MANAGERS OF GOVERNMENTAL OFFICES OF VOLUNTEERISM:
A POLITICAL ANALYSIS

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For causal observers of the developments of the late twenthieth century American society, it may be difficult to discern the importance of volunteerism. A modern Alexis de Tocqueville visiting the United States might focus only on the presence of bureaucratic organizations, professional expertise and the role of government in the major facets of economic, social and political life. The presence of many acts of individual and collective volunteerism might go unnoticed. These acts, however, continue to signify America's continuing dependency on men and women to help others and, in the process, possibly themselves. In the late twenthieth century, volunteers continue to make important contributions in an era where dependency on professionals is still growing. Unlike in the nineteeth century where the importance of volunters did not require discussion; let alone argumentation, many of the unaware and unappreciative need to convinced that the American volunteer remains invaluable when it comes to some of the most important facets of social life.

An example of this is found in the role of citizens in making governmental service volunteerism a viable policy option for governments to pursue when it comes to the provision and delivery of public goods and services.[1] Citizens play two fundamental roles in democratic theory. They are political agents and political members.[2] In the former role, citizens help in fomulating the goals/purposes of their political communities. As political members, citizens carry

out various duties and obligations felt to be owed their political communities. Political agency is an active form of political participation most often associated with political deliberation and choice. Political membership is a more passive form of political participation associated with political support in the form of obeying laws and regulations, serving on juries, and paying taxes. For my purposes governmental service volunteerism is that type of volunteerism that is concerned with citizens trying to be good or responsible citizens; more specifically, with citizens trying to help their governments to provide and deliver public goods and services. Consequently, it involves both forms of political participation to varying extents.

Citizens can help their governments in different ways. They can become informed voters, write letters to their representatives, run for or help others to run for political office and engage in forms of political criticism to help governments to correct ineffective policies and programs. Through coping, trusting and defering to governmental service agents, citizens also help by providing various forms of political and administrative support for their elected and non-elected representatives. What counts as political and administrative support, in the end, varies given the respective tenets of participatory and representative democratic theory.

Governmental service volunteerism, in theory, subscribes to the notion that citizens have the capacity to help their governments provide and deliver public goods and services.

Citizens are helpful in two ways. They can become wiser consumers of public services provided by governments and they can become producers, to various degrees, of certain public goods and services. In both these roles, citizens can be viewed as helping governments to provide more and better public goods and services. However, citizens in playing either one or both of these roles may become a source of conflict for governmental service agents who see that their own professional authority and expertise is being challenged.[3] Governmental service volunteerism is not without its share of critics.

Those governments who in recent years have sought to recruit more volunteers so as to enable them to help meet the many demands for public goods and services have at times created governmental offices of volunteerism. These offices can vary in both size and responsibilities. They symbolize though a commitment to the pivotal assumption that citizens have an ability to come to the aid of their governments.

As in the case of governmental service volunteerism, in general, these offices are not without opposition. Proposals for creating these offices have not always succeeded. Nor do all managers and coordinators of these offices receive the necessary support to enable them to place numbers of volunteers within governmental operations or in connection with governmental outreach programs. And, finally, even after being approved and sometimes, despite good evidence

that the managers and offices have done all that is asked of
them, some offices are terminated. Budget problems is the
often the cited reason.

There are many forms that governmental service volun-
teerism can take. These will be described shortly. Mana-
gers of governmental offices of volunteerism play a part
in the promotion of the most visible form of governmental
service volunteerism. As governmental service agents, them-
selves, managers are asked to recruit and place citizens
seeking to volunteer within the context of governmental oper-
ations. In the cases of those governmental settings where
managers have tried to recruit and place volunteers, there
are many examples of creative and intriguing uses of volun-
teers. Their efforts have enabled governments to create new
resources for meeting some of their labor needs at the same
time perhaps creating greater economy and efficiency.[4]

The successes of managers of a governmental office of
volunteerism are not hard to document. The important question
to be asked is whether their successes may prompt management
and staff to seek to use even more volunteers and in connection
with different task domains and activities.[5]

What follows will be an effort to critically evaluate the
prospect for fostering more and more valuable efforts in govern-
mental service volunteerism. Specifically, the question will
be, can managers or coordinators of governmental offices of volun-
teerism increase the opportunities for citizens to volunteer so
that they may be of substantial help to their governments, fellow

citizens, and themselves?

Understanding the importance of the question of increased opportunities for citizens to volunteer is central to validating the professional standing of government volunteer management as a field of endeavor. American history is replete with stories of professionalizing occupations and individuals desirous of the label professional.[6] Professional status can be claimed, but almost always it has to be won through political means.[7] The professional qualifications of governmental volunteer managers require that a political perspective be provided as to their desire for professional recognition. In that governmental service volunteerism is a form of volunteerism with political implications, a political prespective would appear to be very necessary.

I will argue shortly that governmental service volunteer- is a type of responsible citizenship. This suggests that it has both social and political benefits as well as its more commonly alledged fiscal and budgetary benefits. By placing governmental service volunteerism within the larger context of social responsibility and responsible citizenship, I will contend that managers may upgrade their professional image through encouraging even more civic engagement on the part of citizens within the context of the provision and delivery of public goods and services. In their pursuit of creating more opportunities for citizens to contribute to public service delivery systems, I will stress that managers of governmental offices of volunteerism need to develop political skills so as to become more adept at overcoming opposition and constraints

to creating those new opportunities for citizens to help their governments through volunteering.

Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism face unique challenges in being successful in their endeavors. Their quest for professional standing is not easily separated from the politics of professionalization common to many occupations including public administration itself. Given the political roots of their profession, the manager's needs for greater political knowledge and political skill may be crucial to her or his efforts to demonstrate to others the importance of the manager's contributions. Professional expertise can be asserted, but it also needs to be demonstrated; often this requires it to continually demonstrated to skeptical others.

The Politics of Governmental Service Volunteerism

One of the chief benefits of social science theorizing resides in the ability of social scientists to describe and analyze social phenonmenon from different angles of vision and different levels of analysis. A political based angle of vision is central to my critical evaluation of offices of governmental volunteerism and their managers. In this case, a micro-level of analysis is also deployed in order to determine the importance of the manager and the citizen in helping governments to provide and deliver public goods and services.

Volunteerism may be simply viewed as free labor and expressions of altruism and possibly supererogation. At times, it may be viewed to be much than that. I will suggest that it constitutes a form of social capital, public problem-solving and responsible citizenship. To see forms of volunteerism in poli-

tical light helps one to discover some of the more overlooked but significant benefits of volunteerism.

Many acts of volunteerism are more or less "natural" in that individuals freely donate their time, labor and effort. Some acts require incentives, even possibly coercion, in order to tip some individuals into volunteering.[8]

In the case of governmental service volunteerism, governments may receive the help of proactive citizens desiring to help government and government to help other citizens or themselves. On the one hand, volunteers may need to be recruited. Pragmatic efforts to encourage more governmental service volunteerism constitutes a public policy option for governments desiring inexpensive labor and increased capacity for "doing more with less" in budgetarily dark times. Governmental service volunteerism is only one option of many.[9] It is not the most popular option.

Those who study public policymaking find that there are various stages to the processes of developing effective public policies. Many of these stages have their own varieties of politics and political ramifications for policymakers.

The first stage is problem recognition or where certain perceived problems are placed on the public agenda for possible policy adoption.[10] The second stage is one of policy design where a policy solution is devised for the problem. The third stage is that of policy adoption where political support for the solution has to be generated. This stage, to say the least, is often a highly politicized stage. In these three stages, the policymakers are often seen as policy entrepreneurs or those who, at times,

break new ground in creating new public policy solutions in the name of creative societal and political problem-solving.[11]

The fourth stage involves policy implementation. This stage, often overlooked by all except political scientists and administrative theorists, involves the ability of administrators and governmental service agents to take an adopted public policy and make it work in the everyday world. To implement a policy is to make a policy truly effective. Political and administrative opposition to a given policy makes the implementation of that policy very problematic given often conflictual processes of implementing the policy.[12]

Stages five and six are program evaluation and policy termination respectively. Since the 1960's with the increased presence of governmental policymaking and spending, there has been a concerted effort to evaluate whether or not a policy or program is succeeding.[13] Theoretically, policies and programs found not to be succeeding should be terminated. Stages five and six have their own politics. Evaluations can make policies look good or bad and there can be a politics of preventing the termination of a policy or program.[14]

The politics of governmental service volunteerism begins at the problem recognition stage. Tax limitation movements and economic downturns starting in the late 1970's helped propel governments to search for new ways of funding their activities. Volunteerism became one of the policy choices for governments in their searches. Governments have long used volunteerism in specialized capacities. Certain service areas such as parks and

recreation have never been fully professionalized. With new re-
consideration of the merits of volunteerism has come efforts to
selectively use volunteers in new areas and for new tasks. Ef-
forts to design a city or county wide governmental volunteer pro-
gram has never met with anything approaching across the board
acceptance.

The politics of adoption is the first challenge that pro-
ponents of a more extended use of volunteers faces. Once ac-
cepted, the implementation process becomes the focal point of
efforts to resist any "unwarranted" expansion of the program
into areas seen to require committed and expert governmental ser-
vice agents.

