing the way for new forms of organization to emerge?

Conclusion

Social organizations and institutions that refuse to address changes in the relationship between the individual and the conventional method of operating will likely face negative consequences. Gidden (1994, p. 105) describes four ways in which institutions address change in the post-modern era:

1) There is an embedding of traditions
2) The two sides attempt disengagement
3) There is an attempt at discourse
4) There is coercion

These four options to hang on to old ways can be seen in a variety of institutions, such as religious, political and kinship. Volunteer programs are simply another societal entity where the notion of systemic change is sometimes not welcome. Some volunteer programs have reached out aggressively to make a place for the episodic volunteer (for example, City Cares, employee volunteer programs). Others, however, are so entrenched in the past it is hard for them to see today, let alone the future.

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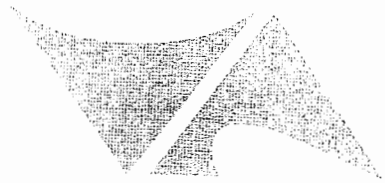

CROSS-NATIONAL VOLUNTEERING: A DEVELOPING MOVEMENT?

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This chapter reviews the extent and nature of cross-national volunteering and takes a critical look at ways in which it is emerging as a powerful force in globalized civil society. It argues that there has been an absolute increase in the number of people volunteering outside their own national boundaries and tangible changes in the nature of this activity, with a move to more mutually beneficial forms of cross-national engagement, alongside a somewhat contradictory growth in short-term, 'vacation' or 'tourism' volunteering. The chapter looks at both the benefits and drawbacks of cross-national volunteering for the key stakeholding groups – the volunteers; the sending and receiving organizations; and, the host community – and concludes with some recommendations for policy and practice.

Introduction

The technological and communications revolutions of the past decade have enabled more and more people to engage with social and environmental issues on a global scale. As people have become less constrained by national boundaries, their interest in global issues has increased, and this, combined with a worldwide upsurge of interest in volunteering, has led to a rapid growth in cross-national forms of voluntary action (Sherraden, 2001; Iriye, 2002).

The movement of volunteers from one country to another is not a new phenomenon. Its roots can be traced back at least as far as the mid-nineteenth century when the Red Cross first started sending volunteers overseas (Beigbeder, 1991). It has become closely associated in recent years with such well-known sending organizations as the Peace Corps, United Nations Volunteers and Voluntary Service Overseas. What is new, however, is the recent dramatic increase in the scale of cross-national volunteering, and the form such activity has taken.

This chapter reviews the extent and nature of cross-national volunteering and takes a critical look at ways in which it is emerging as a powerful force in globalized civil society. It argues that there has been an absolute increase in the number of people

volunteering outside their own national boundaries and tangible changes in the nature of this activity, with a move to more mutually beneficial forms of cross-border engagement, alongside a somewhat contradictory growth in short-term, 'vacation' or 'tourism' volunteering. The chapter concludes with some recommendations for policy and practice.

What is Cross-National Volunteering?

Simply defined, cross-national volunteering is any form of volunteering that involves people traveling from one country to another to volunteer. Cross-national volunteering can be classified according to a number of characteristics, which help to define the phenomenon more precisely. These dimensions include: geographical scale; function; direction; level of government involvement; and, time scale.

Geographical Scale. The first classifier is geographical scale – the level at which the volunteering is operating and the scale at which it is organized geographically. Cross-national volunteering can usefully be divided into two main types: trans-national and international volunteering. The two types can be distinguished by the degree of exchange and cooperation that takes place across national boundaries. McBride, Benitez and Sherraden (2003, p. 10), for example, draw a distinction between international service programs which "send people from the home country to other countries," and trans-national programs which involve exchange "between two or more countries," and "where the servers are expected to spend service time in a host country as well as their country of origin." "Cross-national volunteering" is much wider in scope than "cross-national service," and includes shorter-term, more informal forms of participation, but the same distinctions can be drawn.

Function. The second classifier is function. Cross-national volunteering can be seen to operate on a development continuum from emergency relief work (e.g. building shelters for victims of natural disasters or refugees), through filling skill shortages in the host country on a short-term basis (e.g. teaching science), to sustainable development and conservation work (e.g. training science teachers and conservation officers).

McBride, Benitez and Sherraden (2003) found that the most common areas of service among trans-national programs were human and social services (91%), followed by education (86%), personal development (86%) and cultural integration (86%). Within international service programs, the most common forms of service were education (85%), human and social services (80%), and community development (75%).

Direction. Closely connected to the above, the third classifier of cross-national volunteering is direction — whether volunteers are moving North to North; North to South; South to South; or South to North[8] – a characteristic which often reflects the

[8]We are using the terms North and South to refer broadly to the industrialized nations of the North and the developing nations of the South.

underlying ethos or development aims of the program. The shift in the direction of cross-national volunteering, away from the traditional North to South model toward a South to South and even a South to North model, is one of the most significant developments in this area in recent years. We return to this issue below.

Level of Government Involvement. Fourthly, cross-national volunteering activities can be classified by the degree to which national governments are involved, on both the sending and receiving ends. Schemes range from those that are totally government-led to those that are led solely by the voluntary sector (Davis Smith, 2002). Some governments have launched their own programs (sometimes as alternatives to military service); others provide funding to voluntary sector programs; while others see their role primarily in terms of developing a supportive legislative framework to facilitate such activity. Some governments, of course, have shown no interest in cross-national volunteering or, indeed, any other sort of volunteering.

Evidence suggests that government involvement may be less significant in cross-national volunteering than in other forms of volunteering. In their study of 210 civic service programs from around the world, McBride, Benitez and Sherraden (2003) found that 95% of the trans-national programs, and 92% of the international service programs, were administered by voluntary agencies, whereas 52% of national service programs were administered by government agencies.

The motivations for governments to get involved in cross-national volunteering are mixed. They include a desire to provide an alternative to compulsory military service (Davis Smith, 2002) and to maintain a national presence abroad, for example, by using volunteers to improve people's image of the sending nation. Jedlicka (1990) argues that the latter was especially pertinent during the Cold War, when Peace Corps volunteers were seen as a non-military means to wage an ideological battle. Cross-national volunteering is also seen as a way of helping governments to deliver on broader policy agendas, such as increasing levels of active citizenship and/or enhancing youth development (Daftary & McBride, 2004).

Duration. The fifth classifying feature is time scale – whether the cross-national volunteering takes place on a short-term basis (for example, for one day or one week) or a long-term basis (for example, for one or two years). The evidence suggests that most activity is likely to be between about four and seven months. McBride, Benitez and Sherraden (2003), for example, found that 91% of international service programs had an average duration of 6.6 months, while the average for 71% of the trans-national programs was slightly shorter at 4.4 months. However, given the rise in vacation volunteering opportunities in recent years, which we discuss below, it is likely that the average duration of cross-national volunteering overall is likely to be slightly shorter.

Developments in Cross-National Volunteering

Cross-national volunteering has been shaped by wider societal changes taking place within both sending and recipient countries over the past several decades. These

include changes in development paradigms, with greater emphasis on long-term sustainability in place of short-term relief; a rapid increase in the number of professional development workers and agencies operating in developing countries; and significant improvements in communications technology and transport (see for example, United Nations Volunteers, 1989; Salamon, 1995; Iriye, 2002).

Three key developments can be identified in cross-national volunteering in recent years. First, a rapid expansion has occurred in the number of volunteering programs operating across national boundaries, with a parallel increase in the number of people taking part in such programs. Second, a shift in the pattern and direction of cross-national programs has taken place, in particular a move away from the traditional North to South model toward an alternative South to South model and a South to North model. Third, and intrinsically linked to this shift in direction, is a rethinking and reformulation of the underlying ethos of cross-national volunteering.

Growth in Numbers Engaging in Cross-National Volunteering. Although there is little hard evidence available on the true extent of cross-national volunteering worldwide, most estimates point to an absolute increase in the number of people taking part, an increase which has taken place during three identifiable 'waves' in recent history.

Cross-national volunteering has a long history. As Tarrow (1998) argues, long before the development of modern communications technology, we saw the diffusion of a number of volunteer movements across national borders (see also Kekk & Sikkink, 1998). Arguably, cross-national volunteering started with religious missionaries in the late 18th century (Daftary & McBride, 2004). By 1900, for example, British voluntary societies supported 10,000 missionaries overseas (Porter, 1999).

It was not until the early years of the twentieth century, however, that cross-national volunteering developed into a sizeable movement. Beigbeder (1991) pinpoints the First World War as the catalyst to such activity — the voluntary response to devastation caused by World War I saw a significant increase in the number of people going beyond their own national boundaries to volunteer their services. The 1920s saw the establishment of several programs to develop cross-national volunteering, for example, Service Civil International (SCI), which was set up to promote volunteering as an alternative to military service and to organize trans-national workcamps across Europe and India.

Cross-national volunteering grew steadily from this initial burst of activity in the 1920s, until the late 1950s and early 1960s when a number of factors (notably war, improvements in transport and communication, and de-colonization) combined to produce another 'explosion' in scale (Capeling Aleckija, quoted in United Nations Volunteers, 2001). The 1960s saw the formation of several long-term overseas programs, including, most significantly, the US Peace Corps in 1961. Meanwhile, the Cold War stimulated thousands of volunteers from both sides of the Iron Curtain to work together in camps and on projects in an attempt to increase international solidarity (Gillette, 1968). The 1960s (at least, in the United Kingdom) also saw for the first time significant numbers of people taking 'years out' from full-time education

(Jones, 2004). In 1965, the Overseas Development Institute estimated there were about 17,000 international volunteers working on about 160 programs (Moyes, 1966). By 1968, it was estimated that the figure had grown to 20,000 long-term volunteers, operating out of 200 organizations in 12 countries and located in over 100 developing countries and territories (Gillette, 1968). Since the terrorist attacks on the United States on 11 September 2001 applications for the Peace Corps have reportedly doubled.

Up-to-date figures are hard to come by, but evidence suggests that a third dramatic increase in cross-national volunteering has taken place in the past decade, fueled by such factors as the decline in compulsory military service and a growing interest in volunteering *per se* throughout the world (Davis Smith, 2002). The United Nations International Year of Volunteers in 2001, for example, was celebrated in over 130 countries (Institute for Volunteering Research, 2002). In 1990, United Nations Volunteers estimated that there were some 33,000 international volunteers working on a global basis, 90% of whom were from Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries (Beigbeder, 1991). Between 1999 and 2000, Voluntary Services Overseas reported an increase in applications of 59% over the previous two years, and an increase in the number of volunteers sent overseas of 17% (Thomas, 2001). In 2003 United Nations Volunteers reported a record year for overseas volunteers. Research on 'Gap Year' activities[9] found that in the UK alone in 2004, there were 800 organizations offering overseas volunteering placements in 200 countries. Together, these offered around 350,000 placements each year (Jones, 2004).

Reflecting the increase in the number of cross-national volunteers, there has been an increase in the number of countries engaging in cross-national volunteering. In the 1950s and '60s, it was predominantly former colonial powers and the most economically developed countries which sent international volunteers. In recent years, however, a wider variety of countries, including Korea, China, Philippines, Kenya and India, have established programs, with varying degrees of state involvement (see for example, Voluntary Service Overseas, undated).

Patterns of Movement. A second significant development in cross-national volunteering in recent years has been the change in the direction of movement of volunteers between countries. Traditionally, the flow of cross-national volunteers was from countries in the North to those in the South. Recently, however, there has also been an increase in the numbers of people from countries in the South volunteering either in other countries in the South or in countries in the North. Although United Nations Volunteers established the Domestic Development Service as early as 1976 to encourage South to South volunteering, and 70% of their 5,635 volunteers in 2003 were from the South, it is only within the past decade that other programs have begun to follow suit (see Andrionasolo and Leigh in United Nations Volunteers, 2001; United Nations Volunteers, 2004). In 1999, Voluntary Service Overseas introduced a

[9] Jones, A. (2004) defines 'Gap Years' as "any period of time between three and 24 months which an individual takes 'out' of formal education, training or the workplace, and where the time out sits in the context of a larger career trajectory" (p.8).

South to South volunteering program, which is now operating in Kenya, India and the Philippines (Voluntary Service Overseas, 2001).

A linked development has been the growth in trans-national volunteering, whereby volunteers from one country are increasingly taking part in exchanges with people from other countries and volunteering side-by-side with people of other nationalities. The North American Community Service program (NACS), for example, was first piloted in 2002 as an initiative to place young people from Mexico, the U.S. and Canada together in community service programs in each of the three countries, with the aim of fostering the development of North American cooperation and awareness. Similarly, the U.S.-Russia Volunteer Initiative (USRVI) was launched in 2004 with the aim of engaging both Russian and American citizens, organizations, and businesses in cooperative volunteer activities through short-term (approximately six-week) bilateral exchanges.

The Changing Ethos of Cross-National Volunteering. The above changes in patterns of cross-national volunteering reflect broader changes in the ethos of the volunteering movement, away from a view of volunteering as a 'gift relationship' toward an emphasis on volunteering as a form of 'exchange.' In recent years, there has been a growing awareness that the volunteer and host community relationship is not one of active 'giver' and passive 'receiver', but one of mutually beneficial exchange in which the volunteer receives as much (if not more) than they give (Daftary & McBride, 2004).

Reflecting this change in ethos, the 1960s model of cross-national volunteering, as advocated by writers such as Gillette (1968), in which relatively unskilled young people from the North were promoted as a solution to the perceived 'middle-level manpower gap' in the South, has also been challenged. There has been a move on the part of sending organizations to recruit people with specific skills to volunteer in 'strategy driven' roles reflecting a new commitment to long-term goals of sustainable development (Daftary & McBride, 2004).

At the same time, however, there have also been a number of contradictory developments. In particular, these more positive changes within cross-national volunteering have to some extent been undermined by the growth of 'volunteer tourism' or 'volunteer vacations' and the mass-market approach to packaging cross-national volunteering as an integral part of gap years. Such developments apply particularly to young people who are increasingly taking a year 'out' of education, but also include older people who may be looking for a career change or a career break or who have reached retirement.

Cross-national volunteering is increasingly being seen as a cheap way to travel, as a quick and 'easy' way to immerse oneself in another culture, as a career break, or as a form of career development. At this writing, some organizations readily admit that their programs are more geared toward providing experience, travel opportunities and skills building for the volunteers than they are toward providing benefits for the host communities.