A governmental-wide or comprehensive program of governmental
volunteerism represents the clearest example of a proactive stance
towards recruiting volunteers to help governments provide and
deliver public goods and services. The hiring of a manager or
coordinator or governmental volunteers becomes the first of many
key steps towards expanding a government's reliance on volunteers
for some of its labor needs and service provision efforts. The
governmental wide office is then to be contrasted with specialized
volunteer programs emanating from departments or agencies such
as recreation, senior services, police etc. It is also the op-
posite of those efforts to use volunteers as substitutes in efforts
to restrain the costs of governments as found in rural areas.[15]

From the standpoint of a manager of a governmental office
of volunteerism, implementation is the step where opposition can
be most pronounced. Top management and paid staff present con-
straints even barriers to the success of any given manager of a
governmental office of volunteerism. Barriers cannot be over-

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come. Hopefully constraints can be through effective problem-solving efforts on the part of a manager and those who champion greater use of citizens as volunteers.[16]

It needs to be said that active and latent opposition to volunteer labor in governmental operations are not the only challenges a manager faces. In certain contexts, recruitment of volunteers may be a challenge. There may be a limited number of tasks for volunteers to perform given the size of government and the degree to which it is a limited service government as in the case of small suburbs and rural towns.[17] The choice of other service delivery options, such as the contracting out of services, may preclude the number of areas and tasks for which volunteer labor may be an alternative. On a day by day basis, limited space in governmental buildings limit the ability to use volunteers in the context of internal operations. These and other factors constitute some of the "natural" limits to efforts to expand governmental service volunteerism.

The dividing line between "natural" and political limits to employing more citizens as volunteers is not without some ambiguity. Governmental managers with limited staff (or decreasing staff through layoffs) may stress that they cannot use volunteers for the reason of their staff's limited time to supervise volunteers. Once one assumes supervision to be a prerequisite to any effective use of volunteers, then the issue of not using volunteerism may be presented as a defacto instance of "natural" not political opposition to volunteers.

Commonsense tells us that volunteers are not and should not be used in various contexts where full-time, committed and

expert professionals are needed to carry out some task or re-sponsibility. Volunteers are often amateurs, not professionals. Opposition to volunteerism in these contexts may be well founded. However, the possibility of committed professional volunteers performing some tasks normally thought to require paid pro-fessional staffing is not an impossibility. Volunteer fire and police personnel perform valuable jobs in some situations given required training they undertake as volunteers.

Many efforts to expand the use of volunteers by managers of governmental offices of volunteerism may test this assumption that only paid professional staff can do the job correctly. Op-position to the manager's efforts may be deemed political, but nevertheless correct in that volunteers cannot be fully competent or expert enough to do an adequate, if not effective, job in all situations. What constitutes adequate or effective may vary greatly.

Many of the reasons for opposition to programs aimed at expanding programs of governmental service volunteerism are rather obvious. There is a politics of self-interest and a politics of power, autonomy, and self-direction in work environments.

The fear of volunteers taking the jobs of paid staff is hard to discount; especially in fiscal and budgetary dark times. Volunteers may not be liked thanks to the time it takes to train and supervise them. With high turnover rates, paid staff may easily dislike the extra stress they incur with efforts to use volunteers. As one governmental service agent mentioned to me "...with volunteers you have to be always nice to them" (be concerned with their needs etc. in that they are not being

not otherwise rewarded). Being nice enables the governmental service agent to maintain some control over the volunteer who could easily choose to do things her or his way not the department's way.[18]

Job security and issues of interpersonal and bureaucratic power explain alot. There are however some subtle reasons for management, in particular, not desiring to see more volunteers within governmental operations. One of these involves the symbolic importance of professional reputation and standing.[19] Visible use of large numbers of volunteers by governments is tantamount to compromising the public administrator's professional status. In an age where many seek professional status, the reliance on volunteers challenges the professional autonomy of public administrators by inviting citizens to help the professionals coproduce some public goods and services. The autonomy and self-direction accorded professional public administrators is challenged by suggesting that the latter's expertise is limited or some how lacking to some degree. Not being able to persuade others that one possesses specialized knowledge and expertise raises the question of the appropriateness of disqualifying others from having a role in the provision or delivery of a particular public good and service. Governmental service volunteerism, for some, constitutes an unhealthy democratization of professional administration and public service provision.

Without the political support of top management and service staff, managers of governmental offices of volunteerism face

challenges to their efforts to find more opportunities for

placing volunteers within governmental operations and to in-

creasing the effectiveness of governmental efforts to the

provision of public goods and services. Perceived lack of

political support has prompted many a manager to suggest that

she or he is hindered in efforts to carry out the responsi-

bilities assigned to the managers of an office of governmental

volunteerism. In some instances self-fulfilling prophecies

are just that.

The Politics of Evaluation:
What Standards of Success for Managers of Governmental Offices of Volunteerism

There are many varieties of offices of governmental volun-

teerism. Some are government-wide or comprehensive and others

are rather specific to a particular unit of government. Some

offices, as many state offices, have responsibilities limited to

the marketing of volunteerism, training of volunteers and the

providing of technical assistance to other governmental and

non-governmental agencies and departments. Other offices provide

the aforementioned, but also have the responsibility to place

volunteers in specific work situations. It is the government-

wide "full service" governmental office of volunteerism that is

the subject matter in this study.

There are also many varieties of program evaluation.[20]

Many of them, in some fashion, take as their starting point the

goals of the program and seek to determine the degree to which

any are obtained. In the case of an office of governmental of-

fice of volunteerism, the goals are held to be instrumental.

Managers are given the job of marketing the program in their

community. Managers recruit volunteers and judge the qualities
of citizens to successfully complete a volunteer assignment. The
manager serves as a matchmaker between "qualified" volunteers
and governmental departments seeking volunteer labor. Place-
ment, even more than recruitment, becomes the manager's greatest
challenge. Training of volunteers and staff is the fourth task.
It is one focused on informing volunteers of what is expected
of them as governmental employees and their rights as volunteers.
Training also involves helping employees in how best to make
use of their volunteers. Recognition, as in honoring of volunteers,
is the fifth major responsibility of mangers.

Any fair evaluation of a manager's performance at this time
needs to take into account the resources a manager has to work
with and/or the constraints and barriers that the manager has to
be able to overcome. Success in regard to placement and the
other four areas may be limited by factors possibly outside
the control of a manager. More as to this point will be dis-
cussed later in relation to the politics of placement. Here, I
only want to point out that a manager may be faced with con-
straints such as the lack of budgetary support etc. that may
make her or his prospect for success more challenging than it
should be if adequate support was provided the manager and
the office of governmental volunteerism. The factors of con-
straints, barriers and lack of support shape much of the fol-
lowing evaluation of managers of governmental offices of volun-
teerism that follows.

It could be easily argued that recruitment is central
to any efforts to promote more governmental service volunteerism.

Without volunteersm, governments have a difficult time in acqui-

ring sufficient free or less expensive labor.[21] A common refrain,

these days, is that recruitment has become even more challenging

given more two income families, rediscovered family obligations,

and added work requirements. When asked, managers of governmental

offices of volunteerism almost universally indicate that volun-

teers can be found, but finding places for them to volunteer is

the greater challenge.[22] Many, however, indicate that recruitment

may be different when a particular volunteer or skill is desired

for a particular task needed by a governmental service agent.

Recruiting special skills can be difficult.

Success in regard to recruitment inevitably becomes an issue

of placement and the ability of a governmental entity to use

the time, labor and efforts of those citizens interested in volun-

teering. By itself a mere counting of the number of citizens

seeking to volunteer does not say all that much about a manager's

success. The more common measure used is counting the volun-

teer's value to a government in terms of the dollars the volun-

teers save government.[23]Recruitment success is best measured in

placement success. Recruiting many good volunteers may help

generate more budgetary savings and effective policy implementa-

tion.

Successful placements signify good recruiting. A successful

manager may be one who can show that her or his placements have

been increased over time. A manager who increases the breath or

scope of her or his placements may qualify as an especially ef-

fective manager.[24] The ability of a manager to recruit and place

volunteers in activities, positions and domains voluntarily requested

by governmental service agents is even a higher standard for
measuring success. Effective placement has both a quantitative
and a qualitative dimension to it.

Some of the possible standards used to determine effective
placement are not under the control of a manager. Forces outside
the activities of managers of governmental offices of volunteer-
ism may compromise (or enhance) the manager's chances for success.
Economic conditions may increase the demand for volunteers. The
effectiveness of a placement may rest with the ability and willing-
ness of staff to effectively use a volunteer's time and labor.
The ability of a volunteer to develop the skills required to com-
plete an assigned task goes far to determine the effectiveness
of alot of placements. In these three areas and other cases, the
manager can contribute to greater effectiveness, but the manager's
success is not completely in her or his hands. What, in the end,
counts as a just reason for the lack of success is a subject for
debate.

Evaluating a Manager's Success from a Professional Perspective

In the sociology of work, there is a distinction made be-
twen occupational and professional work. The former pertains
to the work required of individuals completing various organi-
zations tasks. The five instrumental tasks of managers of
governmental offices of volunteerism are examples of occupa-
tional work. Professional work is occupational work when
professionals carry out their professional responsibilities
in their organizational settings. It, however, also involves
carrying out responsibilities unique to their profession. In

regard to their professions, the members are expected to uphold the status of the profession in the larger social context. Doctors labor in hospitals, but they have also responsibilities as members of the medical profession.

Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism aspire to possess professional standing. (In many ways there is no other valuable standing.) This would seem to dictate that they owe special responsibilities to their emerging profession. Thus, they come to have added responsibilities assigned to them. They have a responsibility to promote their profession, volunteerism in general, and champion the cause of governmental service volunteerism.[25]

The promotion of their professional field becomes an enlarged type of marketing. It is one that extends beyond a manager's immediate organizational responsibilities. As professionals, the managers of all types of volunteer programs have leadership responsibilities with social and political implications and ramifications. As visionaries, they are encouraged to dream, to envision a future where there is more volunteerism and more benefits for society.[26]

In terms of evaluating the manager of an office of governmental volunteerism's success, the desire to see a greater professionalization of volunteer management elevates the goals and responsibilities for a manager. In the particular case of a manager of a governmental office of volunteerism, the issue is one of helping governments to employ more volunteers and to better employ present and future volunteers. For the democratic theor-

ist, the manager's successes have the potential of helping to legitimate or relegitimate government as a valuable societal problem-solver.

The manager's professional responsibilities may be in conflict with governmental administration, service agents and their own wants. A possible source of conflict is the professional manager's proactivity when it comes to the professional manager's proactivity in the case of added amounts of governmental service volunteerism. One person's pursuit of volunteerism can be seen as going too far so as to threaten good or professional government and service delivery.

The following typology captures one way of describing different types of managers of governmental offices of volunteerism (see appendix one). Managers can be classified as either professional or as "localists" and as proactive or reactive in terms of their efforts to increase the opportunities for governmental service volunteerism.

Professionals are those who desire to be known as professionals. They have the tendency to attend professional meetings, conduct training sessions, and have national connections with others in their field. They identify more with the long term goals of the field of volunteer management.

Localists are those who see their position as a job and not as a career. They seldom attend professional meetings or conduct training sessions. They, however, may use trainers to upgrade their own skills and the skills of staff and governmental service agents to best use volunteers. They may stay in their positions for only a short period of time. If

they stay longer, some localists can become an unintentional careerist or find themselves being given other tasks to do besides the managing of an office of governmental service volunteerism.

Both professionals and localists can be proactive or reactive when it comes to promoting governmental service volunteerism. Proactive stances involve the manager seeking her or his ideas when it comes to the further use of volunter labor. Reactive stances involve responding to governmental service agents or events when it comes to the further use of volunteers.[27] Theoretically, the proactive professional and the reactive localist are the two most common types of managers. There are mixed types--reactive professional and proactive localist.[28]

From the standpoint of governments desiring to encourage more governmental service volunteerisim, a manager of a governmental office of volunteerism has her or his five primary responsibilities or tasks to carry out. Professionally, a manager has the added responsibilities of promoting both volunteerism and the field of volunteer management. A proactive professional manager is called for in this situation and such a manager can be evaluated in terms of her or his success in promoting governmental service volunteerism.

At this point, I need to describe what I mean by governmental service volunteerism. It boundaries help to delimit what a proactive professional manager may be able to accomplish when it comes to promotion of governmental service volunteerism. There are four varieties of governmental service volunteerism.

The first two varieties involve the traditional uses of volunteers in governmental operations and outreach programs and expanded efforts to create a truly comprehensive effort to use volunteers in all facets of those operations and outreach programs.[29] Governmental service volunteerism may be limited to a given governmental department or agency using volunteers in a limited capacity. The use of volunteers in recreation, senior centers, for the staging of festival etc. are examples. Historically, this first variety has been and continues to be the most common.

The second variety is an outgrowth of the specialized volunteer program. The effort to create a government-wide volunteer program shows a more committed effort to derive even more benefits from the ability to use volunteers in different capacities within governmental operations and service delivery efforts. This second variety embraces the idea of a government-wide office of volunteers to market, recruit etc. volunteers on a far larger scale than in the first case. This second variety is far more controversial in that governmental service volunteerism becomes a more visible policy for government. Its proactive features distinguishes from the first variety.

A third variety of governmental service volunteerism is where a manager of a governmental office of volunteerism engages in efforts to effect better interorganizational coordination of all types of volunteer programs in order to help governments and other organizations to provide selected public good and services. Some governmental offices of volunteerism help to recruit volun-

teers for local non-profits. At a more advanced stage, such as
New York City, governments can create both a governmental office
of volunteerism and a voluntary action center to try to maximize
its ability to recruit volunteer labor and increase its problem-
solving resources.[30] In this third variety, the manager serves
as a dejure source of interorganizational coordination, but also
as an entrepreneur who can find and/or create increased resources
for governments seeking to enhance their service delivery efforts.[31]
Unlike in variety two, the manager's coordinator role is not
limited to internal governmental departments and agencies.[32]

The fourth variety of governmental service volunteerism
involves the close relationship between volunteerism and citizen
participation. Volunteerism is a type of citizen participation
and citizen participation requires volunteers in various capacities.
Citizenship duties and obligations, to a large extent, are volun-
tarily undertaken. Citizens do not have to pay all their taxes,
obey all laws and regulations or always commit to serve on a jury.[33]

As citizens we have both an agential and a membership role.
In our political agent role, we participate in the making of poli-
tical choices as to our collective interests. It requires active
political involvement. Good membership, on the other hand, in-
volves more passive involvement as in compliance with governmental
authority. Governmental service volunteerism, in the case of the
provision and delivery of public goods and services, has features
of both agency and membership. As political agents citizens may
choose which goods and services to help provide, but as good
members they voluntarily agree to volunteer to carry out certain
non-binding obligations when it comes to providing certain public

goods and services.

Theoretically, a manager of a governmental office of volunteerism, could use her or his office to promote better membership on part of citizens. Today, governmental offices of volunteerism (variety one and two) try often to pick up litter, repaint walls covered by graffiti, supress fires and other public "bads". An office of governmental volunteerism could enlarge the scope of its responsibilities by engaging in activities to prevent public bads or harms from occuring in the first place.[34] The use of volunteer labor in creating efforts to prevent littering etc. are possible extensions of the responsibilities of citizens as to what it means to be a citizen. Volunteerism begins with responsible citizenship. More about this will said shortly.

Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism have limited responsibilities presently when it comes to varieties three and four.[35] A majority have limited responsibilities when it comes to variety two. To suggest that governments should seek to promote these two varieties as well as a governmental wide governmental office of volunteerism is to raise expectations as to what benefits volunteers and citizens can provide when it comes to the provision of public goods and services. In the short run, managers of governmental offices of volunteerism need political support to become successful entrepreneurs. In the long run social and political changes may dictate that top manaagement and governmental service agents provide the political support in order to better realize the benefits of governmental

service volunteerism.

Setting Higher Standards for Managers of Governmental Offices of Volunteerism

The standards for evaluating a manager of a department or agency's volunteer program is rather straight foreward. One reason for this is that the manager's five responsibilities pertain to the here and now. This is not the case when it comes to varieties two, three and four. In the latter cases, the manager's success may require her or him to be evaluated in terms of how well the manager achieves increased amounts of governmental service volunteerism and in new areas that are held or normally thought to be beyond the manager's position. Measuring a manager's success in terms of what could be done raises the issue of fairness once the possible constraints and barriers facing the manager are acknowledged. Managers or co-ordinators of governmental volunteer programs, after all, sit very far down the bureaucratic hierarchy to make a difference. High expectations are nice, but evaluating one's success de-pends upon reasonable goals and ends; those that stand some chance of being realized.

Placement of volunteers, to repeat , is the one responsi-bility that poses the greatest challenge for all managers of governmental offices of volunteerism. It is also the one that is most central to a manager's ability to expand the opportuni-ties for new types of governmental service volunteerism. The manager's professional responsibilities may or may not always be compatible with her or his governmental and organizational re-sponsiblities. Managers may not enjoy political support in her or his effort to expand the often alleged potential of volunteerism.

The lack of support is an important constraint for a manager's success in placement activities and creating new opportunities for the use of volunteers. It is not the only. The manager's chance of success in increasing the opportunities for more governmental service volunteerism can be vastly enhanced by having either or both political support and favorable conditions for placing more volunteers, but there are actions that managers can undertake even without them. Managers can develop an entrepreneurial stance.[36] How well the manager plays an enpreneurial role will be a good standard for evaluating her or his efforts to successfully place more volunteers and in a greater variety of task domains and activities.

The evaluation of the level or degree of individual managers of governmental offices of volunteerism need not be measured only in terms of increasing the size of their offices' operations nor the numbers of governmental service volunteers. The critics of such offices and efforts desire to keep such volunteer programs small and very selectively located; that is confined to task domains that can "handle" volunteers such as recreation, senior centers, etc. Quality is their theme.

The manager's efforts to extend the number of placements and varieties of opportunities can run counter to the wishes of many governmental service agents. Success in regard to placement may require a manager to become entrepreneurial when it comes to creating, not just finding, new opportunities for citizens to be able to volunteer. New opportunities found or created become a standard for measuring an entrepreneurial manager.

Entrepreneurial success on the manager's part may or may not require the support of governmental service agents.[37] To the degree that the manager succeeds despite not having much support of top management and service agents, the manager may be thought of as particularly entrepreneurial. To the degree, a manager increases the opportunities for new uses of volunteers despite unfavorable circumstances, a manager may also be thought of as being particularly entrepreneurial. Any ultimate judging of the success of any manager of a governmental office of volunteerism requires attention to the environmental circumstances in which a manager has to act.[38]

The description of a truly entrepreneurial manager requires the ability to describe the different degrees of entrepreneurship. Two important variables that go far to help describe the degrees of entrepreneurship in the case of managers of governmental programs are the manager's ability to create new opportunities for volunteers as opposed to the more traditional and conventional uses of volunteers (those already in existence within a government or found in other governmental programs) and the manager's ability to overcome opposition to the use of volunteers in new task domains and for new task assignments within those domains.[39]

Using the two variables and the dichotomies emanating from them, four types of entrepreneurs can be described using the following typology (see appendix two).