A plethora of organizations now offer short-term volunteering opportunities for people with one to four weeks to spare and often demand that volunteers essentially

cover all the costs themselves, as with a vacation or holiday. For example, since 1982 Conservation Volunteers Australia has been sending international volunteers (now around 1,200 annually) on conservation holiday experiences. Their short-term program sends Australian volunteers to places such as California, Montana, Mexico, Costa Rica and New Zealand on two- to four-week packages (Davies, 2002).

Implicit within this growth of volunteer tourism and mass-market, cross-national volunteering has been a change in people's motivations for engagement. As Brown (2003) argues, "In five years the gap year has metamorphosed from a radical activity of a rebellious student generation into an obligation that must be fulfilled by ambitious future professionals. It had spawned in the process a lucrative commercial market providing tourist-style trips." The ethos behind individual cross-national volunteering schemes and people's motivations to get involved are likely to influence significantly the nature and outcomes of such programs in the future.

Key Issues Within Cross-National Volunteering

Two key issues face the cross-national volunteering movement. The resolution of these issues will to some extent determine whether or not the movement continues to thrive and develop over the next decade. The first is the thorny issue of who is the principal beneficiary – the volunteer or the host community – which returns us to some of the underlying philosophical and ethical issues regarding such programs. The second concerns the issue of access and whether or not cross-national volunteering can be seen as an open, democratic movement, or the preserve of an educated elite from the developed world.

Who Benefits and How? One of the major issues facing the cross-national volunteering movement is the impact of participation – who (if anyone) is benefiting from cross-national volunteering, and in what ways? As Daftary and McBride (2004) argue, "While there may be positive effects of international service, there are undoubtedly potential negative effects as well, marked by elitism, state interests and imperialism" (p. 3).

Individual volunteers. The evidence suggests that it may be the volunteers themselves who gain the most from cross-national volunteering (McBride, Benitez & Sherraden, 2003). Certainly cross-national volunteers can derive many benefits from their experience, from hard and soft skills, to personal development, cultural awareness and increasing appreciation of the importance of active citizenship (Thomas, 2001; Davis Smith, 2002). However, several factors are serving to limit these potentially positive impacts. Research on returned volunteers by Thomas (2001), for example, found that while cross-national volunteering can increase an individual's skills, once they had returned home these skills went largely unrecognized by employers: "The majority of volunteers did not feel they were able or had the opportunity to exploit the volunteering experience in the work place" (p. 43).

In addition to being unable to realize the full benefit of their new skills, Thomas (2001) found that for many volunteers, the process of "returning to the U.K. had not been easy" (p. 42). Indeed, the difficulties that volunteers face when returning home

have led to the establishment in the U.K. of an association called Returned Volunteer Action, which seeks to ease the process of return by encouraging returned volunteers to reflect on their experiences and by persuading sending organizations to provide greater support for them when they arrive home.

Receiving and sending organizations. Organizations involved in cross-national volunteering, at both the sending and receiving ends, report benefits from engagement in such programs. Evaluations of the European Voluntary Service Program (Structure of Operational Support for the European Voluntary Service, 1999, 2000), a European trans-national volunteering program for young people established by the European Commission in 1998, draw attention to the multiple benefits accruing to participating agencies. Those involved in recruiting and sending volunteers overseas saw the program as a learning experience, and an opportunity for intercultural learning, for finding new partners, and for sharing information and expertise. Those involved in hosting or receiving the volunteers drew attention to the enhanced human resource capacity and the opportunities for partnership that work developed.

However, both sets of agencies also identified drawbacks from involvement. Both criticized excessive bureaucracy and 'form-filling' and delays in payment, which often resulted in the agencies being out-of-pocket. Receiving agencies, especially small ones, were particularly critical of shortfalls in funding with two-thirds saying that they were unable to raise complementary funds to cover the costs of board and lodging for volunteers. Sending agencies expressed concerns about the quality of some of the host organizations to which volunteers had been dispatched and the lack of sufficient quality control mechanisms. For their part, receiving agencies complained about a conflict of aims between those who saw the main focus of the program on the young people and those who saw it as on the help the young people can give.

Host communities. A similar issue of the balance between positive and negative impacts is also evident with regard to host communities. An evaluation of Voluntary Service Overseas' English Language Program in China pointed to considerable achievements for the local community in terms of the development of human capital through the acquisition of English language skills and new styles of teaching (Lusk & Rogers, 2001). Similarly, an evaluation of the North American Community Service (NACS) pilot found the program had been successful in forging closer links between participating countries by challenging negative perceptions volunteers might hold about other countries (Sherraden & Benitez, 2003).

However, while cross-national volunteering can act as a positive force for change in host communities, there is a body of opinion that suggests that in some instances it may do more harm than good. In particular, more traditional forms of international volunteering, whereby volunteers from the North deliver 'development' to the South, can serve to reinforce a sense of dependency between the 'receiving' and 'giving' nations (Returned Volunteer Action, 1991). Rather than challenging the status quo, cross-national volunteering may simply be serving to reinforce it: "... the transfer of skills and resources which volunteer practice embodies also carriers with it a tendency to further embed economically dependent countries into the current status quo of international relations" (Returned Volunteer Action, 1991, Preface).

In addition, the way in which cross-national volunteering is promoted by

organizations to potential new volunteers, and the principles on which it is sometimes based, serve to reinforce these notions of dependency. As Simpson (2004) points out, the gap-year industry roots the legitimacy of their programs in an over-simplistic concept of the 'third world' where there is a 'need' to be met by young unskilled international labor. Thomas (2001) argues that these issues are heightened by a general lack of knowledge and understanding on behalf of the volunteers: "...specific knowledge about developing countries and international volunteering programmes is often vague and sometimes wrapped up in imagery of a colonial past" (p. 25). This problem is intensified as often the volunteers receive allowances much higher than local wages, live in far better accommodations than local people and may employ servants to perform domestic chores (Roberts, 1995).

Sending volunteers overseas can also serve to create or reinforce inequalities and rivalries between communities within a host country, for example, if one district or village receives more volunteers or foreign aid than another (Sherraden & Benitez, 2003). Too great a dependence on foreign volunteers can also make a country vulnerable if the sudden withdrawal of international volunteers is demanded by the outbreak of, say, war or terrorist attacks. For instance, the Nigerian civil war in 1967 necessitated the withdrawal of all 170 Voluntary Service Overseas volunteers from the country, the vast majority of whom were teaching in state schools and represented a substantial element within Nigerian education (Adams, 1968, p. 215).

Accessibility. A second issue relates to the accessibility of international volunteering opportunities and the extent to which opportunities for engagement are open to people from different countries and different population groups within countries. As has been noted above, recent developments have led to more and more countries getting involved in cross-national volunteering. Thomas (2001) argues that international volunteering can now rightly be seen as a global phenomenon. This claim is backed up by evidence from the United Nations, which found that of the 5,635 mid-career professionals who served with United Nations Volunteers in 2003, 70% were from developing countries (United Nations Volunteers, 2004). Other commentators, however, argue that such developments have been slow to take off, and that cross-national volunteering opportunities are still very much the preserve of citizens of the developed world (see, for example, McBride, Benitez & Sherraden, 2003).

Attempts to widen access have been hampered by variations between countries in the legal status of volunteers, and differential systems in place for national insurance, which have served to disadvantage volunteers from some countries. The European Voluntary Service program, for example, has been bedevilled by problems caused by the fact that in some countries volunteers are covered by social security regulations, but in others they are excluded (Davis Smith, 2002).

On an individual level, in countries in both the North and South, access to cross-national volunteering tends to be restricted to people from higher socioeconomic groups. Many cross-national volunteering programs have selection criteria that work against more inclusive schemes. McBride, Benitez & Sherraden (2003), for example, found that 91% of trans-national and 73% of international programs had age criteria

for inclusion, while a significant number also had skills and language criteria. Cross-national volunteering is also prohibitively expensive for many people, restricting participation to the more affluent. Jones (2004) found that a typical fee for overseas volunteering placements from U.K. organizations was between £500 to £2000. Evidence suggests that these criteria, and other factors, are restricting the diversity of participants. Braham (1999), for example, describes international volunteers as primarily middle-class. Similarly, Jones (2004) found that participants on Gap Years in the U.K. were predominantly white, females and from relatively affluent, middle-class backgrounds.

Steps have been taken to ensure that cross-national volunteering becomes more open to all. For example, schemes such as those provided by Raleigh International, a U.K.-based youth development organization that places volunteers around the world, offer subsidized places to volunteers from the host countries. Yet, however well-intentioned such schemes may be, different treatment of volunteers on the same program may cause problems and reinforce dependent relationships. For example, the American volunteers taking part on the NACS pilot received $100 dollars a week more than the Mexican and Canadian volunteers, leading to resentment amongst many participants (Sherraden & Benitez, 2003).

Conclusion

Although not new in itself, cross-national volunteering has emerged in recent years as an increasingly significant form of volunteerism — both in terms of scale and impact. Fueled by a worldwide interest in volunteering, changing development paradigms, and the move in a number of countries to replace compulsory military service with a voluntary, community-based alternative, the number of cross-national volunteering programs and the range of different countries offering such programs have risen significantly.

Alongside the expansion of such programs, the past couple of decades have also witnessed a fundamental shift in the ethos and philosophy of cross-national volunteering, away from a focus on emergency relief toward a model more in tune with the sustainable aims of contemporary development practice. Symptomatic of this shift has been the move away from the traditional North to South model of engagement toward an alternative South to South, South to North and trans-national model. However, accompanying these more positive developments has been a trend toward the expansion of mass market, volunteer tourism, which has threatened to reinforce some of the power imbalances of the past. In addition, despite the best efforts of a number of sending organizations to open up access to cross-national volunteering to a broader constituency, it remains the case that most volunteers engaged abroad (particularly from the developed world) are drawn from more economically developed and better-educated segments of the community.

What of the implications for policy and practice? Intergovernmental agencies such as the United Nations and the Council of Europe can do more to encourage the take-up of cross-national volunteering by a wider range of countries, particularly from less economically developed regions of the world. National governments, similarly, can do

more to stimulate the development of such programs, either by establishing them themselves or by funding the voluntary sector to deliver them. Governments also have an important role to play in providing a supportive legislative framework in which volunteering can flourish, and in looking for ways to better harmonize social security and national insurance regulations to ensure that volunteers from certain countries are not disadvantaged economically when traveling overseas.

Sending organizations, meanwhile, need to reflect on ways of widening participation in such programs and on providing more effective support to volunteers, both whilst abroad and upon returning home, to ensure the benefits of engagement are maximized for all stakeholders — the volunteers, the host community and the sending and receiving agencies.

Finally, there is a need for more research in this field, particularly into the impact of cross-national volunteering on the various stakeholders — the volunteers, the sending organizations and the host community — and on the relationship between program design, and underlying ethos, and the realization of these benefits. Only then will we be fully able to evaluate the extent, effects, and implications of cross-national volunteering.

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BOARD MEMBERS OF NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS AS VOLUNTEERS

Robert D. Herman

The purposes of this chapter are to: (1) review why charitable board members in the U.S. are unpaid volunteers; (2) describe the scope and extent of board volunteering; (3) consider whether several recommended practices in volunteer management apply to board volunteers and, for those that do not, to consider why not; (4) note the possibility for tension between board and service volunteers; and, (5) observe that virtually no research has been conducted on the effects of volunteering on board members or the achievements of the organizations they oversee. The chapter concludes that there are several continuities between board and service volunteers; they share demographic similarities, the same mix of motives and incentives for volunteering, and they often are helped by similar supporting management practices. However, notable discontinuities exist as well. Status concerns are more important, particularly in elite organizations, in the selection of board volunteers. And, since board volunteers are the ultimate authority in their organizations, the "employee model" of volunteer management is less applicable to them.

Introduction

On reviewing even a fairly limited sample of the research on volunteers and nonprofit organization management and governance, a student new to the field might be surprised to discover one research tradition that focuses almost exclusively on volunteers who provide services and another that focuses on volunteers who govern the charitable nonprofit organizations that organize and deliver services. Though not legally required, in the United States (and apparently in many other countries) members of boards of directors (or boards of trustees) of charitable nonprofit organizations are almost universally unremunerated volunteers (i.e., they receive no compensation for their work). Members of nonprofit boards, thus, would seem to have much in common with service volunteers. Yet, little research has been conducted that attempts to assess whether the two categories of volunteers are different or similar and, if so, in what ways. Research on volunteering using very large nationwide samples has included some board volunteers as well as service volunteers, but comparing the categories has not been of interest (see, e.g., Wilson & Musick, 1997).

My purpose in this chapter is to offer an initial effort to understand board volunteers in much the same terms as other volunteers. More specifically, I will: (1) review why charitable nonprofit board members in the U.S. are almost always volunteers; (2) describe what is known about the scope and extent of board volunteering; (3) consider whether several recommended practices in volunteer management apply to board volunteers and, for those that do not, why not; (4) note the possibilities for tension between board and service volunteers; and, (5) observe that almost no research has been conducted on how or the extent to which board volunteering affects the achievements of the organizations they oversee or the board volunteers personally. I conclude by suggesting some reasons why research on board and service volunteers has been distinct.

Why Are Board Members Volunteers?

Though not prohibited by U.S. law, few charitable nonprofit board members are compensated for their work on nonprofit boards. According to a 1999 survey of U.S. nonprofit chief executives (n=1,347), only 2% of the nonprofit organizations they headed compensate board members in any way (National Center for Nonprofit Boards, 2000). Unfortunately, no additional detail is available about the characteristics of those organizations that do compensate board members. It is possible that the survey included responses from CEOs heading other types of nonprofit organizations, such as trade associations (National Center for Nonprofit Boards, 2000).

Few charitable nonprofit board members are paid and, thus, they meet a common definition of "volunteer." Of course, as Cnaan, Handy & Wadsworth (1996) have demonstrated, volunteering is best conceived as a range of behaviors. In their analysis of various definitions of volunteering, they show that four dimensions capture the variety in definitions of volunteering. Those dimensions are: (1) *free choice*, where those who choose to provide uncompensated service are more purely volunteering than those who, for example, have been required by a school or university to do so; (2) *remuneration*, where those who receive no compensation are more purely volunteering than those whose expenses are reimbursed or who receive some stipend/ low pay; (3) *structure*, those who serve in formal organizations are more purely volunteers than those who help their communities informally; and, (4) *intended beneficiaries*, where benefiting strangers is more purely volunteering than benefiting friends or relatives or oneself.