The "ultimate" entrepreneur (square one) is a manager who

creates new opportunities for using volunteers despite formalized

opposition to their use.[40] The ultimate entrepeneur is sufficient-

ly politically skilled enough so as to be creative and innovative

in increasing the opportunities for more uses of volunteer labor

within and outside the halls of government. This manager will

be the one to think of the next wave of uses for volunteers as

governments and societies search for new problem solving capacities.[41]

The "innovative" entrepreneur (square two) is a manager who

creates new opportunities for volunteer labor, but faces little

if any opposition to the use of volunteers. There are various

reasons for the lack of opposition.[42] Emergency prepardness efforts

is a good example of one area where there is limited opposition.

The "political" entrepreneur (square three) is a manager who

overcomes opposition to the more conventional and traditional

uses of volunteers. This manager finds her or himself in a situation

where there is alot of formalized opposition. New managers can

find themselves in this position. A political entrepreneur is

a manager fighting the battle to win over staff support for the

common usage of volunteers.[43] In victory this entrepreneurial

manager demonstrates various degrees of political skill. With

time some political entrepreneurs may become "innovative" entre-

preneuers as they acquire legitimacy for their efforts and office.

Others may fail in some of their efforts, but so do many other

types of entrepreneurs.

The forth type of entrepreneur is the "ordinary" entre-

preneur or one who fosters more volunteerism, but only in those

areas where volunteers are used by tradition or convention.

The ordinary entrepreneur faces little, if any, opposition.
Such managers may have been skillful in gaining the trust of
paid staff when it comes to their use of volunteers or may
find themelves in situations where opposition to volunteerism is
misperceived than real. The ordinary as well as other entre-
preneurs can also be beneficiaries of circumstances that favor
the use of more volunteers.[44]

In the context of political leadership and public policy-
making to be called an entrepreneur is to be praised.[45] Managers
of governmental offices of volunteerism, to repeat, are usually
persons rather low in any bureaucratic hierarchy. Many are
not accorded the formal title of manager.[46] As such managers are
quick to indicate that they enjoy limited support of management
and staff to place more volunteers. Assuming that they have
limited support, some managers are prone to suggest that not all
that much can be expected of them given the political realities of
their bureaucratic and political positions within the chains of
commnand.

Accepting this view at face value, one could simply agree
that it may be exceedingly difficult to envision managers of
governmental volunteer programs to be capable of becoming en-
trepreneurs, given the standards I am envoking. Policy entre-
preneurs have more power and are accorded high status, but can
implementors become recognized as entrepreneurs?

The importance of implementation needs to be established
if we are to convey the label of entrepreneurial implementors on
managers of governmental offices of volunteerism. Such a title,

I believe, can be reserved for those who are creative and innovative in their ability to find new opportunities for volunteers and who are able to overcome opposition to further use of volunteers on the part of governmental service agents. These implementors, to varying degrees succeed, where implementation is highly problematical.[47] We do well to remember that all public policies do not become realized. They can remain more symbolic than effective policies. Managers, as entrepreneurial implementors, are those who play pivotal roles in implementing a policy that has great symbolic power, but much opposition to the point that it can easily not be adopted or successfully implemented. While perhaps a low key type of entrepreneur, the entrepreneurial manager of a governmental office of volunteerism may be praised for her or his efforts to ensure that the promise of governmental service volunteerism be realized.

Of the four types of entrepreneurial managers, it is the "ordinary" entrepreneur that is the closest to being a non- entrepreneur. The ability to describe the boundry line between entrepreneurship and non-entrepreneurship will help to point out that many managers may be entreprenuerial even when they may not appear to be so.[48] To recognize the ordinary entrepreneur's contributions is to recognize the ability of many managers of governmental offices of volunteerism to make a difference.

By definition, the ordinary entrepreneur faces little, if any, opposition to the placing of volunteers in governmental opera-

ations and off-site activities. The ordinary entrepreneur may seek to place more volunteers in traditional task domains such as information desks, library book shelving, creek cleanups etc. This entrepreneur may borrow another government's program or idea for using volunteers.[49] Emergency prepardness, again, is a good example for by now many cities have established another "conventional" use of volunteers. Ordinary entrepreneurs may take a mentoring program in schools and seek to apply the idea of mentoring to a social service setting. In these ways and others, ordinary entrepreneurs establishes her or his creditials and separates her or himself from the non-entrepreneur.

As all entrepreneurs, the ordinary entrepreneurs is pro-active to some degree. However, they break limited new ground in fostering innovative and creative new opportunities for us-ing volunteers. The ordinary entrepreneur is able to within her or his governmental setting to begin to bring it "up to speed" when it comes to rather traditional and conventional uses of volunteers. Through the ordinary entrepreneur's efforts some governmental departments and agencies will learn of the merits of volunteerism from the examples of others.

The non-entrepreneur is a manager who finds it difficult place volunteers in either traditional or conventional volun-teer positions. Overtime, the non-entrepreneur becomes more visible as she or he fails to acquire management and staff sup-port as to their willingness to use volunteers. The numbers of volunteers may be increased incrementally, but the scope and pervasiveness of the volunteer assignments is increased far more slowly.[50] The preeminent non-entrepeneurial manager

is one who sees her or his office and position terminated.[51]

It should be pointed out as before that a non-entrepreneur's failure may be a result of circumstances beyond the manager's control. Those managers situated in limited service cities and counties, newer governments, fiscal and budgetary good times etc. may have few opportunities for expanding the number of opportunities to use more citizens as volunteers.[52] While the non-entrepreneur may not be as skillful as the entrepreneurial manager, the non-entrepreneur may be in a situation where there are natural limits to the use of volunteers. However, "ultimate" and "political" entrepreneurial managers are those who test those limits.

In Search of Heroes: The Manager of a Governmental Office of Volunteerism

All professions have their narratives extolling their past, present, and future heroes. In political contexts, it is the political leader who is held to possess the skill to get matters accomplished despite political conflict. The political hero is an agent of political transformation or one who brings about desired change; change which is considered to be conducive to realizing greater public good.[53]

Program implementors are not often associated with heroism. However, as I have suggested previously, the effective implementor is one who overcomes great odds to be successful. At a micro-level of analysis when it comes to policymaking, effective implementors have their own important contributions to make.

Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism may have
heroic roles to play depending upon how one interprets the merits
of governmental service volunteerism.

Volunteers, we know, provide good deeds. To be considered,
a hero has to do great deeds. Sometimes heroes do both. Managers
of governmental offices of volunteerism perhaps may be seen as
doing great deeds by enabling others to do good deeds by way of
helping others.

The impacts that managers make may or may not be perceived
as substantial. For some it may be difficult to envision managers
of governmental offices of volunteerism adding all that much value
to the provision and delivery of public goods and services and
to the quality of those goods and services. The more managers
try to do great deeds, the more it will be easier for others to
see that they have achieved heroic status by being agents of
transformation. Entrepreneurial effort is the first step.

More will be said in a moment as to what might count as
heroic deeds for the managers of governmental offices of volun-
terism. But, presently, I need to link my four entrepreneurial
managers to heroic leadership in the context of policy impleme-
tation (see appendix three).

The "ultimate" entrepreneur is a manager of heroic pro-
portions. This entrepreneurial manager is creative and innovative,
but also able to overcome obstacles to the greater use of volun-
teers. Compared to all other managers, this entrepreneurial
manager is most examplary. This entrepreneur sets the standard
to be sought after by all managers. The ultimate entrepreneur is
of mythical proportions to be honored by true professionals in

the field of government volunteer management.

The "innovative" manager is a manager whose claim to
heroic status is confined mainly to her or his problem-
solving abilities for governments, departments and agencies etc.
This entrepreneurial manager is somewhat less heroic only be-
cause she or he does not face the opposition that the truly heroic
or ultimate entrepreneur faces. Heroes solve problems for others.
The innovative entrepreneurial manager is no exception.

It is more difficult to see the "political" entrepreneurial
manager as truly heroic. The deeds she or he performs may help
governments and citizens, but the manager's impacts may also be
limited. In the case of political entrepreneurial managers,
transformational achievements are more difficult to see. The
political entrepreneur tries to surmount many obstacles, faces
many challenges, and does not always overcome all barriers and
constraints. The political entrepreneur can have the earmarkings
of a tragic hero or of one who is bound to often fail given life's
political circumstances.[54]

The more political entrepreneurial managers challenge the
forces that limit the opportunities for governmental service
volunteerism, the more they may fail. As tragic heroes, it may
be their fate to attempt to do what politically seems, all too
often, to be impossible. With time and the development of politi-
cal skills some may be able to transcend the destiny that out-
side observers see them having in front of them.[55]

The "ordinary" entrepreneurial manager is even more dif-

ficult to see as a hero. Ordinary and heroic are not parti-
cularly synonymous. Incrementally overtime, the ordinary entre-
preneurial manager may increase the opportunities for more
volunteerism but the diversity of opportunities are limited to
the more traditional and conventional uses of volunteers as
found already in their governmental setting or in others. To
say the ordinary entrepreneurial manager is heroic in being able
over time to get her or his government to embrace more volunteer-
ism despite having limited or no opposition is difficult. This
entrepreneurial manager may be seen as an agent of change or
possibly simply as one who is successful through the cooperation
of others and by living in a time conducive to greater amounts
of volunteerism. The ordinary entrepreneurial manager is a hero
in waiting; waiting to become a different type of entrepreneurial
manager. Timidity does not make for tragic heroes. The "political'
entrepreneurial manager, of the two, is the risk-taker and the
one who perserveres against great odds.

From the standpoint of being an "ordinary" entrepreneurial
manager can come the other three types of heroic action on the
part of managers of governmental offices of volunteerism. To
tackle the many challenges presented managers requires a manager
to see her or himself as capable of heroic acts or being able
to convince oneself and others of being able to do that which is
is held commonly to be impossible. Wanting to do great and good
deeds is not enough. One needs to develop the skills to be
heroic at times and to avoid becoming only a tragic or timid
hero.

Becoming more Poliitically Adept in Confronting the Challenges of Entrepreneurship

To ask managers of offices of governmental volunteerism to become more entrepreneurial is to urge them to do more than what is expected of them when it comes to their administrative and political supervisors' points' of view. Managers face many challenges in becoming entrepreneurial managers in that they are women and men without a whole lot of voice with the corridors of governmental decision-making. Their ideas and suggestions are all too often not taken seriously. To acquire professional recognition, to be taken more seriously, managers of governmental offices of volunteerism need to increase the dependency of government on volunteers by helping to convince governmental service agents that citizens can help government to do more in many different ways.

Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism, however, find themselves in circumstances similar to many mid-level and lower-level managers and service agents. Quite often they have alot of autonomy and discretion.[56] Consequently, we cannot assume that they are unable to discover or even create new opportunities in promoting volunteerism when it comes to the provision and delivery of public goods and services. An entrepreneurial manager can emerge given a manager's awareness of the need to become poliically adept when it comes to fostering the added and new opportunities.

Having come this far in raising the possibility that managers need to be more entrepreneurial in order to acquire professional status, I would be remiss if I did not provide some suggestions as to how managers can develop improved political skills. Good political skills are necessary, but they are not sufficient to guaranteeing success.

When asked what skills are important to their effectiveness, I have indicated that most managers of governmental offices of volunteerism fail to cite political skills. This response is in spite of their position as a governmental employee, manager, and service agent and being in a position of considerable controversy.

Volunteerism is often thought to be a civic activity and therefore outside of the narrow meaning of politics.[57] Volunteerism is non-partisan in character. A manager, if she or he is to act in a political way, feels the need to do so while doing her or his level best to be viewed as non-political. To be political, but not to be labeled as political may be one of the more important political skills all political actors may possess.

What contitutes political skills is subject to debate. Many political skills may constitute nothing more than possessing good common sense. For example, many managers assert the importance of possessing good interpersonal skills. Some of these skills are very relevant to becoming politically adept. Empathy and intersubjectivity are two exmples. By emphasizing interpersonal skills many managers may be indirectly testifying to their skills in persuading others of the important role that volunteers can play in governmental operations and outreach programs. If this is true many managers may have political skills all the while not acknowledging that they have them or play a political role at times.

Managers need to recognize what existing political skills they may already possess. One such skill is the ability to judge how much political support they have or do not have. Some managers seem very aware that verbal statements of support are not always forthcoming when it comes to actually delivering the support (such as having the manager attend a meeting of department heads etc.).[58]

Not all managers of governmental offices of volunteerism have the personality for becoming a political actor as in the case of confronting any and all resistance to the use of volunters in various governmental task domains.[59] Assuming for the moment that an entrepreneurial manager will engage in efforts to create more opportunities for governmental service volunterism, what follows are suggestions as to how managers may begin to add to their political knowledge and skill base.[60]

Becoming politically informed as to the politics of public bureaucracies, local governments and implementation is important. Background in voluntary management is highly relevant, but is far from sufficient to make one an effective entrepreneurial manager. Understanding the activities and dynamics of governmental and departmental operations (police, public works, libraries etc.) provides the relevant background information as to where volunteers perhaps can make their contributions. Especially important is the knowledge of where governmental service agents are dependent upon the citizen for help.[61] Where can citizens help prevent crime etc.

Basic to many studies of the exercise of political skill is the axiom that one needs to know her or his own political self-interests and those of others. Managers recognize their need to legitimize their volunteer programs and positions. They are aware of the need for trust to be developed between them and governmental service agents when it comes to the latter's willingness to use volunteers. The manager's obvious political skill is her or his argumentative skills in persuading the service agents to seek to use more volunteers. Managers may not always be persuasive. This being especially true in the earliest of days of a program.[62] Demonstrated successes help. Not overextending one's placement efforts is a common axiom of managers' looking to their long term interests.

In political life there are political tradeoffs to be recognized. Once recognized these tradeoffs can help a manager better understand her or his more immediate political self-interest. An example will help.

Many managers are quick to claim credit for acts of volunteerism which they have had little impact in creating. They need numbers to verify their office's accomplishments.[63] On the other hand, a manager may think it wise not to claim credit for an idea for using volunteers in order to have a governmental service agent feel more ownership for the idea or program. This latter exercise of generally recognized common sense should be seen as an act of political skill. Credit claiming is required,

but not in all cases. To know when and where it is required requires proper appreciation of political contexts.

Theoretically speaking, managers need not to be able to convince management and staff of the need to be more open to the use of volunteers; especially if volunteers are to be used in places which the latter feel are not appropriate. Any success in this regard is quite entrepreneurial on the manager's part. Political skill is less of an issue where managers only place volunteers in those task domains (recreation) and activities (maintaining soft ball fields) that are felt to be important, but not so important as to cause problems if they are not performed. Discretionary public goods and services are safely left for volunteers to perform to some extent. Acceptance of the division of labor between primary and discretionary public goods and services produces many times increased legitimacy for a manager of a governmental office of volunteerism, but it comes at the price of less entrepreneurship on her or his part.

Overcoming opposition to greater amounts of governmental service volunteerism is the hallmark of an entrepreneurial manager. However, managers can increase the opportunities for deployment of volunteers by by passing the opposition. They may be able to do this by becoming skillful in recognizing, if not creating, new opportunities for deploying volunteers where there is less or limited opposition. Older and fiscally and budgetarily hard pressed cities have been more willing then most to use volunteer labor. New York is such a city. It should be

said that New York City is not your protypical city. It is a
city that is the ultimate full-service city facing many de-
mands for public goods and services for which it lacks the
fiscal means to provide only through taxes and fees.[64] The
many successes of the Mayor's Voluntary Action Center and
office of governmental volunteerism should not be surprising.[65]
Both have been blessed with mayors who have since their in-
ception sought to use them as creative problem-solving vehicles
for the City and their careers. Mayors, more that city managers
and county administrators, may be more willing to create and
use an office of governmental volunteerism to perform good
deeds for their governments. The symbolic value accrued by a
mayor represents good symbolic politics. Favorable political
contexts greatly aid a manager's possible entrepreneurship.
The favorable political context helps to create "innovative"
entrepreneurial managers who may even, at times, strive to
be even more entrepreneurial.

Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism of long
standing have benefitted from years of fiscal and budgetary
hard times that have helped to make their offices' efforts
more visible, important and legitimate in the eyes of policy-
makers and public administrators. New public goods and ser-
vices have been provided thanks to the creation of emergency
prepardness, neighborhood preservation, neighborhood and school
mediation and code enforcement volunteer programs. These volun-
teer programs examplify both government's growing dependency on
volunteers, but also an ever growing demand for more public
goods and services.

To varying degrees managers of governmental offices of volunteerism have had a hand in developing these programs and aiding in their implementation. The more visionary managers of the future will be those who will be able to envision what new public goods and services volunteers may be able to help provide for their governments and the citizenry they seek to serve. Determining what those public goods and services will be requires a manager to focus on the new political demands of the day and to generate arguments for more use of volunteers to help meet those demands.

Increasing youth services appears to be one such public service area.[66] An aging population encourages the opportunity to create an expanded pool of volunteers, but also the need for more public services on the behalf of older americans.[67] A multicutural society may increase the demand for programs and events of a local nature that fosters greater civility and recognition of others' cultures.[68] The continuing rise of the importance of computer assisted technologies and services opens up greater accessibility to volunteers, but also services they can provide even at home.[69]

Seeing opportunities for new efforts where others do not is one of the key signs of entrepreneurial talent at work. Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism creating those opportunities is even more of a sign. In order to "grow their volunteer programs", managers, I think, should be advised to look outside their more traditional roles and ways of thinking about their instrumental responsibilities and tasks. They need more adept at seeing what substantive concerns they can advance

by way of their promotion of governmental service volunteerism.
The benefits of governmental service volunteerism may be more
than economic in nature. Expanding it requires the enlarging
of governmental responsibilities (often shared responsibilities),
more missions, etc.[70]

Traditionally managers of governmental offices of volun-
teerism have been viewed as brokers when it comes to making a
match between governmental service agents and volunteers. The
successful match, in many ways, is the source of their good
feelings for having done a good job. The entrepreneurial
manager may be one that can become adept at brokering better
interorganizational relations between voluntary organizations,
volunteer programs of all types and government. However, as a
catalyst, the manager of a governmental office of volunteerism
can be that important source for governments availing them-
selves of more resources by way of increased volunteerism at the
disposal of governments either directly or indirectly.