Nonprofit board members qualify as volunteers along all of these dimensions. Probably most board volunteers choose to be board members, although some business corporations strongly encourage those in their executive ranks to volunteer. As the survey evidence reviewed earlier suggests, nearly all board volunteers are uncompensated, and probably a very small percentage are reimbursed for expenses. By definition board volunteers serve in formal organizations. Some board work may benefit friends or relatives, but in most charitable organizations the clientele is much larger and more diverse (i.e., strangers benefit).

The question of why members of charitable boards are volunteers can (and should) be answered at two levels: the societal and individual levels, though the two are

connected. At the societal level, that board members are volunteers is crucial to creating and maintaining trust in such organizations (Handy, 1995). Fundraising consultants commonly emphasize that volunteer board members should not only give their time but also their money to the organizations on whose board they serve and, in doing so, that they demonstrate to other potential donors the worth of their organizations. For example, foundations, major givers and other institutional donors are interested in the extent to which the board members of an applicant organization give to the organization.

In an economic analysis of the role of board volunteers, Handy (1995) argues that board members help to legitimize the trust others (donors and volunteers) place in nonprofit charitable organizations. They do this by providing nonprofit organizations with (varying) access to wealth and reputation. Those board volunteers with high social reputations put their reputations at risk by joining a nonprofit board (i.e., the organization may engage in unethical behavior or malfeasance, thus damaging the reputation of those on the board). Of course, many individuals without high social prestige are also attracted to boards that include the highly prestigious. Being part of such a board enhances their reputation and puts them in a social network that allows them to move to membership on higher prestige boards. Thus, by enhancing the trust in and legitimacy of nonprofit charitable organizations, board members are also benefiting themselves through enhancing their individual reputation.

As the number of U.S. charitable nonprofit organizations continues to increase, many nonprofit boards are composed of people without elite prestige. As Hall (2003, p. 22) observes, the expansion of the numbers and purposes of nonprofit organizations has led to a pool of board members with no previous board experience and with "ideas about organizational and community leadership that differed significantly from those of the Protestant elites that had historically dominated nonprofit governance."

While some may be attracted to membership on less prestigious nonprofit organization boards by the possibility of enhancing their social reputations, Widmer's (1985) research suggests that board members are motivated by a complex range of incentives, including material, social, developmental and service. When employers encourage service on a nonprofit board, employees may be materially rewarded by gaining skills or experience from board participation and by an advance in their present job. Social incentives occur when board membership allows respondents to work with their friends and provides them an opportunity to make new friends. Developmental incentives offer opportunities to learn new things and develop more fully as a person. Service incentives include belief in the work of the organization and a more general belief in civic or community obligation. Widmer (1985) found that most board members in her sample (n = 98, from ten different human service agencies) had multiple motives for participating.

A series of surveys of volunteers that has asked about their reasons for volunteering reveals fairly similar motives on the part of service volunteers (Brudney, 2004). The reasons provided in the surveys include alternatives that would be classified in all the categories Widmer used. For example, reasons cited by high percentages of respondents include helping others and doing something useful. Smaller percentages of respondents indicated they or a friend or relative had received services or that

volunteering was a learning experience.

Volunteering is not just a matter of motives or incentives. Researchers have long been interested in the economic and social characteristics that affect who volunteers and the extent of volunteering (for a review, see Smith, 1994). Wilson and Musick (1997) conceptualized a model of volunteer work determined by the extent of human capital (includes education, family income, functional health and chronic illness), social capital (number of children in household and extent of informal social interaction), cultural capital (values helping and religious behaviors), as well as such background variables as age, gender and race. Using a very large (n = 2,867) multistage stratified area probability sample of U.S. adults 25 years and older they confirm that those with more human, social and cultural capital volunteer more. This research suggests that board volunteers, particularly those serving on moderate to high prestige boards, are likely to have high levels of human and social capital (and probably cultural capital if it were conceptualized more broadly than in this specific study; see Ostrower, 1995 and 2002, for in-depth studies of the motivations and capacities that affect elite participation in certain nonprofit organizations).

This review suggests two conclusions. First, what motivates service volunteers probably also motivates board volunteers, and what enables service volunteering also enables board volunteering. Second, those volunteering for prestigious boards are likely to gain in social reputation and prestige from such work.

Scope and Extent of Board Volunteering

Estimating the number of board volunteers in the U.S. must be strictly an informed guess. No exact count of the number of nonprofit organizations is available. While the number of organizations that are included in the Internal Revenue Service's Exempt Organization Master File can be determined, that number is known to under-represent the true size of the voluntary sector by a substantial amount (Grønbjerg & Paarlberg, 2002; Smith, 1997). Smaller organizations (those with revenues of less than $5,000) are not required to register with the IRS. Religious congregations also are exempt from registering, though some do. According to the Independent Sector's *Nonprofit Almanac in Brief*, 734,000 501-c-3 charitable nonprofit organizations were registered, in 1998, as well as 140,000 501-c-4 nonprofit organizations (typically thought to be mostly advocacy organizations) and an estimated 354,000 religious congregations (Independent Sector, 2001b). Religious congregations are often considered part of the nonprofit sector as membership organizations that often provide charitable services and may also advocate for various public policies and social causes. The above figures suggest that the number of nonprofit charitable organizations is at a minimum 734,000 and, if we expand the conception of the relevant nonprofit organizational set to include others pursuing social cause missions, 1,228,000 or more at a maximum.

In addition to not having firm figures on the number of nonprofit organizations, we also lack figures on the number of board members. In the 1999 survey of the National Center for Nonprofit Boards, the median size of boards was 17 and the mean size was 19 (according to responding chief executives). Straightforward

calculations suggest that the probable minimum number of charitable organization board members in the U.S. is on the order of 4,000,000 (multiply 734,000 by 17 board members to get 12,478,000, then multiply that figure by .33 in recognition of the potentially substantial number of inactive/defunct charitable organizations [from Salamon, 1999] to get 4,117,740). The likely minimum number of board volunteers for "social cause" nonprofit organizations would be correspondingly higher (somewhere on the order of about 6.9 million, substituting 1,228,000 for 734,000 in the above calculations). Given that many smaller and affiliated organizations are not counted, the total number of nonprofit board members is likely much greater than these estimates, perhaps multiples greater. Note, however, that this calculation estimates available positions rather than individuals, and that many citizens volunteer on more than one board.

The substantial expansion in the numbers of nonprofit charitable organizations that began in the 1960s not only has led to very large numbers of people serving as board volunteers, it has also led to increasing diversity among board volunteers. A group of researchers collected data on the characteristics of members of boards of directors (or trustees) of 15 specific nonprofit organizations in six cities at three points in time for the Yale University Program on NonProfit Organizations' Project on the Changing Dimensions of Trusteeship (Abzug, 1996). The specific nonprofit organizations included: the largest secular hospital, Protestant hospital, Catholic hospital, Jewish hospital, art museum, symphony orchestra, United Way, institution of higher education, Junior League, community foundation, YMCA, YWCA, secular family services, Catholic family services, and Jewish family services in the cities of Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Minneapolis/St. Paul, and Philadelphia. The years for which data on board members were collected were 1931, 1961, and 1991.

Though missing data on some characteristics of board members is substantial for certain characteristics (e.g., the religion of only about 39% of all trustees is known, the education of about 55%, and the race of 63%, while the occupation of 78% and gender of 99% are known; Abzug & Galaskiewicz, 2001), even for this set of nonprofit charitable organizations, the trend is toward increased, if still rather limited, diversity. Of special interest here, Abzug (1996) reports that the percentage of board volunteers who were included in the *Social Register* was about 46% in 1931, 26% in 1961 and 5% in 1991. The percentages of board volunteers in *Who's Who in America*, however, showed less change, with 20% in 1931, 27% in 1961, and 15% in 1991 (Abzug, 1996). Abzug and Galaskiewicz (2001) report that the percentage of board volunteers in professional occupations was very consistent across the years--at 27% in 1931, 24% in 1961, and 25% in 1991--although the percentage with managerial occupations increased, from 49% in 1931 to 55% in 1961 to 58% in 1991. The set of nonprofit organizations included in this study is clearly much more likely (being old and large) to attract a city's more elite citizens compared to most newer and smaller organizations. No doubt the diversity among board volunteers is now greater than it was in this sample.

In their thorough review of the research literature on nonprofit charity boards, Ostrower and Stone (2005) conclude that a large majority of board members are white, that more are men than women, and that board members are recruited

disproportionately from the upper-middle and upper classes. They also conclude that boards are becoming more diverse as well, although they observe that boards may become (as some have) more diverse in terms of gender and race, but not in relation to class.

Research on the consequences of increasing board diversity is quite limited. Gittell and Covington (1994) found that the boards of neighborhood development organizations with more than 50% women are significantly more likely to adopt programs and policies responsive to the needs of women. Siciliano (1996) found gender diversity on YMCA boards (higher proportions of women) positively related to headquarter's judgments of mission fulfillment, negatively related to fundraising success, and unrelated to operating efficiency. Bradshaw, Murray and Wolpin (1996) found, in Canadian nonprofit organizations, some operational differences related to the proportion of women on the board, but with no relation to organizational effectiveness. Since these studies are cross-sectional, it is impossible to know whether gender diversity affected the organizational characteristics studied, or whether the differences between organizations on those characteristics affected the gender composition of boards. No longitudinal research on changing board composition and its consequences has been conducted. The Yale Project on the Changing Dimensions of Trusteeship did not include efforts to measure processes or effectiveness and, thus, does not include any data on the consequences of changing board composition.

Ostrower and Stone (2005) report almost no research on the consequences of increased racial and ethnic diversity on nonprofit boards, emphasizing that the little available data suggest no apparent effect. While the dominance of nonprofit boards by those of upper-middle and especially upper class origins has received much theoretical attention (mostly arguing that elite dominance of nonprofit boards both helps to preserve the status quo and legitimate it), yet again almost no research has been done to examine the impact of increased class diversity on board functioning.

The available data and research support three conclusions. First, the number of board volunteers is substantial, though of course much smaller than the overall number of service volunteers, given the much more numerous opportunities for service volunteering. The likely minimum of board volunteers in "social cause" nonprofit organizations is somewhere on the order of four to seven million people, compared to 84 million adult service volunteers (Independent Sector, 2001a). Second, the available evidence indicates increasing demographic diversity (principally in relation to gender, race and religious identification) among board volunteers and increasing percentages of board volunteers from the non-elite ranks. Third, the few studies that have been done relating diversity to board and organizational characteristics suggests gender may have some effects on board processes, but nothing more definitive than that conclusion can be supported.

Volunteer Management Practices in Relation to Board Volunteers

That nonprofit boards often have difficulty in fulfilling their prescribed roles and responsibilities is widely recognized (see Ostrower and Stone, 2005, for the most extensive review). In consequence, many people have suggested a wide variety of

practices that boards might adopt to help them more effectively meet their responsibilities. Herman, Renz and Heimovics (1997) reviewed the board practices literature and identified some 20 frequently recommended practices.[10]

The volunteer management literature has also been concerned with identifying appropriate and effective practices. Many volunteer management practices have been proposed as desirable (for a thorough review of practices related to volunteer program design, volunteer recruitment and retention and volunteer training, see Brudney, 2004, McCurley, 2004, and Macduff, 2004). Though no national random samples of nonprofit charities have been conducted to study the extent to which boards use various widely recommended practices, fortunately a recent survey concerning the use of volunteer management recommended practices is based on a random sample of IRS registered charities (Hager & Brudney, 2004). This survey presented nine volunteer management practices to respondents and asked them to indicate the extent to which their organizations have adopted the practices. More than 1,700 organizations responded to the survey, including 1,354 that use volunteers in their programs and that are not volunteer centers. I use the nine practices in the Hager and Brudney (2004) survey to organize, compare, and contrast available data on similar board practices.

Regular Supervision and Communication With Volunteers. The Hager and Brudney survey found 67% of the responding organizations used this volunteer management practice to a large degree and 30% to some degree, and that it was the most frequently adopted practice. The application of this practice with board volunteers is problematic. Since boards are at the hierarchical apex of the organization, who should "supervise" them? In effect, board members are expected to supervise themselves. However, research by Herman and Heimovics (1991, 2004) indicates that what differentiates nonprofit chief executives considered especially effective from those not so considered is that the former provide much more facilitative leadership for their boards. Especially effective nonprofit CEOs do not supervise their boards but rather encourage them to meet their responsibilities and facilitate their doing so, including by engaging in frequent communication with them, individually and collectively. Though there is no survey evidence about the extent to which chief executives (and others employed by a nonprofit charity) communicate with board members, it is inconceivable that such communication would ever be missing.

Liability Coverage or Insurance Protection for Volunteers. The Hager and Brudney survey showed that 46% of respondents had adopted this practice to a large degree and 26% to some degree. In the 1999 National Center for Nonprofit Boards (2000) survey, 89% of those responding indicated that their organization provided Directors' and Officers' (D&O) liability insurance for board members, though smaller organizations were less likely to do so, and smaller nonprofits are under-represented in

[10] These practices probably should not be called "best practices" as none meets the criteria specified by Keehley et al. (1997) to identify a best practice, which are: success over time; quantifiable gains; innovation; recognition for positive results (if quantifiable results are limited); replicability; relevance to the adopting organization; and, generalizability or no links to unique organizational characteristics.

the NCNB survey. No doubt organizational size is related to financial capacity (and ability to afford D&O insurance), but it is also undoubtedly true that larger organizations are likely to have more affluent and elite board members who expect the organization to have such insurance.

Regular Collection of Information on Volunteer Numbers and Hours. The Hager and Brudney survey responses indicated that 45% of respondents had adopted this practice to a large degree and 32% to a small degree. Application of this practice to board volunteers is also problematic. Although most chief executives probably know how much time board members spend at full board meetings, and they may know how much time various committees meet (either because the CEOs themselves provide staff support or other managers do), it is doubtful that CEOs attempt to collect information on the time board members spend individually on board work.

Because board members often miss board and/or committee meetings, one widely recommended board practice has been that written policies about attendance and participation be developed. In a study conducted in 1993-1994 of 64 community-based nonprofit organizations in the Kansas City area, Herman, Renz and Heimovics (1997) found 89% of those organizations had a written policy regarding attendance of board members at meetings. Of those organizations that had such a written policy, 91% had included a statement about dismissal from the board on account of absenteeism However, only about 50% reported enforcing the absenteeism dismissal policy. In a follow-up study in 1999-2000, Herman and Renz (2000) found that 89% again had a written policy regarding attendance at meetings However, only 77% of those with such a policy (a drop from the previous level of 91%) reported a written statement about dismissal for absenteeism, though all (100%) with a dismissal policy reported enforcing it. Apparently some nonprofits have decided against explicit policies about dismissal since they were not abiding by them, but those who have them say they uphold them. Of course, the written policies may include generous provision for "excused" absences.

Screening Procedures to Identify Suitable Volunteers. Hager and Brudney found that of respondents to their survey, 45% had adopted this practice to a large degree and 42% to some degree. Given the importance of boards and the gap between the expected performance of nonprofit boards and the actuality, several widely recommended board practices focus on attracting, screening and orienting board members. In their 1993-1994 study, Herman, Renz and Heimovics (1997) asked whether boards used: (1) a nominating or board development committee, usually responsible in part for identifying potential board members, interviewing and assessing them, and recommending members to the full board; (2) a board profile: a template indicating the various characteristics, skills and abilities desired on the board and how current board members fit the overall requirements, thus indicating what specific characteristics, skills and abilities new members should ideally bring; (3) a personal interview with potential board members conducted by a committee of the board or the full board; (4) written selection criteria in identifying and including (or excluding) new members; and (5) a new member orientation process to familiarize them with

other board members, staff, facilities, programs and policies and procedures. Herman and Renz (2000) asked about the same practices again during the 1999-2000 period of the study.

The results indicate that of the boards studied, most use nominating or board development committees (about 91% in the 1993-1994 period and 96% in the 1999-2000 period). Fewer organizations report using board profiles (57% in both periods). Interviews were common, with 65% using them in the first period and 73% in the second. Both times, a slight majority (58% and 55%) employed written selection criteria. Orientations were nearly universal during the first period, used by 94%, though they became less so in the second period, with 82% using them. The National Center for Nonprofit Board's (2000) survey of board members indicated that only 40% reported receiving a formal orientation.

Hager and Brudney (2004) also included analysis of the relation between using the nine volunteer management practices and retention of volunteers. Their analysis showed that screening and matching were positively related to volunteer retention (that is, the percentage of volunteers retained from one year to the next), controlling for the other practices. Whether board recruitment and selection practices have consequences for the board or the organization is unknown. It is certainly conceivable that what is consequential (for community connections, for fundraising, for access to key political decision-makers) is not having the right practices, but rather having the "right" board members, and that the right board members are attracted by the prestige of the board (that is, who else is on it), rather than by how the board carries out selection and recruitment. These and other issues call for more research, particularly research using random samples of charities, on the use of the whole set of board recruitment and selection practices and their consequences.

Written Policies and Job Descriptions for Volunteer Involvement. This practice has also been adopted fairly widely in volunteer management, according to the recent Hager and Brudney survey, with 44% using it to a large degree and 37% to some degree. Although not asked about an equivalent board practice, 93% of the organizations in the first round of the Herman, Renz and Heimovics (1997) study reported using a board manual, a compilation of various documents including written policies about organizational and board policies, board duties and board committee duties. In the second round of the study, 89% reported using a board manual.

One of the most common "duties" of board members is fundraising, even though chief executives often feel boards could improve performance in this area. In the 1993-1994 data collection, Herman, Renz and Heimovics found that 39% of the organizations studied had a written policy describing the expectations of board members in relation to giving money themselves and soliciting donations from others. The percentage in 1999-2000 was 46%. According to the National Center for Nonprofit Board's (2000) survey, 48% of responding organizations required board members to contribute, though whether this expectation was in writing is not specified. Additionally, that survey found that 52% of organizations require board members to identify donors or solicit funds, and 49% require board volunteers to attend fundraising events.

Recognition Activities. The Hager and Brudney survey found recognition activities for volunteers to be widespread: 35% reported carrying out recognition activities to a large degree and 47% to some degree. Recognition for board members also is likely to be common. The Herman, Renz and Heimovics (1997) study found that 88% of organizations engaged in board recognition for retiring board members, with 93% reporting such practice in 1999-2000.

Annual Measurement of the Impacts of Volunteers. Hager and Brudney found that 30% of organizations engage in this practice to a large degree and 32% to some degree, apparently indicating that a majority of charities is investing resources in trying to assess what difference and how much difference the work of their volunteers is making.

Few charities seem to be doing much to assess the impacts of their boards. The Herman, Renz and Heimovics study asked if boards undertook self-evaluations: 30% did so in both rounds of data collection (1993-1994, 1999-2000). When asked if the board did evaluations of individual board members, only 5% did so in the first round and 11% in the second round. The National Center for Nonprofit Board's (2000) survey found 38% did board self-evaluation. Board evaluations can take a wide variety of formats and vary greatly on the extent to which they may provide evidence of impact – especially impact on programs, clients, and the wider community. Probably most board evaluations focus more narrowly on board members' assessments of how they did in fundraising, in attending meetings, in working together and so on. Even board evaluations that collect board member (or others') perceptions of the extent to which and in what way the board affected program quality or program outcomes would not provide strong evidence about impact.

Training and Professional Development Opportunities for Volunteers. The Hager and Brudney survey showed that 25% of charities provided such opportunities to a large degree and 49% to some degree. For board volunteers, it could be argued that board work itself is a training and development opportunity, that board members can improve as well as demonstrate their skills and abilities, both as board members and more generally as effective planners and decision-makers, through their board activities. Certainly, people join boards both to improve potential job skills and to enhance their visibility and network of contacts. Many boards provide more specific training opportunities in such areas as fundraising, group dynamics, public speaking and similar skills related to their board duties, though no data on how many boards provide such training opportunities are available. Widmer's (1985) research showed that many board members participate for these benefits.

Training for Paid Staff in Working With Volunteers. Hager and Brudney's survey showed this is the least common (in terms of adoption to a large degree) volunteer management practice, adopted to a large degree by 19% and to some degree by 46% of responding organizations. No research is available that assesses the availability of training for chief executives and other paid staff in working with board volunteers.

In summary, both the literatures on board volunteers and service volunteers have emphasized the benefits of various practices. More is known about the use and consequences of certain management practices for service volunteers. Of the nine volunteer management practices studied by Hager and Brudney (2004), six could be classified as "supporting" practices, that is, as practices that provide direct assistance to volunteers or staff as they try to help volunteers do useful work. Three practices, however, are less about supporting or enabling volunteers and more about "top-down management" of volunteers; those practices are "regular supervision and communication," "regular collection of information on volunteer numbers and hours," and "measurement of impacts." These three practices represent what might be called an "employee model" of volunteer management – that volunteers can and should be managed in much the same way as employees. The "employee model" does not apply to board volunteers. Though nonprofit boards do not own "their" organizations, since the board is legally responsible for the conduct of the organization, all personnel (board volunteers, staff and service volunteers) are likely to feel that "the board is the boss" and that the board cannot or should not be supervised by employees.

The supporting practices all apply well or fairly well to board volunteers, since those practices do not infringe on their positional authority. Indeed, the available evidence (recognizing that the evidence for board volunteers is much more narrowly based than that for service volunteers) suggests that three supporting practices — provision of insurance protection, screening of volunteers and recognition of volunteers – may be more frequently performed for board volunteers than for service volunteers. Of the other supporting practices, those of having written policies and job descriptions for volunteers and of providing training and development opportunities for board volunteers apply only fairly well. Board members are likely to resist written policies and descriptions about their jobs unless they (or their predecessors) have been thoroughly involved in developing and approving those policies and descriptions. Although it is likely that service volunteer involvement in developing and approving policies and descriptions of their jobs will result in more appropriate and more acceptable policies (Brudney, 2004; McCurley, 2004), service volunteers are more likely than board volunteers to accept staff developed polices and descriptions. Similarly, board members are seemingly much more likely to participate in training and development opportunities where they have decided that such were needed. Service volunteers are more likely to participate in "required" training.

The three volunteer management practices studied by Hager and Brudney (2004) that do not apply well to board volunteers all put board volunteers in a subordinate role to staff (or would generally be perceived as doing so). Thus, it is not surprising that no research exists on (1) how well board volunteers are supervised, (2) how thorough the collection of data on number of hours worked by board volunteers is, and (3) what the impact of the board's work has been (board volunteers seem likely to consider that the impact of the board must be reflected in the good work of the organization and all its employees and volunteers). These are not practices that boards are likely to want implemented in the organization for them.

The Relation Between Board and Service Volunteers

In some nonprofit organizations, board volunteers may be unaware of and disinterested in service volunteers. Ellis (1999), for example, tells of a hospital board involved in creating a written strategic plan of 80 pages that nowhere contained the word "volunteer," even though the hospital had 600 volunteers. Brudney (2001) gives four reasons for the common inattention of boards to the volunteer program. First, in many cases, a board's desire to avoid micromanaging, of intruding into matters thought to be the province of the chief executive, will lead a board to slight the service volunteer program. Second, the discomfort syndrome, the reluctance to possibly open up feelings on the part of service volunteers that they are less valued and in a different hierarchical position than board volunteers, though they too are volunteers, leads some boards to pay little attention to the volunteer program. Third, sometimes the "overgratitude" syndrome occurs. Overgratitude happens when the board volunteers feel having volunteers in itself is a substantial achievement and one to be grateful about. Placing expectations on those volunteers and requiring volunteer management practices are seen as demonstrating a lack of gratitude. Fourth, the devaluation syndrome occurs when boards feel that the volunteer program is not important enough, relative to other concerns, for their sustained attention. Both Ellis (1999) and Brudney (2001) make a strong case for the importance of board involvement in the volunteer program, and both provide detailed and useful suggestions about how board volunteers can be more strategic in their involvement.

Stories of tensions between board volunteers and service volunteers often describe the feelings of service volunteers that board volunteers think they are "better than" they are, or that board volunteers "really don't understand" what the needs of the organization or the clients are because they "don't get their hands dirty." Widmer (1996) analyzes the role conflict that frequently occurs when board members also carry out service volunteer roles, noting that staff feel uncomfortable evaluating or attempting to correct a board member acting in a service volunteer capacity. Such dual roles further muddy the difficult enough distinction between policy-making and policy implementation. While there are likely to be clear benefits from board volunteers doing a short stint as a service volunteer (Ellis, 1999), most organizations would prefer to avoid the extent of role conflict Widmer (1996) describes when board members are also service volunteers.

Consequences of Board Volunteering

There is some evidence that boards can and sometimes do affect organizational performance, and that more effective organizations are governed by more effective boards. However, most of the research supporting this conclusion is cross-sectional and, thus, it may be that the correlation between the two is due to a common cause (see Herman & Renz, 2004, for a review of relevant studies). For example, it is plausible that a very well-managed organization with effective programs will attract additional financial resources, increasing its chances to maintain and increase its effectiveness and also increasing its chances (since it is not risky) to attract experienced

and effective board members. The causal sequence runs from high managerial skills to increasing financial resources to increasing organizational effectiveness and increasing board effectiveness.

Apparently, no research on the consequences of board volunteering on the board volunteers themselves has been conducted. What research that is available emphasizes that, particularly in relation to more prestigious and elite boards, board membership provides some members with an affirmation of their membership in the area's social elite (Galaskiewicz, 1985; Ostrower, 1995, 2002). Obviously, this feeling of being part of an exclusive group is important as members of elite boards often contribute large sums of money as well as time to achieve it. Other than such findings, research in this area is especially slim.

Conclusion

This chapter demonstrates that there are many continuities between board volunteers and volunteering and service volunteers and volunteering. Certainly, given the large number of board volunteers, many are no doubt demographically similar to service volunteers, serve for the same mix of motives and incentives, are enabled to do so by similar levels of human, social and cultural capital, and may benefit in the performance of their volunteer duties from some fairly equivalent supportive volunteer management practices.

There are also discontinuities. Anyone with the appropriate skills, ability and motivation would likely be able to find a service volunteer position with the most elite nonprofit organizations. However, those interested in board volunteering with the most elite organizations will need more than skill, ability and motivation. Family background, professional or occupational position, connection to other elites, and personal wealth are likely to affect selection, especially since peer-to-peer fundraising is expected of directors on many boards. Such an emphasis on status selectivity for board volunteers likely reaches into nonprofit boards with less prestige.

More generally, board volunteers occupy positions of ultimate hierarchical authority. Such positions lead them and others to regard board volunteers as, in one important respect, different than service volunteers. While service volunteers can be managed much as employees are managed, board volunteers are the ultimate managers – though they may not be the owners, they are responsible for what happens in and to the organization. Thus, some management practices appropriate for service volunteers do not square with our understandings of the rights and privileges of the ultimate bosses.

The literatures on board and service volunteers have developed separately, I conclude, for three principal reasons. First, the hierarchical difference means that board volunteers are, at least "in theory," responsible for designing their own roles and work and the roles and work of all others (including service volunteers) who come to be part of the organization. The board volunteer role is, thus, regarded as a bigger, more challenging role, not subject to being "managed" by paid staff. Second, since much of the research on boards has paid more attention to high prestige and elite boards than to the much larger number of boards below those rarefied social levels, the differences in

the concern for and social consequences of status relative to board and service volunteers have been emphasized. Third, both the prescriptive and descriptive literatures on board and service volunteers have adopted the basic practical concerns held by board members and chief executives on the one hand, and service volunteers and volunteer program managers on the other. For the former, concerns about why boards do not meet their positional duties, and about making boards more effective have been paramount. For the latter, more varied concerns, including attracting and retaining quality volunteers, and designing rewarding and interesting volunteer roles for them, have been paramount.