To the extent that managers already do this they are act-
ing within the framework of "reinventing" government or making
government less of a producer and more a provider of alternative
methods of securing various public goods and services.[71]

Effort to reinvent government have focused on alternative
ways of delivering public goods and services. Governments,
under this line of thought, have sought to develop "stronger"
societies or more "social capital" in order to try to prevent
public problems from being created in the first place. Secondly,
they have sought to use the social capital, in the form of

greater community and social responsibility,to better manage
the problems once they exist.[72]

Governmental offices of volunteerism, I believe, have a
role to play in the "creating of society" or social capital
whenever it is in short supply.[73]Governments, in so many words,
need to remain societal problem-solvers where strong societies
do not exist. Where there are few volunteers, governments can
help to create more volunteers and learn how to deploy them in
more and new places where they can foster the serial reciprocity
that prompts more volunteerism, community and social responsibility.[74]

If this is to pass, the manager of a governmental office
of volunteerism may find her or himself championing many off-site
community projects that affirm the need for new and reinvented
partnerships between community associations concerned about the
publics' many interests.[75] Greater civic engagement on the part
men and women is the valuable resource that a manager of a govern-
mental office of volunteerism can help to stimulate.

From an instrumental perspective, the benefits of govern-
mental servicevolunteerism are noticeable, but they are often
contested. The budgetary benefits of volunteers may not be all
that great. Volunteers may perform tasks that would otherwise
not be performed (as in the staffing of information desks etc.)
Nevertheless, the desire of many public administrators is to
maintain their professional status and autonomy which limits
their ability to publicly recognize that their governmental
service agents may be highly dependent on citizens/volunteers
when it comes to the effectiveness of realizing various public
goods and services.

Creating more social capital and responsible citizenship constitutes the greatest of challenges for governments and for managers of governmental offices of volunteerism. However, my belief is that if we see volunteerism as in need of a theory of citizenship, to help connect volunteerism with what it is to be a responsible citizenship, helps to provide an office of volunteerism with a renewed source of legitimacy. An office of governmental volunteerism should be seen as an office of civic engagement.

Public administrators may oppose the idea of more citizen participation in administrative matters. Getting citizens to share more of the burdens of citizenship is not an easy matter. More responsible citizenship, though, is highly compatible with not only democratic governance, but also the need to have citizens do more to help their governments to be effective.

Managers of governmental service volunteerism should take every opportunity to cast governmental service volunteerism in the light of responsible citizenship. They need to educate more citizens and governmental service agents as to their interdependency when it comes to the provision and delivery of public goods and services.[76] In the politics of implementation, such educational efforts may come only incrementally, but such efforts may be invaluable.

Case for Responsible Citizenship and the Issue of Governmental Effectiveness

Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism, I suggest

can help governments to obtain new resources through greater reliance on volunteers. How important a resource depends on upon one's assumptions about the benefits that volunteers bring to governmental operations and service delivery efforts. The following examination of the possible relationships between governmental capacity-incapacity and citizen capacity-incapacity in special regard to the provision and delivery of public goods and services helps to describe where and when managers may play an important role in enhancing increased capacity for both-- governments to effectively use volunteers and citizens to be in a position to help government.

In terms of appendix four, government and citizens may have high capacity to provide a certain public good or service. Both can greatly enhance fire prevention and the prevention of crime through their own efforts and cooperative efforts between the two. Potentially, they have the possibility of being at odds with one another as to how best to prevent fires and crime. Police, for example, do not like citizen patrols.

In square two, government possesses the professional expertise to provide a particular public service with little or any as- sistance from the citizen. Deference is all that may be needed on the citzen's part.[77] This context is the desired state of affairs for public administrators who claim special knowledge and ex- pertise to act for the citizen. Public health services is a pos- sible example of where professional authority is ascendent.

Square three is where citizens have special contributions to make given the limited capacity or skills of professional public

administrators and governmental service agents to provide

effective public services on their own. In this case, citizens

have an added agency role here when it comes to the provision

and delivery of public goods and services. The case of urban

education is increasingly viewed in this light. Students and

parents are invited to help the teacher facing limits to what

he or she can accomplish on his or her own. Parents are increas-

ingly asked to take part as active members of the effort to

educate their own.[78]What is true for urban education is true

for all efforts where individual behavior requires changing

and where collective efforts need to be created to provide a

public good or service.[79]

Both governments and citizens face limits to their capacity

to manage, let alone solve, a public problem in square four.

For many public problems are particularly wicked problems--too

complex to really solve to everyone satisfaction.[80] Limited

capacity invites governments to adopt new problem-solving techniques

and to try to lessen its own responsibility (accountability).

Governmental service volunteerism, for example, becomes more

acceptable. Volunteerism, however, is a limited solution. There

may be limited numbers of volunteers for patrolling streets so

as to substitute for limited numbers of police patrols. Volun-

teers may not have the capacity to provide the skill, labor, and

effort to provide quality public goods and services. Public

goods that are also political goods, such as community, civility,

and equality, may be examples of public goods that create

wicked problems.[81]

Responsible citizens have roles to play in helping in all four professional/citizen problem-solving contexts. In situation three and four, citizens may have the most importance given the limits to professional expertise and fiscal and budgetary scarcities. Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism acquire increased importance in these two cases. In the case of situation one, three and four, the managers may confront opposition to their efforts to place more volunteers given conflicting interpretations as to just who has and how much capacity government and citizens have to deal with service delivery problems.

A Closing Thought

Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism confront many challenges in trying to successfully claim professional status. Recognition of their present contributions and future possible contributions threatens the professional status of public administrators. Governmental service volunteerism is highly controversial for public administrators for it represents a too visible and meaningful form of democratization.

The status of any profession is determined in part by the perceived merits of its contributions. Managers of governmental offices of volunteerism can do more to upgrade the benefits of the volunteerism they help to promote. This challenge, as I have suggested, is a political challenge that requires political skill and an expanded mission for offices of governmental volunteerism. The ability of a manager to become more entrepreneurial enhances their range of responsibilities and demonstrates their increased indispensability to governments. Asserting professional status

on the part of the professionalizing occupation is only the first step. Recognition of one's special skills and place in a societal division of labor requires the approval of others; especially those that will benefit from an occupation's ability to be of assistance. Hence, as with other professionalizing occupations, governmental volunteer management's recognition as a profession depends upon managers demonstrating that they can help governments to help provide and deliver public goods and services that are primary or important as well as discretionary and secondary in value. Demonstration comes before assertion of professional status; that is, if oocupations are to become indispensable like other professions. This would appear to be the case in the political realm where it is very difficult to establish one's professional credentials.

Recognizing the many challenges they face is only the first challenge to be faced. Potential role conflicts need to be dealt with. Some challenges are more easily recognized than others. Some challenges are just now beginning to appear on the scene and will only be felt sometime in the future. Not all challenges are easily met. Entrepreneurial managers will have their share of success so long as they choose to begin to understand their political roles as agents of responsible citizenship. Holding managers of governmental offices of volunteerism to higher standards, more professional and democratic standards, helps to make professional and democratic values increasingly compatible at a time when we have come to expect all too little of citizens.

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1) Social scientists have coined the terms coproduction and pro-
suming to describe how citizens can help to provide and deliver
better public goods and services. Government service volunteer-
ism is similar to both in meaning, but also has different con-
notations than each of them.

2) See Joseph Tussman, Obligation and the Body Politic, New York,
Oxford University Press, 1960, 23-103

3) As a form of democratization of administration, governmental
service agents often oppose the use of volunteers or amateurs
within the adminstrative realm. They seek to retain one side
of the politics-administration dichotomy.

4) The savings accrued to using volunteers can be debated. Volun-
teers are not free. There are hidden costs associated with
their use. But, their use may help governments do more with
less and extend levels of service etc. For an empirical
study see: Jeffrey Brudney and William Duncombe, "An Economic
Evaluation of Paid, Volunteer, and Mixed Stafffing Options for
Public Services", Public Administration Review, 52, 5, September-
October 1992, 474-481

5) Terminology is borrowed from James Thompson, Organizations in
Action, New York, McGraw Hill, 1967

6) Andrew Abbott, The Systems of Professions, Chicago, University
of Chicago Press, 1988

7) See Eliot Freidson, Professional Dominance, Chicago, Aldine
Publishers, 1970

8) Despite views to the contrary coerced volunteerism is not an
oxymoron. Individuals can be forced into volunteering through
giving them a worse alternative (alternative service for drunk
drivers) or through their own desire for a particular career
which "forces" them to volunteer in order to receive a chance at
possible future paid job and career opportunity (probation work).
The degree of coercion varies with different perceptions of what
is coercive.

9) For example, see David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, Reinventing
Government, Reading, Massachusetts, Addison-Wesley, 1992

10) See Barbara Nelson, Making an Issue of Child Abuse, Chicago,
University of Chicago Press, 1990

11) See Nelson Polsby, Political Innovation in America, New Haven,
Yale University Press, 1984

12) Mark Jacobs, Screwing the System and Making It Work, Chicago,
University of Chicago Press, 1990

13) Henry Aaron, Politics and the Professors, Washington D. C.,
Brookings Institution, 1978

14) Peter DeLeon, "A Theory of Policy Termination", Judith May and
Aaron Wildavsky, The Policy Cycle, Beverly Hills, Sage Publica-
tions, 1978, 279-300

15) See Frank Bryan and John McClaughry, The Vermont Papers:Re-
ceating Democracy on a Human Scale, Chelsea, Vermont, Chelsea
Green Publishing Company, 1989

16) The distinction between constraints and barriers comes from the work of Albert Hirschman

17) The opposite, full-service cities and counties are older, larger and provide a greater variety of services. Often full-service cities produce services that are elsewhere provided by county government.

18) City managers cite the importance of control over their staff's actions, behavior, and decision-making. Pay, for city or town manager, is the chief form of control. Volunteers, consequently, provide a challenge in this regard.

19) For a general treatment of the symbolic aspects of politics see the work of Murray Edelman. See Edelman, The Symbolic Uses of Politics, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1964 and more recently, his From Art to Politics, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1995

20) See Angela Browne and Aaron Wildavsky, "What Should Evaluation Mean to Implementation", Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky, Implementation, Third Edition, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1984, 181-205

21) The issue behind this assumption is what constitutes a volunteer. This issue is explored in my "Burdens of Citizenship: Volunteerism and the Provision of Public Goods and Services", forthcoming

22) Based on interviews conducted over an eight year period

23) See Susan Ellis, From the Top Down, Philadelphia, Energize Associates, 1986, 135-154

24) This view is offered by managers or coordinators of volunteers of some experience who set their goals of placing volunteers in every department or agency. It is not a self-defined goal of all, however.

25) For a generalized description of the special responsibilities of managers of volunteer as professionals, see Ellis, op. cit.

26) Ibid, 49

27) Emergencies, in the form of natural disasters, provide a good example of reactive management of volunteers. It does not have to be reactive once a manager is assigned to help create a volunteer inspired response structure ahead of time.

28) Reactive professionals come into existance overtime as managers become "satisfied" with their effectiveness and the size of their programs are thought to be maximized. Proactive localists are managers who early on in their job expand the use of volunteers by consciously pressing governments and service agents to use more volunteers or for the first time.

29) In theory there are governments who use volunteers on an ad-hoc basis. Some will even accept "walk-ins" who come to them to ask to volunteer. These governments have no formalized programs of governmental service volunteerism.

30) Some Virginia counties have created their own VACs. The city of Visilia, California, runs the local VAC

31) In recent years, New York City and other cities have come to rely on non-profits to provide many of their social services. See John Mollenkopf, <u>A Phoenix in the Ashes</u>, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1992

32) Some managers actively recruit for non-profits. They may or may not be authorized to recruit for them.

33) One could argue just the opposite--that all actions are, at least, semi-coerced. See Margaret Levi, <u>Of Rule and Revenue,</u> Berkeley, University of California Press, 1988. However, my preference is to see that even all coercion, in the end, is somewhat voluntary.

34) Recent efforts in the case of Los Angeles and other cities to use volunteers and neighborhood associations in code enfornce-ment is such an example.

35) There are precedents to be found for both, but they are limit-ed in number. This is especially true for variety four.

36) For the concept of public entrepreneurship see: Eugene Lewis, <u>Public Entrepreneurship,</u> Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1984

37) Entrepreneurial success would seem to require cooperation on the governmental service agent's part. The latter can be in-different to some uses of volunteers. It is this situation that does not require the active support of top management and governmental service agents.

39) Citing mediation services as an example, the creation of a mediation program is an example of using volunteers in a new task domain. How one uses volunteers in mediation may give rise to new task activities for volunteers to perform within the mediation setting.

38) Favorable times for the acceptance of volunteers, I believe, lessens the entrepreneurial character of some entrepreneurship. It is for this reason I have invoked the idea of an innovative entrepreneur.

40) There is an assumption that the opposition can be won over to accepting some or all of the "ultimate" entrepreneurial manager's proposals.

41) Examples will be described later in the paper. The manager's vision, I believe, has to be in tune with the basic under-standing of the inevitable growth of governmental responsi-bilities when it comes to public goods and services.

42) The length of service on the part of the manager may dictate how much she or he will be able to "win over" governmental service agents. The type of political culture may play a role. The more participatory the politics and management style, the more support perhaps for more programs of govern-mental service volunteerism.

43) A "political" entrepreneur may become an "ultimate" entre-
preneurial manager if she or he is able to create new op-
portunities for the use of volunteers. The first days or
years of one's position may be the hallmark of being a poli-
tical or even ultimate entrepreneurial manager.

44) Some years ago, San Mateo and Santa Clara counties in the
San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area suffered an incursion of Med-
iterranean fruit flies. Volunteers were heavily recruited
by the then manager of volunteers for the city of Sunnyvale.
This new use of volunteers greatly added to her numbers
count and yearly bonus. This type of problem illustrates
the importance of managers making the most of their op-
portunities. (This example would be an example of innovative
entrepreneurship.)

45) See Mark Schneider, et. al., Public Entrepreneurs: Agents
for Change in American Government, Princeton, Princeton Uni-
versity Press, 1995

46) Based on interviews. One manager confided that once given
the title of manager, she found herself later being stripped
of the designation of manager.

47) See Jacobs, op. cit.

48) Many managers may not see themselves as entrepreneurs or
change agents. They may have difficult times seeing what
importance their contributions possess for others.

49) This is quite common whenever local governmental programs
are in close vicinity and their managers interact with one
another. MOVING (Managers of Volunteers in Government), a
San Francisco-Oakland Bay Area association of governmental
managers of volunteers have helped to stimulate many inter-
actions and sharing of ideas within its membership. These
are seen in the copying of one another's programs.

50) Scope refers to the number of places where volunteers are
used within a governmental entity. Pervasiveness refers to
the numbers of volunteers used within a given task domain and/
or activity.

51) The formally stated reason is expressed in termos of budget
cuts. My guess is that with budget cuts comes the need to
reassure staff that volunteers will not replace them. Hence,
the decision to terminate the volunteer program. Personality
issues can enter into decisions to terminate an office and its
manager.

52) Offices, in these cases, can be quite successful, but still
have limited opportunities for expanding the uses of volunteers.

53) For the description of transformation leadership, see James
McGregor Burns, Leadership, New York, Harper and Row, 1978

54) In the Greek sense of tragedy, the tragic hero is one fated to
suffer defeat for the hero finds her or himself in a position
where doing good often conflicts with other virtuous acts or
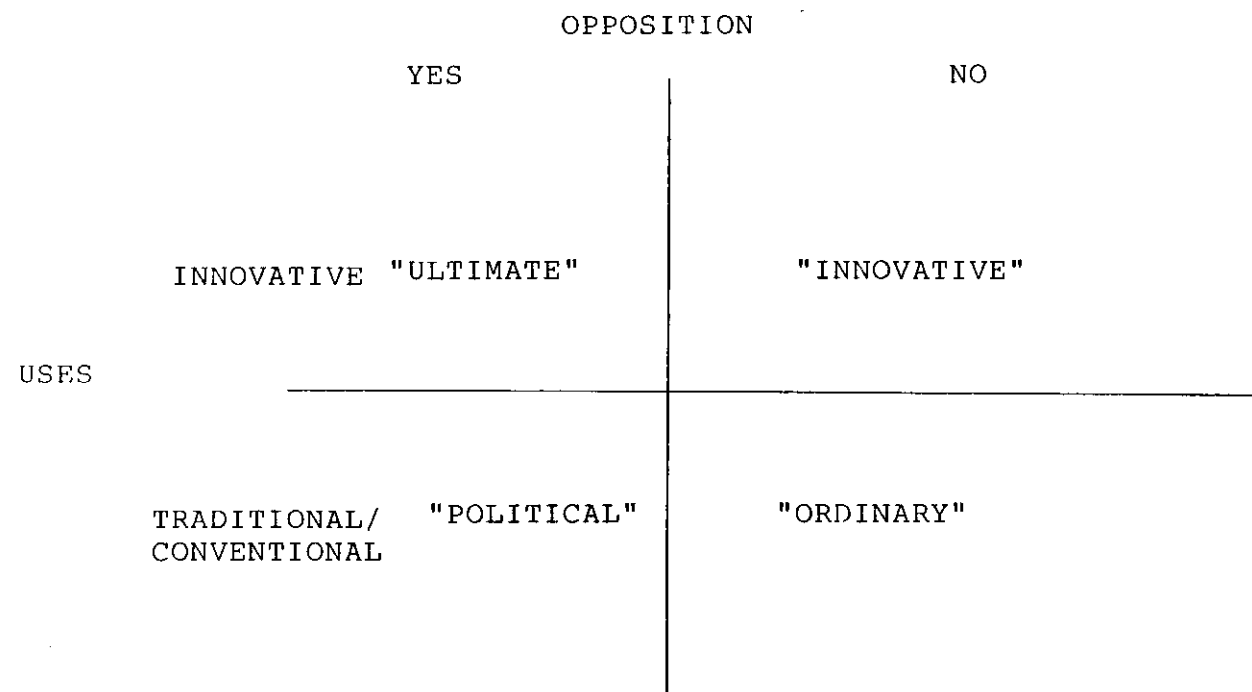the heroes have tragic flaws that doom them in their actions.

55) Trying to act in a political without political skill may be many a manager's tragic flaw.

56) For the discussion of discretion in terms of the autonomy of street-level bureaucrat see: Michael Lipsky, Street-Level Bureaucracy, New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1980

57) For example of this see: Robert Bellah, et. al., Habits of Heart, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1985

58) Interview material

59) The only theoretical study of this variable I Know of is found in James Barber's The Presidential Character, New York, Prentice Hall, 1972

60) I will seek to ther very best of my ability to refrain from giving the following material too much of a machiavellian spin.