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GOVERNMENT VOLUNTEERISM IN THE NEW MILLENNIUM

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Widely considered the backbone of the nonprofit sector, volunteerism has received considerably less attention in the public sector. This chapter addresses the service continuum from traditional volunteerism to national service in government. An overview of service initiatives at the local, state and federal levels reflects the direct service activities of volunteers, yet rarely accounts for the role of volunteers in policy and leadership positions. An examination of trends in public-sector, agency-based programs identifies service opportunities for episodic volunteers and the growing involvement of volunteers in fundraising. Emerging in the wake of the events of September 11, 2001, the USA Freedom Corps represents a conglomeration of existing and new service initiatives designed to engage citizens in homeland security. The chapter concludes with an analysis of this latest presidential initiative and its attempt to brand service to the concerns of a new administration.

Introduction

Although widely regarded as the foundation of the nonprofit sector, volunteers play an important, though frequently less celebrated role, in government. While the deeds of volunteer fire fighters are as significant as they are legendary, few stop to realize the role volunteers play, for example, in monitoring our wetlands, performing archeological digs for state historical societies, removing litter from our highways, sustaining our public parks and recreation lands, reviewing grants, leading twelve-step programs in our prisons, directing traffic, repairing audio cassettes for library materials for the blind, selecting special issue postage stamps, or engaging in the host of other activities that occur through volunteer participation in the puhlic sector at the local, state or federal levels (Brudney, 1990; Ellis & Noyes, 1990; Rehnborg, Fallon & Hinerfeld, 2002).

Despite its lack of widespread recognition, government volunteering provides an enormous reservoir of talent, skill, leadership, dedication, and energy and cost avoidance to the public sector. While the sector clearly benefits from the largess of its citizens, direct service represents only one dimension of the public sector role in the

theatre of volunteerism. In preparation for the United Nations International Year of Volunteers in 2001, *The Roundtable on Volunteerism and Social Development* noted that whether volunteering was understood as self-help, civic participation or philanthropy, it has an enormous capacity to improve society and must "be recognized as a strategic resource which can be positively influenced by public policy" (Capeling-Alakija & Pennekamp, 2000). As the year of celebration and commemoration drew to a close, country after country spoke to the need for governments to develop strategies to promote and facilitate volunteer efforts: "Governments can create enabling conditions for volunteering by promoting volunteerism and establishing a solid legal framework. Through dialogue with their volunteer organizations, governments can successfully encourage a friendly environment for volunteering which grows out of the local culture and conditions" (United Nations Volunteers, 2001, p. 18).

Government policy that promotes volunteerism takes many forms. Kennedy's call to international service through the Peace Corps, Clinton's AmeriCorps and, more recently, the USA Freedom Corps initiatives of President G. W. Bush attest to the ability of government to spur service initiatives. From environmental clean-ups to homeland security, volunteering in the public sector is facing careful scrutiny at the same time that it is taking on a new look. Uniquely positioned to facilitate or thwart action, these public sector initiatives will be the primary focus of this chapter. Specifically, this chapter will explore the dimensions of public sector volunteerism, examine available data and consider the impact of current Presidential initiatives on national service and volunteerism.

Defining Volunteerism in the Public Sector

The touchstone for virtually every discussion on the definition of volunteerism is the work of Cnaan et al. (1996). Following their extensive literature review, Cnaan and colleagues identified the dimensions of free choice, remuneration, structure, and intended beneficiaries as the key domains in defining the term volunteer. Each conceptual dimension represents a continuum. For example, within free choice, a volunteer may serve at his/her own free will, under relatively uncoerced conditions, or may be obligated to serve. The remuneration received ranges from none, to stipended or low-pay opportunities; structure varies between informal service opportunities to opportunities within organizational or structured situations; and, beneficiaries range from helping others or strangers, to service that directly benefits the volunteer.

In their analysis of civic service, Perry and Thomson (2004) further parse these dimensions and distinguish between the realms of volunteerism and national service. They suggest that the nature of the public problem and the particular institutional niche in which the service is performed differentiates civic service from traditional volunteerism. For them, civic service is frequent and long-term (i.e. not less than four hours per day or 20 hours per week for an extended period of time). Other defining characteristics of civic service include probable below-market-value remuneration, as well as opportunities situated in formalized institutional structures designed to address a need not served through either the market or the public sector. Finally, according to Perry and Thomson (2004), civic service focuses on "more difficult problems" than

traditional voluntary service, with the balance of effort directed more toward alleviating the problem than benefiting the provider.

To better understand volunteer programs in the public sector, Brudney (1999) suggests an alternative profile. Seven characteristics define his conceptual framework. Those characteristics require that the initiative be: (1) sponsored by or housed within a government organization; (2) conducted within a formal organizational context; (3 & 4) non-remunerated, although expense reimbursement is permissible; and, (5) intended to primarily benefit the agency client, though the volunteer may reap nonmaterial benefits as well. The last two characteristics of the framework apply to the volunteer and the nature of the position: (6) the volunteer's time should be freely given and not coerced or mandated; and, (7) the volunteer opportunity should involve ongoing delivery or service support to an agency or project.

Based on research from the RGK Center for Philanthropy and Community Service (2004), considerable commonality can still be seen in the management practices of national service and community-based volunteer programs. With the active participation of representatives from AmeriCorps, AmeriCorps VISTA, SeniorCorps, Learn & Serve and volunteer management practitioners, the RGK Center developed and tested an organizational self-assessment tool. With the exception of the Learn & Serve program, which lacked a sufficient sample size for analysis, reliability and validity testing revealed high levels of similarity between effectively managed programs and the concerns of these groups.

A compelling reason to bring these domains together, however, relates to policy. Volunteerism, in *all* its permutations, "promotes social participation and active citizenship, and strengthens civil society. It can also help to maintain society's stability and cohesion... it is a plus for society, for it is a conduit for universal value in terms of human rights, democracy, combating racism, solidarity and sustainable development" (United Nations Volunteers, 2001, p. 10). Similarly, Perry and Thomson (2004) "envision a future civic service that is pluralistic, voluntary, and funded by subsidies from a variety of governments... for developing *pragmatic* joint action that involves individual citizens and the social, economic, and political institutions they create, to more adequately meet the demands of the twenty-first century" (p. 145).

Nonetheless, divisions exist between the advocates of national service and the advocates of traditional volunteerism. Supporters of national service programs such as AmeriCorps, Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA), and the Peace Corps have worked tirelessly in their attempts to strengthen and sustain these initiatives through legislation. Yet, proponents of traditional volunteerism continue to square off against the national service contingent. Noting the nation's long history of voluntary action, traditionalists have tended to stand firm in their opposition to legislative initiatives designed to sustain or support national service. Bridgeland and Nunn (2004), directing their comments to this ideological warfare in the nation's Capital, assert that it is time for the supporters of national service initiatives and those devoted to traditional volunteerism to work together. Service, they argue, regardless of its permutations, is what defines us as Americans (Bridgeland & Nunn, 2004, p. 2).

The Extent and Scope of Volunteering in the Public Sector

The extent of volunteering in the United States is determined largely through surveys and, to a lesser extent, through studies focused on service within a particular area or field. The 2002 Current Population Survey (CPS) conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, found that 27.4% of Americans engaged in volunteer action and served a median of 52 hours per year. While the median number of hours remained relatively unchanged, the volunteering rate for 2003 rose by 1.4 percentage points to 28.8% (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2002, 2003). Although the CPS does not specifically address volunteering in the public domain, the results distinguish the percentage of volunteers by service area.

Table 1 summarizes volunteering by service area for 2002 and 2003. This table shows that volunteers are most likely to serve religious or educational and youth-serving agencies. A large portion of service within the educational arena occurs in the public sector. However, surprisingly few volunteers work in public safety. Moreover, although the numbers are admittedly small, the largest relative negative change noted by the survey, September 11 notwithstanding, occurred in public safety.

Table 1
Relative Changes in Volunteer Involvement

Organization	2002	2003	Change	Relative Change (Change/2002)
Religious	33.9	34.6	0.7	0.02
Educational or youth service	27.2	27.4	0.2	0.01
Social or community service	12.1	11.8	-0.3	-0.02
Hospital or other health	8.6	8.2	-0.4	-0.05
Civic, political, professional, or international	6.1	6.4	0.3	0.05
Sport, hobby, cultural, or arts	4.0	4.1	0.1	0.02
Environmental or animal care	1.6	1.7	0.1	0.06
Public safety	1.4	1.2	-0.2	-0.14
Not determined	1.6	1.5	-0.1	-0.06
Other	3.4	3.1	-0.3	-0.09

Note: The data in column 1 are from the Current Population Survey, September 2002: Volunteer Supplement. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2003. The data in column 2 are from the Current Population Survey, September 2003: Volunteer Supplement. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004.

Brudney and Gazley (2004) note similar declines in public sector volunteerism based on their analysis of a series of biennial Gallup Organization Surveys conducted in collaboration with the Independent Sector (2001). According to the Independent Sector surveys, public sector volunteerism declined 6.3% between 1988 and 1999. Despite these declines, the volunteer service contribution to the U.S. was valued at $37 billion in 1999.

Although the factors that may have contributed to the decline in volunteer participation in government services are not clear, it is interesting to examine the

parallel issue of government service outsourcing. From 1985 to 2002, federal civilian employment decreased from 2.3 million to 1.8 million workers, representing a decrease of 19%. Many of these jobs were transferred to other parts of the economy through contracts, grants, and mandates. In 1996, an estimated 13 million people were employed through these outsourcing methods (Light, 1999). Government outsourcing is likely to continue as a result of the Federal Workforce Restructuring Act of 1994 (Congressional Budget Office, 2001).

Based on data collected in the Current Population Survey (2002), Table 2 identifies the percentage of volunteers by the sector of their employment. Nearly half of those who work in the nonprofit sector volunteer, compared to just one-quarter of those working in the private, for-profit sector. Additionally, persons working at all levels of the public sector (i.e. local, state or federal) are more likely to volunteer than are persons working in the private sector. From both a volunteer "generation" perspective as well as a volunteer "utilization" perspective, any outsourcing activity that positions services within the private sector could reasonably be assumed to retard both the utilization of volunteers as well as the development of a volunteer base.

Table 2
Employment Sector of Volunteers

	Distribution of Volunteers		Percent
Employment Sector	**2002**	**2003**	**Change**
Government			
Federal	34.59	37.37	2.78
State	42.15	42.76	0.61
Local	45.47	46.65	1.18
Private			
For profit	26.75	27.76	1.01
Non profit	48.06	48.95	0.89
Self-employed	39.00	41.21	2.21
All sectors	31.76	33.05	1.29

Note: The data in column 1 are from the Current Population Survey, September 2002: Volunteer Supplement. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2003. The data in column 2 are from the Current Population Survey, September 2003: Volunteer Supplement. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2004.

Local, State and Federal Agency Volunteerism

Since 1982, the International City/County Management Association (ICMA) has tracked the use of alternative service delivery approaches across 67 services commonly delivered by city and county governments (Warner & Hefetz, 2004). Although volunteers, subsidies and franchises remain the least common approaches to the delivery of local government services, volunteers are engaged in museums (31%), cultural and arts programs (27%), programs for the elderly (17%) and in the delivery of public safety. Local governments engage volunteers in fire prevention and suppression (13%), ambulance services (11%) and emergency medical services (10%).

The survey also found volunteer involvement in homeless shelters, recreation facilities, libraries, animal shelters, and other human service and beautification programs.

Although this study and others clearly delineate the role of volunteers in the public sector, academic and practice literature generally fails to enumerate volunteer involvement in state or federal government agencies (Arkansas Department of Human Services, Division of Volunteerism, 2001, 2002, 2004; Brudney, 1999; Brudney & Kellough, 2000; Ellis & Noyes, 1990; Rehnborg, Fallon & Hinerfeld, 2002; Senate Research Center, 1993). Furthermore, few state or federal agency websites reference volunteer opportunities, and fewer still describe or document the services contributed by volunteers to those agencies.

One nationwide survey, however, estimated that a third or more of all state agencies engage volunteers in the delivery of needed services (Brudney & Kellough, 2000). The study noted that larger state agencies, that is, those with greater numbers of staff and larger budgets, benefited most from volunteers. A subsequent analysis of volunteers in Texas State government corroborated these findings, identifying more than 100 different tasks performed by the more than 200,000 volunteers serving in 18 of the state's bureaucracies in 2001 (Rehnborg et al., 2002). These studies and others (Allen et al., 1989) found that volunteers were involved most often in health care and hospitals, natural resources, parks and recreation, environmental protection, public welfare, criminal justice, and tourism.

In addition to direct service within state agencies, the Texas study (Rehnborg et al., 2002) noted two service trends of particular significance. Although not formally constructed as a response to the notion of episodic volunteering, the data reveal that "adopt-a-programs," in which groups of persons take on short-term, focused commitments, appear to be growing in popularity. Originated in 1987 by the Texas Department of Transportation, the Adopt-a-Highway program provides public name recognition to groups that commit to periodic roadside litter removal (Senate Research Center, 1993). Now replicated in 47 other states, Texas has expanded its "adoption" opportunities. In addition to the national adopt-a-schools program, Texans can adopt caseworkers, cemeteries, trails, wetlands, beaches, historical markers, nursing homes and maps in need of preservation (Rehnborg et al., 2002).

A second significant trend is the formation of nonprofit organizations operating either in collaboration with, or under the auspices of, state government agencies. Although the purpose for these volunteer-driven nonprofits vary, most focus a significant portion of their work on fund development activities. Several organizations are designated as "Friends of" the parent agency, while others operate to generate an endowment to preserve an environmental or cultural resource (Rehnborg et al., 2002).

Arkansas leads the nation in capturing the economic impact of volunteers within the public and voluntary sector. Each year since 1983, the Division of Volunteerism within the Arkansas Department of Human Services collaborates with the Institute of Economic Advancement at the University of Arkansas at Little Rock to survey the volunteer involvement within 1,500 city, county, and state entities. Over the years, the survey expanded to include volunteer involvement in senior citizen organizations, public, private and parochial schools, youth organizations, civic clubs/volunteer organizations, national service groups, veterans groups, and community chest

organizations. In 2003, the survey found that 390,117 Arkansas volunteers served 22 million hours for an estimated dollar value of more than $400 million (Arkansas Department of Human Services, Division of Volunteerism, 2003).