61) Managers, for example, need to be able to understand where in the case of police services, recycling, code enforcement, etc. the citizen may be used to help provide these and other public services.

62) The paradox is that in early days of a program of governmental service volunteerism the manager may not have too much in the way of legitimacy, but she or he has the greatest range of opportunities to perhaps to place volunteers (many opportuni- still exist).

63) Where local governments, such as Sunnyvale, California, hold there staff more strictly accountable, the importance of the numbers of placements becomes all the more important.

64) See Martin Shefter, Political Crises/Fiscal Crises, New York, Basic Books, 1985

65) It is my impression that New York City's VAC has been the most innovative center entrepreneurship; especially in the Lindsay and Koch years.

66) Suburban cities and towns with offices of governmental service volunteerism have started to concentrate more heavily in this area. I thank Rae Blasquez of the city of Mountain View for this observation.

67) See Theodore Roszak, America the Wise, New York, Houghton Mifflin for the view of the coming contributions of the baby boomers as senior citizens.

68) An excellent example is Monterey Park, California. It is a city where the majority is Asian-American. The city office of governmental service volunteerism has helped to stage many multi-cultural events to create greater community/common ground.

69) I thank Joan Brown, Manager of the county of Marin's office of governmental service volunteerism for this point. Her county's library is expanding its uses of volunteers along this line.

70) The hallmark of governmental entrepreneurship when it comes
to bureaucratic behavior is to engage in imperialistic be-
havior. Expanding one's missions and boundaries of responsi-
bility symbolize success. See Anthony Downs, <u>Inside Bureaucracy</u>
Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1967, 211-222

71) Osborne and Gaebler, op. cit.

72) This point is in accordance with the message of communitarian
thinkers. See Bellah, et. al., op. cit. and Amatai Etzioni,
<u>The Spirit of Community,</u> New York, Crown Publishers, 1993

73) For the theme of "creating society" see Alan Wolfe, <u>Whose
Keeper?</u>: Social Science and Moral Obligation, Berkeley, Uni-
versity of California Press, 1989. For the idea of social
capital, see Robert Putnam, <u>Making Democracy</u> Work, Princeton,
Princeton University Press, 1993

74) Serial responsibility refers to the idea that individuals upon
seeing acts of volunteerism will be prompted to volunteer.

75) Presently most managers of governmental offices of volunteer-
ism have little to do with neighborhood or community develop-
ment efforts. Theoretically, they could play a far larger
role in helping these efforts. See Jeffrey Berry, et.al.,
<u>The Rebirth of Urban Democracy</u>, Washington D. C., Brookings
Foundation, 1993

76) The observant reader will see that I am calling for more en-
trepreneurial effort when it comes to the recruitment (develop-
ment of men and women as more responsible or civic minded
citizens. Recruitment, in short, becomes a far more challenging
goal for the entrepreneurial manager seeking better citizens.

77) The best defense of deference is prm ession-client relations
is still to be found in the work of alcott Parsons. See
his, <u>The Social System,</u> New York, The Free Press, 1951, 428-479
Parsons' analysis is of the doctor-patient relationship.

78) The creation of neighborhood and charter schools in Chicago
and other cities is a primary example of parental involvement
in decision-making. Others are holding that teachers need to
be able to educate parents as to how they can help play more
responsible roles in helping to educate their own children.

79) Gordon Whitaker was the first to make this observation. See
his "Coproduction: Citizen Participation in Service Delivery",
<u>Public Administration Review,</u> 40, 3, May-June 1980, 240-246

80) For the idea of public problems as wicked problems see Michael
Harmon and Richard Meyer, <u>Organizational Theory for Public
Administration,</u> Boston, Little Brown and Company, 1986, 9-12

81) See J. Anthony Lukas, Common Ground, New York, Alfred Knopf,
1985

APPENDIX ONE: TYPES OF MANAGERS OF GOVERNMENTAL OFFICES OF VOLUNTEERISM

SOURCE OF ACTIVITY

	PROACTIVE	REACTIVE
PROFESSIONAL	(1)	(2)
MANAGER AS		
"LOCALIST"	(3)	(4)

APPENDIX TWO: TYPES OF ENTREPRENEURIAL MANAGERS

```
                              OPPOSITION

                 YES                          NO


        INNOVATIVE  "ULTIMATE"          "INNOVATIVE"


USES    _____|_____


        TRADITIONAL/  "POLITICAL"       "ORDINARY"
        CONVENTIONAL
```

OPPOSITION

YES   NO

INNOVATIVE   "ULTIMATE"   HERO AS PROBLEM SOLVER
                    HERO

USES

TRADITIONAL/   "UNSUNG"/"TRAGIC"   'TIMID" HERO/HEROES IN WAITING
CONVENTIONAL   HEROES
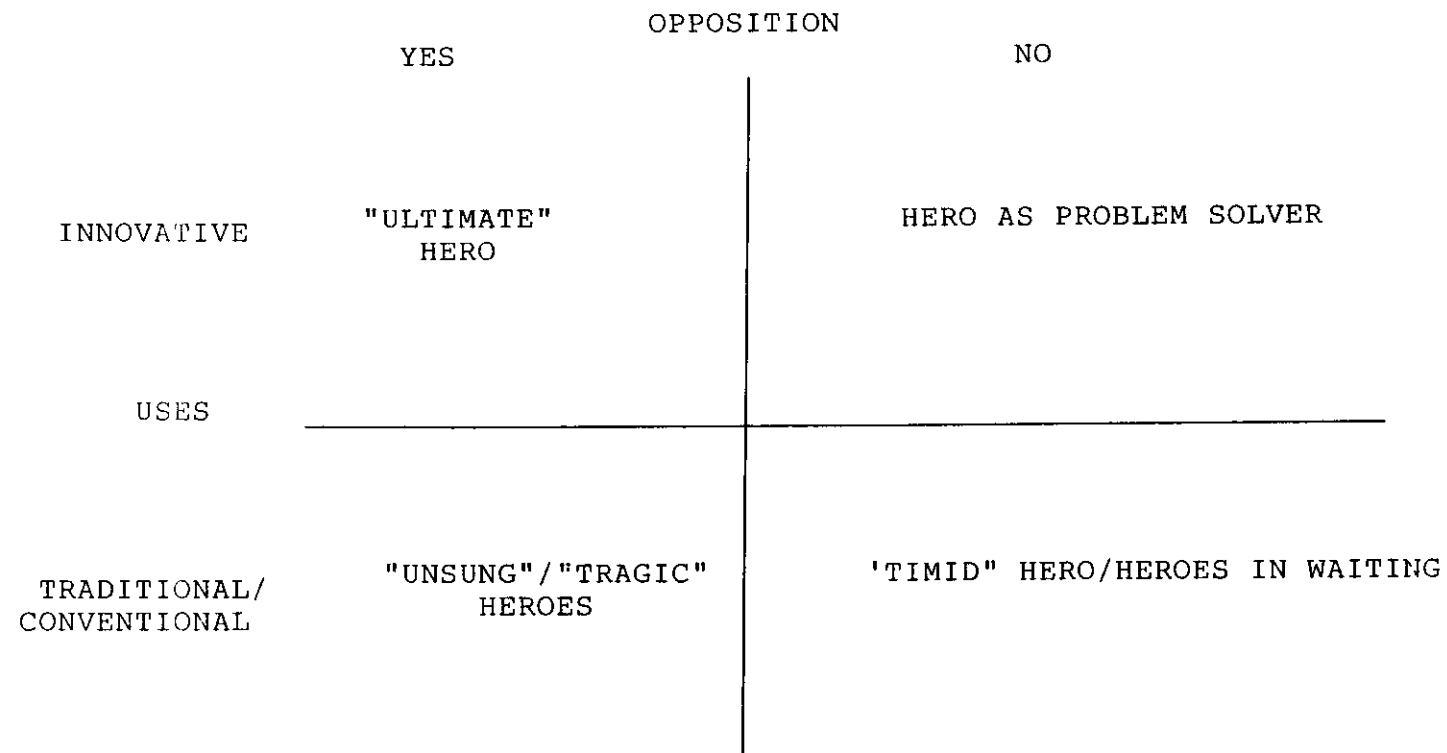
APPENDIX FOUR: GOVERNMENTAL CAPACITY AND CITIZEN CAPACITY IN THE CASE OF THE PROVISION
AND DELIVERY OF PUBLIC GOODS AND SERVICES

	CITIZEN CAPACITY	
	HIGH	LOW
GOVERNMENTAL CAPACITY HIGH	COOPERATION/ CONFLICT	PROFESSIONAL AUTHORITY
LOW	GOVERNMENTAL SERVICE VOLUNTEERISM/ (CITIZENS' SPECIAL CONTRIBUTIONS)	INSPIRATIONAL PROBLEM-SOLVING/ COOPERATION OR CONFLICT

GOVERNMENT

SOCIETY

TASK
DOMAIN

INDIVIDUALISTIC
SELF
RELIANCE

```
                                    GOVERNMENT
                        STRONG         |            WEAK
                                       |
                                       |
                                       |
                                       |
                      MAO'S CHINA      |     COMMUNITARIAN POSTION
             STRONG (conflict between  |        (the solution)
                      society and      |
                      government)      |
                                       |
                                       |
SOCIETIES    _____
                                       |
                                       |
                                       |
             WEAK     COMMUNITARIAN    |     LIBERALISM (fragmented/limited)
                       POSITION        |                      power
                      (the problem)    |
                                       |
                                       |
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