Surveys by the Independent Sector and the US Bureau of Labor Statistics notwithstanding, no federal- or national-level mechanism comparable to the Arkansas economic impact analysis appears to exist that systematically captures the extent and depth of volunteer participation across public sector organizations at any level of government. Occasionally, however, groups and organizations collect and maintain their own membership and participation records. For example, in 2002 the National Fire Protection Association (NFPA) reported that 74% of the nation's 1,108,250 fire fighters serve as volunteers. More than half of the 816,600 volunteers serve in rural departments protecting communities of 2,500 or fewer people. The NFPA survey documented growth in the number of volunteer fire fighters from 2001 to 2002, while career fire fighters decreased slightly over the same period (Karter, 2003). Given the dearth of centrally collected information, Table 3 reflects data on federal government volunteerism captured by Brudney (1999) and compares these figures with currently available findings.

For more than 100 years, volunteers have been the backbone of the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) 4-H program, sponsored by the Cooperative Extension Service (CES). This complex partnership between county, state, and federal government entities, in collaboration with institutions of higher education and local community groups, boasts of 562,923 volunteers who work with professional staff to lead youth development initiatives. The contribution of volunteers in terms of time and out-of-pocket expenses is estimated to exceed $2 billion dollars, an amount five times the total organizational budget (National 4-H Headquarters, 2003). However, these figures would appear to represent a significant decline in the organization's volunteer resources from the 1984 CES study's estimated 2.9 million volunteers (University of Wisconsin-Madison Department of Continuing and Vocational Education, 1984). In addition to the decline noted by CES, the Small Business Administration's Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE) shows a 20% decline in volunteer person-power over the past decade (Service Corps of Retired Executives, 2004).

Such declines, however, should be regarded as speculative at best. Lapses and changes in data collection and management systems in volunteer programs are legion (Brudney, 1990). Record-keeping systems frequently vary from year to year, from program to program within a given agency, and from agency to agency (Rehnborg et al., 2002). With respect to the CES, researchers for this article strove to secure data comparable to the 1990-1991 data with no assurances of success. Therefore, while numbers may suggest trends, gross differences are as likely to be as suggestive of changes or inconsistencies in data collection practices, and/or leadership and policy changes (e.g., declines in volunteer recruitment or support activities), as they are actual participation and service trends.

In contrast to the declines noted with CES and SCORE, a substantial growth in the volunteer workforce has been reported by other U.S. government organizations. Initiated in 1981, Earth Team is a conservation initiative of the Natural Resources

Conservation Service, situated within the US Department of Agriculture. The program engaged 327 volunteers in 1982, a year after Congress passed legislation allowing the organization to use volunteers. By 2003, nearly 44,000 volunteers were engaged in the conservation work of the agency. Collectively, these volunteers donated over a million hours of service valued in excess of $16 million (Eginoire, 2003). The Department of Veterans Affairs and the National Park Service's Volunteers-In-Parks Program (VIP) demonstrate significant growth in volunteer involvement. Authorized by Public Law 91-357 in 1970, the VIP program has grown to 125,000 volunteers who contribute 4.5 million hours annually to the U.S. national park system (National Park Service, 2003).

The volunteerism initiatives of the Department of Veteran Affairs also evidenced considerable growth with a 66% increase in participation (Delgado, 2004). The Bureau of Land Management (BLM) engages volunteers in the maintenance of the health, diversity and productivity of public lands. Although not reporting the actual number of persons involved, the Bureau notes that 1.2 million volunteer hours were served in programs ranging from biological resources to support services. In addition to traditional volunteers, the Bureau sponsors a Hosted Workers program in which individuals are paid by another organization but serve the BLM. Hosted workers accounted for 16% of the hours logged in 2002 (Bureau of Land Management, 2003).

Although complete data on volunteer participation at any level of government are not available, considerable evidence suggests that volunteers are critical to ongoing service delivery. Yet, this information captures only the tip of the citizen-involvement iceberg. Elected officials in the vast majority of American municipalities serve without salary, as do the boards and commissions that make policy and oversee programmatic initiatives from schools to zoning commissions to health care districts. Their countless hours of contributed service are neither collected nor aggregated. Myopic vision that defines and limits volunteer engagement only to direct service initiatives dramatically under-values and diminishes the significance of volunteer citizen participation. This cycle of under-valuation contributes to the inattention given to securing the level of expertise necessary to effectively manage volunteers noted by the Urban Institute (2004) and others; the inconsistent and highly variable record-keeping and data collection practices employed; and, the general lack of credit given to the profession of volunteer administration (Association for Volunteer Administration, 1999).

Citizen participation is more than an alternative delivery system for public services. It is one of the key resources of a democracy. Public officials would do well to expand their vision and recognize the complexity, range, and importance of volunteer citizen participation to the health and well-being of U.S. civil society.

Table 3
Volunteer Involvement in Federal Agencies: A Comparative Review

Federal Agency	Estimated Number of Volunteers 1990-1991	2002-2003	
Cooperative Extension Service Department of Agriculture	2,900,000	562,923	
Earth Team Department of Agriculture	--------	43,834	
National Park Service Department of the Interior	53,600	125,000	
Bureau of Land Management Department of the Interior	23,000	$20 million[a]	1.2 million[b]
Service Corps of Retired Executives (SCORE) US Small Business Administration	13,000	10,500	
Long Term Care Ombudsman US Department of Health and Human Services	--------	10,800	
Department of Veterans Affairs	87,000	131,651	

Note: Dashes indicate unavailable information. [a]Value of service. [b]Hours of service. Adapted from "The Effective Use of Volunteers: Best Practices in the Public Sector," J. L. Brudney, 1999, Law and Contemporary Problems, *62 p. 235.*

Volunteerism, National Service and the USA Freedom Corps

Recent U.S. Presidents have forwarded service initiatives to encourage citizen participation and national service. As a cornerstone of his "New Frontier" initiative and a rallying cry of his campaign, President Kennedy created the Peace Corps in 1961. President Johnson followed suit with the creation of "Volunteers in Service to America" (VISTA), a War on Poverty service initiative of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Other service-oriented programs geared toward senior adults followed and, in 1973, these initiatives found their home in ACTION, a federal agency created with the passage of the Domestic Volunteer Service Act of 1973 (Ellis & Noyes, 1990).

The National and Community Service Act of 1990, signed by President G. H. W. Bush, authorized grants to schools to support service-learning, demonstration grants for national service programs, as well as the White House Office of National Service, the Points of Light Foundation (a private, nonprofit organization), and the Commission for National and Community Service. Shortly thereafter, in 1993, President Clinton signed the National and Community Service Trust Act creating the Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS). This legislation eventually combined the work, resources and experience of ACTION, the White House Office of National Service, the National Civilian Conservation Corps (NCCC), and the Commission for National and Community Service. The collective national service and volunteer initiatives were subsequently organized into three "streams" of service: AmeriCorps, Senior Corps, and Learn & Serve America.

This propensity by the Executive Branch to embrace service and volunteerism, combined with the extraordinary events of September 11, 2001, led President G. W. Bush to unveil the "USA Freedom Corps" in his State of the Union address in January 2002. Designed "to inspire and enable all Americans to find ways to serve their community, their country, or the world," the mission of the USA Freedom Corps asks every American to donate 4,000 hours of service across his or her life span (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2003, p. 4). Unprecedented in scope and complexity, the USA Freedom Corps is the organizational umbrella designated by President Bush to encompass the initiatives of the Corporation for National and Community Service, the Peace Corps, and a series of both new and existing initiatives called "Citizen Corps" (USA Freedom Corps, 2003). Table 4 explores the full range of agencies and programs incorporated under USA Freedom Corps.

President Bush's signature volunteer program is Citizen Corps. Coordinated by the Department of Homeland Security (DHS) and its Office of Domestic Preparedness, "the Citizen Corps initiative encourages Americans to better prepare their families, neighborhoods, and communities – and to consider offering assistance to first responders involved in fire, rescue, emergency medical services (EMS), and law enforcement" (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Federal Emergency Management Agency, U.S. Fire Administration, 2003). The Citizens Corps effort is coordinated on a state and local level through Citizen Corps Councils. The Councils are to create cooperative, efficient and effective working relationships among all branches of government, first responders and local volunteers to leverage resources that will make communities safer "from the threats of terrorism, crimes, and disasters of all kinds." In addition to the Councils, the Citizen Corps effort includes four federal programs: the Neighborhood Watch Program; the Federal Emergency Management Agency's (FEMA) Community Emergency Response Team (CERT) program; Volunteers in Police Service (VIPS); and, the Medical Reserve Corps of the Department of Health and Human Services (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2003). As of August 2004, 1,306 Citizen Corps Councils had been created from every state and territory in the U.S., representing more than 144 million people or half the total U.S. population (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2004). These programs are described briefly below.

Neighborhood Watch. With its 30-year history of helping neighbors help and care for each other, Neighborhood Watch Programs are funded by the U. S. Department of Justice and administered by the National Sheriffs' Association. More than 19,000 programs are currently registered with the Neighborhood Watch offices (Scrocca, 2004).

Community Emergency Response Team. The Community Emergency Response Teams (CERT) program is designed to prepare community members in disaster preparedness and response. Patterned after a similar program in Japan, a team of Los Angeles city officials concerned about earthquake preparedness brought the CERT concept to the U.S. in 1985. FEMA made the program available to communities across the U.S. in 1994 when its Emergency Management Institute

collaborated with the Los Angeles Fire Department to expand the program to cover a comprehensive range of emergencies (Scrocca, 2004). As a part of the Citizen Corps initiative, the 20-hour CERT training prepares citizens to handle emergency situations while awaiting professional assistance.

Volunteer in Police Service. Volunteers in Police Service (VIPS) trains citizens to help with administrative and other duties to free law enforcement personnel for professional tasks. Like Neighborhood Watch programs, VIPS is funded by the Department of Justice; however, the International Association of Police Chiefs administers the program. As of January 2004, 730 volunteer law enforcement programs serving all 50 states and engaging more than 40,000 volunteers were registered with the VIPS program office. The Medical Reserve Corps (MRC) engages both practicing and retired health care professionals to augment first responders in emergency situations. Administered by the Office of the Surgeon General, the program is funded by the Department of Health and Human Services (Scrocca, 2004).

Fire Corps. The newest member of the USA Freedom Corps--the Fire Corps program--is a collaborative of the National Volunteer Fire Council, the International Association of Fire Chiefs/Volunteer Combination Officers Section and the International Association of Fire Fighters. Although not yet operational, the goal of the Fire Corps "is to support and supplement resource-constrained fire departments through the use of civilian volunteers for non-fire suppression related activities" (National Volunteer Fire Council, 2004). Proposed activities for Fire Corps members include tasks as divergent as 'adopting' fire hydrants, restocking ambulances, developing websites, bookkeeping, and vehicle maintenance.

Table 4
USA Freedom Corps[a,c]

Program	Agency	Description
President's Council on Service and Participation[c]	White House	Created in January 2003 by President Bush "to promote and recognize outstanding volunteer service and raise awareness of the many ways in which Americans can continue to help meet the vital needs of their communities through civic engagement and service."
USA Freedom Corps Volunteer Network[c]	CNCS	Clearinghouse of volunteer opportunities operates as a collaborative of online and community organizations, local nonprofit and federal initiatives. Through web resources, more than 340,000 persons completed searches for volunteer opportunities in 2003.

Table 4 (continued)
USA Freedom Corps[a,c]

Program	Agency	Description
International Service Initiatives		
Peace Corps[c,d] $308[k]	Peace Corps	Established in March 1961 by President Kennedy to promote world peace and friendship, the Peace Corps promotes mutual international understanding through engaging trained men and women in service. Since its inception, 170,000 people have served. Today, applications are at an all-time high. New Peace Corps initiatives as a result of the activities of the USA Freedom Corps include Building Bridges: A Peace Corps Classroom Guide to Cross-Cultural Understanding; Digital Freedom Initiative; work with the Center for Disease Control; and, programs in new countries including Mexico. In 2003, 7,533 members served abroad.
Volunteers for Prosperity[c]	US Agency for International Development	Volunteers for Prosperity works in collaboration with the Peace Corps and more than 100 corporations and private, voluntary health organizations to place volunteers into U.S.-sponsored health programs such as the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief and other initiatives.
Corporation for National and Community Service (CNCS)		
AmeriCorps[c] $441 (2004)[i]	CNCS	A network of national domestic service program, more than 250,000 men and women have participated as AmeriCorps Members since 1994. The program is designed to meet critical needs in education, public safety, health and the environment. AmeriCorps is made up of three programs: AmeriCorps*State and National, AmeriCorps*VISTA and AmeriCorps*NCCC (National Civilian Community Corps). Members generally serve full time for one year, receive a stipend for their services and an award of $4,725 towards educational expenses. Participation is open to lawful U.S. residents age 17 or older.

SeniorCorps [c,f] $224 (2004)[i]	CNCS	Designed to utilize the skills, experience and talents of older Americans, Senior Corps is a network of three programs: RSVP (the Retired and Senior Volunteer Program), Foster Grandparents, and Senior Companions. Open to people 55 and over, RSVP volunteers receive insurance coverage, pre-service orientation and in-service training. Members serve on average four hours per week and work through an estimated 65,000 local organizations including projects related to Homeland Security. The Foster Grandparents Program (FGP) is open to limited income people age 60 and older. Service is directed towards at-risk children and youth. Volunteers serve 20 hours per week and receive $2.65 an hour (tax free), reimbursement for transportation and meals while serving, an annual physical, and accident and liability insurance while serving. With comparable benefits and eligibility requirements, Senior Companions serve one-on-one with frail elderly and other homebound persons.
Learn & Serve America[a] $89 (2004)[i]	CNCS	Learn & Serve America provides funds to state education agencies, state commissions, institutions of higher education, Indian tribes and U.S. Territories for the purpose of engaging students in service-learning experiences designed to improve their academic skills and teach habits of good citizenship.
<u>Citizen Corps</u>[b]		
Citizen Corps Councils[c,h] $40 ($35 designated to states) $144 in matching funds (2003) by the Federal Emergency Management Agency[j]	Department of Homeland Security, Office for Domestic Preparedness	Citizen Corps Councils (CCC) are the organization structure for the Community Emergency Response Teams (CERT), the Medical Reserve Corps, Neighborhood Watch, and Volunteers in Police Service (VIPS). CCCs are organized on a national, state and local level and bring together leaders from fire, emergency and law enforcement agencies, elected officials,

Table 4 (continued)
USA Freedom Corps[a,c]

Program	Agency	Description
Citizen Corps[b] *(continued)*		
		local volunteer organizations and private sector groups to identify ways to engage citizens in homeland security efforts.
Volunteers in Police Service (VIPS)[c] $3 (2003)[j]	International Association of Chiefs of Police & Department of Justice	Volunteers in Police Service is a program designed to facilitate the utilization of volunteers by state and local law enforcement agencies. Volunteers perform roles such as school safety patrols, administrative support and crisis counseling.
Medical Reserve Corps[c] $10 (2003)[j]	Surgeon General & Department of Health and Human Services	Medical Reserve Corps are organizations of volunteers from the medical and health care community willing to contribute their skills and expertise during times of community needs, such as natural disasters, chemical spills, epidemics and other emergencies that threaten public health.
Neighborhood Watch[c,h] $6 for expanded program (2003)[j]	National Sheriffs' Association & Department of Justice	Although incorporated in 1988 program, Neighborhood Watch is now part of the Citizen Corps umbrella of services. Neighborhood watch encourages residents to assume responsibility for the safety and security of their communities and incorporates terrorism awareness and education into the program.
Community Emergency Response Teams (CERT)[c] $61 (2003)[j]	Federal Emergency Management Agency	CERT teams support local emergency responders following disaster situations. Team members receive 20 hours of training on disaster preparedness, basic disaster operations, basic first aid, fire safety, and light search and rescue duties.

Notes: Funding levels, by millions, of organization placed underneath the organization, when available. Funding year in parenthesis.

[a] *Created by President G. W. Bush "to encourage more Americans to serve and to foster a culture of service, citizenship, and responsibility." March 2004. Funding for staff and office is $2.6 million in 2003. See note j.*

[b] *A vital component of the President's USA Freedom Corps initiative, Citizen Corps helps*

coordinate volunteer activities designed to make communities safer, stronger and better able to respond to any emergency situation. These data are from:

[c] *"USA Freedom Corps 2003 Annual Report: Building a Culture of Service," USA Freedom Corps, 2004. Retrieved July 30, 2004, from http://www.usafreedomcorps.gov/content/about_usafc/newsroom/publications.asp*

[d] *"Peace Corps," Peace Corps. Retrieved July 30, 2004, from http://www.peacecorps.gov/index.cfm*

[e] *"AmeriCorps: Who We Are," AmeriCorps. Retrieved July 30, 2004, from http://www.americorps.org\whoweare.html*

[f] *"Joining Senior Corps: Finding the Right Senior Corps Program," SeniorCorps. Retrieved July 30, 2004, from http://www.seniorcorps.org/joining/finding_nssc.html*

[g] *"Learn & Serve [A]merica: About Learn & Serve America," Learn & Serve. Retrieved July 30, 2004, from http://www.learnandserve.org/about/index.html*

[h] *"USA Freedom Corps: National Service Programs: Citizen Corps," USA Freedom Corps. Retrieved July 30, 2004, from http://www.usafreedomcorps.gov/content/programs/citizencorps/index.asp*

[i] *"FY 2005 Budget Requested Summary," Corporation for National and Community Service. Retrieved August 6, 2004, from http://www.nationalservice.org/about/budget.html*

[j] *"USA Freedom Corps Policy Book," White House. Retrieved August 10, 2004, from http://www.usafreedomcorps.gov/content/about_usafc/newsroom/publications.asp*

[k] *"Fast Facts." Peace Corps. Retrieved August 15, 2004, from http://www.peacecorps.gov/index.cfm?shell=learn.whatispc.fastfacts*

Strengthening National Service

Freedom Corps and Citizen Corps represent new approaches to addressing public safety and welfare through citizen volunteerism. Brudney and Gazley (2002) surveyed state emergency management officials to assess the issues encountered in the early stages of Citizen Corps implementation. Several of their findings are pertinent to this discussion. The authors noted the importance of sufficient funding, not only for program development purposes, but also for infrastructure development and program continuity; misplaced assumptions about the requirements and expectations associated with working effectively with volunteers; and the complexity of communication and coordination among and between various agencies involved in implementing volunteer policy.

Sufficient funding, to include the resources necessary for infrastructure development and program continuity, is essential for the success of any policy initiative (Brudney & Gazley, 2002). An analysis of Table 4 documents the patchwork nature of funding allocated to USA Freedom Corps activities. This patchwork is nowhere more evident than in the complex web of resources and administrative entities facilitating the work of the Citizen Corps family of programs. One might expect that a State of the Union signature policy initiative might enjoy greater budgetary authority than is evidenced by both the amount and complexity of this fiscal picture. In addition to complex funding streams, the uses of the available resources are restrictive. Guidelines for Part C of the Citizen Corps grant program divides a total of $35 million among the states and territories in part based on population. Funds may be used for planning, public education, training/equipment and volunteer program

expenses; however, the cumulative management and administrative allocations is limited to 3%. Given that each state has 60 days from the receipt of funds to disseminate 80% of its resources to the local level, basic grants management likely absorbs most, if not all of this allocation (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, Office for Domestic Preparedness, 2003).

Limited and restricted funding constrain the development of infrastructure and hamper the establishment of operating systems critical to the success and continuity of any programmatic initiative, but particularly those initiatives dependent on volunteer resources. Studies repeatedly demonstrate that the most successful volunteer efforts are those with trained personnel dedicated to volunteer mobilization, management and oversight (Brudney 1999; Ellis, 1996; Rehnborg et al., 2002; UPS Foundation, 2002; Urban Institute, 2004). Compounding this problem is the difficulty inherent in raising administrative dollars to address this shortfall. Few foundations are eager to support government programs given their taxing authority, and fewer still are willing to cover the operating expenses of any entity. One would hardly expect the human resources office of a major city, or public safety program to function without salaried management — or to raise the funds themselves to staff such an office — yet that funding arrangement would appear to be the expectation of this volunteer initiative.

Communication and coordination presents an equally complex picture. Early problems included: the imposition of a top-down hierarchical program on the bottom-up systems of first-responders; minimal coordination; and, insufficient attention to the role of the state in programs with strong local-level implementation strategies (Brudney & Gazley, 2002). Although the role of the states has become more clear, issues of coordination remain. For example, partners in the USA Freedom Corps—the Points of Light Foundation and the Corporation for National and Community Service—annually co-host the National Community Service Conference. Attended by literally thousands of salaried and non-salaried leaders in volunteerism and national service, this meeting provides ample training and networking opportunities. Folding the conferences and training of the various Citizen Corps initiatives into this event would facilitate the partnerships touted by the USA Freedom Corps and create synergies for growth and development. Yet, this is not happening. Instead, a new sequence of expensive and time-consuming conferences and national meetings is emerging.

Likewise, the argument could well be made for collaboration between the USA Freedom Corps and the work of the other federal agency volunteerism programs. The 102-year history, the phenomenal network of interagency relationships and the trust established in local communities by the Cooperative Extension and 4-H networks of the Department of Agriculture represent a wealth of knowledge and a depth of connections coveted by many service programs. One can only speculate on the ease and speed of disseminating CERT training into local communities working through this system. Furthermore, the extensive knowledge of the requirements and skills essential to effective volunteer management in Freedom Corps are apparently available in the volunteer programs of the Department of Veterans Affairs and other federal agencies. These federal resources could strengthen the efforts of Freedom Corps projects designed to "help coordinate volunteer activities that will make our communities safer,

stronger, and better prepared to respond to any emergency situation" (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2003, p. 1).

Conclusion

New programs and policy initiatives require time to evolve and develop. Yet, a serious effort to engage volunteers requires a commitment of fiscal as well as human resources, a recognition of the knowledge base underpinning citizen engagement and volunteer action, and sustained attention to infrastructure development. As noted by the United Nations (2001, p. 10), "it is the task of governments to draw up strategies and programs to promote volunteer work" and it is the task of leadership to show the way. Although volunteer engagement is not the only answer to the problems facing our nation, it is a defining feature of our culture and a critical aspect of any meaningful response. Real progress will only be made when we take seriously the commitment of fiscal and human resources essential to effective community engagement; when we recognize the knowledge base that does exist and is critical to the success of these efforts; and, when we attend to building functional partnerships that facilitate the service of volunteers as we work together for a common and greater good.

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CONCLUSION: TOWARD THE FUTURE OF VOLUNTEERING

Beth Gazley

Each of the new directions in volunteering discussed in this book offers a possible means of broadening civic engagement, but also challenges nonprofit managers to alter the way they approach their jobs. The charge for scholars is foremost to understand the linkages among these trends in order to better assess their impact on civic engagement. Second, a more even examination of both the potential benefits and challenges of these trends will help identify the specific managerial needs these trends create. Finally, volunteer management capacity warrants more prominence as a distinct quality that can support and sustain the desirable aspects of these trends.

Introduction

This volume began with a "welcome to the future of volunteering — or at least a good part of that future." It is only appropriate that it close with a discussion of the future elaborated in the foregoing chapters.

True to the theme of *Emerging Areas of Volunteering*, each of the six chapters presented in this volume addresses an evolving or new direction in volunteerism and civic engagement. In most instances, as the authors note, these trends seem to offer citizens new or better means of connecting to the organizations they support and of defining the terms of their voluntary activity in ways that can serve contemporary individual or organizational interests. However, the authors at times temper their optimism with concerns regarding the impact of these trends on volunteerism in general or, more specifically, on our ability to understand and manage civic engagement. In some cases, they suggest that certain practices raise legal or ethical issues that are, as yet, unaddressed by scholars, practitioners and policymakers. They note, in particular, the need for a greater effort to collect and analyze data on these trends in order to understand their scope and implications. An additional recommendation that surfaces at various points in this volume, and that will likely sound familiar to many readers, is the need to build organizational infrastructure or capacity to support these emerging programs, and to more effectively recruit, involve, retain and evaluate the volunteers they attract.

This final chapter summarizes the arguments and recommendations presented by each author both consecutively and thematically. Useful themes include the frameworks offered through which to understand each form of volunteerism, the state of empirical analysis regarding these emerging areas of volunteering, the impact these trends might have on the "ethos of volunteering" (to borrow the words of Smith, Ellis and Brewis), and the impact they might have on volunteer management capacity. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the potential empirical and managerial demands of these trends, and a set of overarching recommendations regarding future research.

Emerging Areas of Volunteering

Employee Volunteer Programs. In the first chapter in this volume, Tschirhart offers the most comprehensive analysis to date of workplace volunteering. These programs have taken advantage of the internal management structures of larger corporations, nonprofit and government agencies to deploy vast numbers of employee volunteers on service projects. As a result, these workplace programs offer recipient (usually nonprofit) organizations a particularly attractive and ready means of involving volunteers who are often both highly skilled and motivated. Evaluation of these programs suggests that the organizational and individual benefits are largely positive, and include reinforcement of corporate goals, along with higher workplace morale and skill development for volunteers. Their overall impact on rates of volunteerism in the U.S. seems positive, if marginal, as reflected in a higher net number of volunteers who, over time, have cited employer recruitment as the means by which they entered civic service (Weitzman et al., 2002).

However, less thoroughly examined is whether these programs, when they disturb traditional patterns of civic engagement, result in a net gain or loss of volunteers within communities. As Tschirhart notes, while these workplace programs certainly involve some individuals who otherwise would not volunteer, scholars do not yet understand whether employees would serve their community more or in different ways if left to their own devices. This question might benefit from economic analyses of local civic engagement employing the "crowding out" hypotheses that have proven useful in explaining nonprofit resource distribution in other arenas (see for example, Brooks, 2004).

Noting in particular the array of organizations that have sprung up in the U.S., U.K. and the Netherlands to promote and support employee volunteer programs, Tschirhart also argues that this support infrastructure has organized itself without devoting sufficient resources to impact evaluation, or even a basic empirical understanding of the scope of employee volunteerism. Tschirhart notes, for example, the business-focused tone of much of the existing literature. Thus, of particular concern is the emphasis that researchers have placed on positive outcomes without addressing in their research models the potential negative repercussions of employee volunteer programs on volunteers, communities or recipient organizations. For example, although Tschirhart touches only briefly on the possible negative repercussions for individual volunteers, research on pro bono volunteering suggests that employees can feel undue pressure to volunteer when their employer makes the ask

(Brudney, 2005). Other areas of concern could include mission drift within recipient organizations when they succumb to pressures to shape programs that attract corporate employee support, and a marginalization of those organizations considered by local businesses to have missions misaligned with their corporate interests. Tschirhart suggests that the managers of these corporate volunteer programs can avoid the latter problem in part by using existing community needs assessments to select recipient organizations.

Virtual Volunteering. In this chapter, Murray and Harrison assess virtual volunteering, a phenomenon that has been hailed by nonprofit managers as a valuable new means of involving individuals who might not otherwise volunteer due to geographic or physical limitations. This chapter makes two major contributions to our understanding of this emerging trend by reporting on its frequency and nature via comparative data and the only large-scale study of virtual volunteering yet conducted, and by offering a helpful framework in which to understand its connections to more traditional forms of volunteering.

Murray and Harrison describe virtual volunteering as the application of information and communications technology (ICT) to volunteerism. Two dimensions are introduced to describe how ICT impacts volunteering: information and communications technology can determine both the means by which volunteers are recruited and managed, and the work they perform. The authors apply the terms "virtual" and "traditional" to distinguish the extent to which ICT is used in recruitment, management and task performance; the distinction appears to rest on whether a task is carried out face-to-face or at a distance via the Internet – that is, on whether the volunteer is "onsite" or "online."

The assignment of the label "traditional" to all forms of "face-to-face" volunteering is not a perfect fit. Given the ubiquity of email, electronic newsletters, websites and other increasingly common forms of electronic communication, distinctions in managerial approaches regarding the use of ICT are possibly too variegated and finely tuned to fit into the framework offered here. The extent to which ICT is used in managerial approaches may be more usefully viewed as a continuum or set of gradations than a dichotomy.

However, the distinction between onsite and offsite volunteer work has greater relevance to volunteer management. The applicability of this distinction pertains to the potential challenges faced by volunteer managers in supervising or coordinating offsite volunteer activity. The extent to which organizations rely on virtual volunteering is likely to define the tasks and necessary skills of the volunteer manager. Indeed, it is also likely to shape the technical expectations placed on the organization: i.e., that they will develop and offer volunteers a certain level of technical support.

Regarding the frequency of virtual volunteering activity, the data offered by Murray and Harrison, based on several Canadian studies, suggest that while hybrid forms of volunteering are fairly common, "pure" forms of virtual volunteering, in which no management is performed face-to-face, are relatively rare. For example, few individuals use the Internet to find volunteer positions, although this figure is increasing. One finding of note is that among those individuals who have used a

national online matching service, few (about 5%) report placement into an actual volunteer job. This finding challenges easy assumptions about the efficacy of online recruitment systems in the United States, such as the USA Freedom Corps volunteer placement system. It suggests that placements, rather than signups, should be regarded as the output of interest when these recruitment programs are evaluated (compare Brudney and Gazley, 2003).

In the Canadian studies, about half of the organizations surveyed reported that they had no openings for virtual volunteers. Further research could determine the extent to which this low demand is based on capacity issues, or rather on incompatible needs. The data introduced in this chapter suggest that organizational capacity in the form of managerial expertise – specifically, previous managerial experience with information and communications technology – drives the decision to involve virtual volunteers.

Episodic Volunteering. Macduff writes that short-term or episodic volunteers have posed challenges to public and nonprofit organizations that depend on a regular, consistent influx of volunteers. In one Flemish study cited in the chapter, 21% of Red Cross volunteers could be considered short-term or "episodic" volunteers. Although attempts have been made to convert these short-term volunteers to longer term commitments, Macduff argues that short-term volunteerism is driven by larger and more enduring societal shifts. These trends have fostered a more pragmatic, mobile and conditional form of civic engagement than in the past, and have encouraged a greater number of individuals to make temporary and interim commitments to voluntary agencies. Thus, agencies dependent on volunteers are best served by developing flexible programs that can accommodate both short-term and long-term volunteers. Missing still from this discussion are the specific ways in which organizations can implement this shift in managerial focus, and the specific tools that exist to help them.

Organizations dependent on long-term volunteers can be expected to resist such a market-oriented, volunteer-centered notion of civic engagement. Yet, references made in this chapter to the "biographical whims" of reflexive or short-term volunteers are unlikely to help voluntary organizations to take these volunteers seriously, as Macduff suggests they should. Without a better understanding of the benefits such volunteers might offer, managers of volunteer programs will continue to view episodic volunteering as a less cost-effective arrangement, and as a recruitment and management challenge. Yet, Macduff has argued that these volunteers also offer opportunities for the voluntary sector. She suggests that episodic volunteering challenges established definitions of civic engagement and perhaps encourages individuals to volunteer who otherwise would not. Her argument that episodic volunteers can make particular contributions in the area of political advocacy is an interesting one, but requires further elaboration.

Finally, Macduff offers a classification system to understand distinctions among episodic volunteers. The author's taxonomy suggests that these volunteers can be grouped into at least three categories: temporary or single-service volunteers, interim volunteers such as interns or members of a task force, and occasional volunteers who

provide service for short periods of time but over a longer time frame (e.g., those who return to staff an annual event). Although these categories are still fairly general and have some potential overlap, they do address distinct managerial issues and allow for more specificity in developing recruitment, management and retention plans.

Cross-National Volunteerism. Smith, Ellis and Brewis describe a significant increase in the number of cross-national or country-to-country volunteering programs during the past decade. Regarding the ways in which these international volunteers are involved, the authors note the greater interest in initiatives that support long-term, economic sustainability rather than short-term, emergency relief, and a move away from "North-South" or colonialist patterns of program sponsorship. They also note the increasing involvement of nongovernmental organizations in managing these programs. Each of these trends is expected not only to support the growing scope and size of cross-national volunteering, but also to contribute to an ethos that is less self-serving in terms of national interests and more in tune with contemporary development practices. The implication is that such practices will also be more acceptable to recipient nations and organizations, although the authors note that benefits may vary widely depending on the design and goals of these programs.

The authors note the potential for cross-national volunteer programs to produce more benefits for the volunteer than the recipient organization or host community. They cite as evidence the growth in "volunteer vacations," short-term assignments that blend personal recreation with societal benefits. Within such programs, scholars have noted that training and retention can be particular challenges for recipient organizations (Gazley, 2000). And, clearly, impoverished communities will benefit more from long-term rather than short-term assistance.

Even so, evidence from such programs suggests that most recipient organizations, including Habitat for Humanity International and Earthwatch, to name just two, can make these programs cost-effective by charging substantial fees to individuals who wish to participate in volunteer vacations, and using these fees to underwrite other operational needs. This model is quite different than that of the traditional volunteer management model, in which volunteer management costs are supported by the recipient organization rather than the volunteer. Further, such programs may increase overall rates of volunteerism by bringing in individuals who prefer to volunteer during a vacation period. Additional research is called for to assess whether and how this form of volunteering can make substantive contributions to the well-being of recipient communities.

Smith, Brewis and Ellis have suggested that duration, function, geographic direction and scale, and governmental involvement are relevant dimensions around which the phenomenon of cross-national volunteering can be understood. Duration, for example, would help to explain how volunteer vacationers can be distinguished from other forms of cross-national volunteers. At least three additional dimensions that might help to understand patterns of cross-national volunteering should be considered. These are the centrality of cross-national volunteering to an organizational mission, the location of a host organization inside or outside the recipient community, along with the duration of the relationship, and the nature or mission of the voluntary

activity (i.e., whether it has political or religious overtones and whether these overtones are compatible with the local culture). These dimensions might help to explain both differences in the intensity of cross-national efforts, as well as the extent to which their contributions are accepted in recipient communities. The central question raised by the authors in this chapter regarding whether benefits accrue to volunteer, recipient organization and/or host community is likely to depend on specific organizational missions, and on the sensitivity and care with which they plan projects that support self-determination, independence and self-sufficiency in host communities.

Board Members as Volunteers. In his wide-ranging chapter on nonprofit board members, Herman addresses what he considers several gaps in our understanding of board members as volunteers. These include the scope of board volunteerism, the characteristics and motivations of board members, and the extent of research evaluating board management practices as a singular or unique form of volunteer management.

Herman's discussion is framed around two central issues. First is his argument that the nonprofit scholarship would be well-served with more research regarding the scope and nature of board volunteerism. To date, we lack even a basic empirical understanding of how many citizens volunteer on nonprofit boards, and we have progressed only slightly further in understanding trends in board characteristics (e.g., racial, gender and economic diversity).

Secondly, Herman raises the question of whether board service can be understood in the same terms as other forms of volunteer service. In short, should the study of board volunteers be treated differently than the study of service volunteers? It is commonly understood that board members are "different" than other volunteers. In some cases, the distinctions are clear: only board members or trustees hold the fiduciary responsibility for an organization. In other cases, the distinctions might be more usefully viewed as degrees of difference rather than absolute distinctions – such as the extent to which board members undergo the kind of training that service volunteers might undergo.

Herman tests the latter perspective by applying to board activities a list of generally accepted volunteer management practices relevant to service volunteers (Urban Institute, 2004). The applicability of this approach is more evident at some points than at others. While the applicability of issues such as liability insurance coverage and volunteer recognition activities do appear equally relevant to both board and service volunteers, albeit to a greater or lesser degree, others have weaker connections. For example, it is unlikely to be possible to separate the impact of board members on an organization from the impact of other organizational factors. Nor does it seem useful or even possible to track the hours that board members devote to nonprofit service, given that some of this effort is not quantifiable. And, the degree to which they are supervised, as Herman notes, is simply not relevant. Such findings suggest that a framework for understanding board service as a distinct form of volunteerism should be developed. As Herman concludes, it is not enough to superimpose the framework of service volunteer management onto board volunteers.

Government Volunteerism. Volunteering in the public sector represents a less

prominent form of civic engagement in the U.S. than does volunteering in nonprofit organizations. Nonetheless, it constitutes an enormously important resource for all levels of government, and a valuable means of implementing public policy. We see a reflection of this perceived value in the emphasis placed by various U.S. presidents on public sector volunteerism, including the recent efforts of President George W. Bush to promote programs of the USA Freedom Corps in the wake of the events of September 11, 2001.

As Rehnborg's chapter illustrates, trend data on government volunteerism are more easily obtainable than are data for some other areas of volunteerism addressed in this volume. Nevertheless, these data are spotty and can be misleading. While trends suggest a slight overall decline in public sector volunteerism during the past decade, certain policy areas, agencies or levels of government have increased their reliance on volunteers in recent years. These include the areas of arts, culture and public safety at the local levels of government, and strong growth in volunteerism within certain federal agencies. Rehnborg also notes the increase in the number of volunteer-driven nonprofit organizations that serve as fundraising arms of state government. Although it is not discussed here, anecdotal evidence suggests a similar growth in volunteer fundraising for local government.

In her discussion of the Citizen Corps program, an initiative of the Bush Administration focused on emergency preparedness and terrorism prevention, Rehnborg calls into question the ability of the federal government to meet its objectives based on the restrictive, limited and complex array of funding allocated to Corps programs. Rehnborg is especially critical of the White House's lack of attention to infrastructure development and its assumption that local governments will be able to finance administrative support for these volunteers without federal funds. This chapter makes a useful policy recommendation by calling on these new programs to make better use of the institutional memory of existing, longstanding government volunteer programs (e.g., the Cooperative Extension Service) and the collaborative mission and training resources of the Points of Light Foundation and Corporation for National and Community Service.

The Future of Volunteering: Common Themes

When these chapters are assessed as a group, two themes emerge that are touched on by virtually every author. First is the need for more empirical research, not only to ascertain basic knowledge such as the strength or direction of these trends but also to understand how each trend is affecting volunteerism and volunteer management. It is common to hear such a call for more research – we all tend to find our own areas of interest woefully neglected and deserving of greater scholarly attention. However, these chapters tend to suggest something more: either that we require more nuanced ways of examining these trends (for example, by distinguishing board volunteerism from other forms), or that we have approached certain issues with a perspective that is too normative. The subtext here is that several authors find the scholarly discussion in certain areas – particularly workplace volunteering, cross-national volunteering and virtual volunteering – focused too heavily on the potential positive contributions these

forms of civic engagement offer the voluntary sector. Less thoroughly understood, these authors argue, are the potential challenges each trend poses to the nature of volunteering, to the value of subsequent volunteer efforts, or to the ability of the voluntary sector to recruit, retain and manage these volunteers.

Thus, the issue is not only more but *more focused* research. Two additional suggestions regarding possible improvements in research are offered here: first, efforts should be made to link these trends together. Trends in workplace, episodic and virtual volunteering seem particularly well-suited to joint analysis. We might ask, for example, to what extent employee volunteer programs and cross-national volunteerism contribute to episodic and short-term volunteerism? Are these programs a response to or a cause of the emerging behavioral gap between short-term and long-term volunteers? Are there more similarities or differences between the individuals drawn to these types of programs? In fact, such a linked analytical approach might go the furthest in supporting the theoretical development of volunteer management practices, by moving beyond the separate analysis of trends and impacts to develop joint frameworks for a managerial response.

In addition, a certain amount of speculation occurs in these chapters regarding the potential impact of these trends on volunteer management practices. Voluntary organizations and volunteer managers have not always been sufficiently involved in assessing the relative importance of each challenge. The value in asking volunteer managers to weigh in more centrally on these issues is illustrated by a recent Urban Institute (2004) study on volunteer management capacity. While many perceived challenges in volunteer management were reported less often than might commonly be perceived, the concerns were quite specific. Thus, recruiting sufficient number of volunteers overall is a concern expressed by only about one-quarter of charities, but the same respondents express relatively more concern about recruiting weekday volunteers and about financing their volunteer programs. An extension of this set of questions to concerns raised in these chapters illustrates their potential value: for example, a set of questions on volunteer retention could help us to understand the impact of episodic volunteers on organizational performance, and the relative perceived value of long-term versus short-term volunteers.

A second overarching theme of these chapters is that these trends demand greater attention to management capacity and infrastructure. The recommendations offered in this book are most helpful in a campaign to build the infrastructure of volunteerism when they call attention to specific elements of volunteer management programs that might support each emerging area of volunteering. Thus, Murray and Harrison suggest that the lack of demand for virtual volunteers, when compared with a relatively healthy supply of individuals willing to volunteer offsite, is shaped not only by limits on the kind of work that can be carried out offsite, but also by a limited number of organizations with the technological capacity to support these volunteers. Moreover, they link, empirically, an organization's ability to engage virtual volunteers to the presence of a manager with the motivation, experience and technical expertise to involve such volunteers.

When recommendations on the scope of improvements in management capacity are considered, some differences in perspectives are evident. Some authors suggest

minor recommendations in the form of "tweaking" volunteer management programs, while others call for more profound adjustments. Macduff, for example, calls on volunteer managers to develop "a new type of thinking" to manage episodic volunteers: i.e., a perspective that acknowledges the shifts in their motivations for volunteering. Such distinctions reflect a potentially wide variety of opinions about the scope of the impact that these emerging areas could have on management structures. This is likely to be an important discussion in future scholarly exchanges.

When considered on a wider stage, these issues about building volunteer management capacity have not achieved the prominence of sectoral issues. Volunteer management capacity is rarely considered separately from human resources issues of a more general nature (see for example, Light, 2004). Yet, few would argue that the management of volunteers has its own distinct characteristics and needs. The gap in the nonprofit literature in linking the expressed interest in broadening and supporting civic engagement generally, to the means by which this support can be implemented requires research attention.

On a third and final point, several authors in this volume allude to the ability of these trends in volunteerism to broaden civic engagement or otherwise contribute to building social capital. If these trends do continue, what would be the effects for civic engagement? Tschirhart, along with Murray and Harrison, suggest that workplace and virtual volunteering can bring in new kinds of volunteers. On the other hand, experts have been critical of White House claims that new government programs (e.g., Citizen Corps) will broaden the volunteer base, but this concern has not yet been tested empirically. This "inclusion factor" warrants further attention. Benefits worth examining in future research include the ability of volunteers to build bridges between sectors, and the extent to which technical assistance to communities brought by cross-national volunteers makes permanent improvements to their well-being. Viewed through this lens, board volunteering, for example, can be considered a worthy means of helping citizens to build and hone their democratic values.

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Emerging Areas of Volunteering

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