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# Youth Development

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## *Recruiting and Retaining Volunteers*

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### *Introduction*

Many of the social and political accomplishments of a community are brought about by volunteers—people who donate their time and effort to an organization or project that they feel is important and worthwhile (Benson, 1997). It has been estimated that the annual value of the volunteer services performed for communities through the Extension service is approximately 4.5 billion dollars nationwide (Rowland, 1990). Considering the value of such service and the dependence of many, if not all, nonprofit organizations upon this resource to carry out their programs, the recruitment, retention, training and management of volunteers are important issues to address. It is particularly important in the area of youth-serving programs, such as 4-H Youth Development, where the need for qualified volunteers is growing and the supply may be motivated the voluntary behavior. A program that retains its volunteers for a

diminishing—largely due to women's greater involvement in the workforce (Rouse and Clawson, 1992; Stallings, 1996). In 1997 there was a slight decrease in 4-H Youth Development adult volunteers (19,169) compared to 1996 (19,405), but there was a substantial increase in youth enrollment. Over 10,000 more children and youth were involved in some type of 4-H Youth Development program in 1997 than during the previous year (Annual 4-H Youth Development Enrollment Reports, 1994-1997).

This paper is devoted to the first two aspects of an effective volunteer program: *recruitment* and *retention*. An effective recruitment program involves understanding the demographics and motivations of volunteers as well as the principles of attracting volunteers. Retention involves assigning volunteers appropriate roles and responsibilities and fulfilling the needs that a reasonable period of time is able to develop greater expertise in its volunteers which

leads to a better program for its clients. In discussing these areas, special attention will be given to differences that may need to be addressed when volunteers are from low-income and ethnic minority populations.

### *Recruitment*

#### **Who Volunteers**

Whether someone volunteers is affected by age, marital status, sex, race and even the region of the country a person lives in (Gillespie & King, 1985; Chambre, 1982). In the past studies indicated that blacks volunteered less than whites (Chambre, 1982). However, when socioeconomic status is controlled for, blacks are involved in organized voluntary activity as much or more than whites (Florin, Jones, & Wandersman, 1985; Latting, 1990). Other research over the past fifteen years has indicated that married women with children and retired people are the most likely people to volunteer. A study comparing a group of volunteers with non-volunteers indicated that volunteers perceive that they have more time for helping behavior (Rowland, 1990). Volunteers usually have an education beyond high school. Volunteers are also more likely to attend church regularly. Volunteerism is stronger in the South than other regions of the country. Volunteer activity declines among working women as their children move into older adolescence (Rowland, 1992; Latting, 1990).

In a study of 216 4-H volunteer club leaders conducted in Ohio, 70% were women, the average age was 39, 84% were married, 88% had children, and interestingly, only 73% had children in 4-H but 60% were former 4-H members themselves and had resided in the community for at least several years. Nearly an equal number of people

were homemakers (26%), professionals (24%), or employed in business (24%). Ten percent were involved in farming while the remaining 15% were either retired or college students. The typical 4-H volunteer in this study served 7.3 years spending an average of 33.8 hours/month involved in activities on the local level and 79 hours/year participating in activities at the area and state level (Rohs, 1982).

Any human service agency that wishes to serve a diverse racial and ethnic population is interested in attracting volunteers that are representative of the populations to be served. Research in this area has tried to identify characteristics that may be unique to volunteers from various racial and ethnic groups (Latting, 1990). However, the evidence suggests that there are probably greater differences between high participating volunteers vs. low participating or non-volunteers regardless of racial or ethnic membership. Several studies of black volunteerism in the late 70's (Florin, Jones, & Wandersman, 1985) found significant correlations between volunteer activities and an individual's sense of self-efficacy, self-esteem and political efficacy. In their study of predictors of black volunteer participation among 470 black adult residents of a neighborhood in Nashville, Tenn. Florin et al. (1985) found that individuals who had a sense of rootedness in the community (i.e. were older, married, homeowners, lived in the same residence several years and were planning to stay), had higher SES and had greater psychological confidence (as indicated by an internal locus of control) were also those

heavily involved in community organizations. A second set of variables, cognitive social learning variables, were found to be equally effective in differentiating between those with low and high participation. Compared to low-involvement participants, high-involvement participants rated higher in (a) perceived competencies related to organizing and leading groups, (b) value placed on the residential environment and a sense of community with neighbors, (c) expectancies of political efficacy and lower political cynicism and (d) sense of citizen duty. These characteristics have strong similarities with the 4-H volunteers studied by Rohs (1982) as reported above. Black and Hispanic volunteers are much more likely to volunteer in organizations related to their ethnic/racial community according to Chambre (1992) who interviewed over 70 individuals who were either directors or involved in recruitment of black and Hispanic volunteers. However, these volunteer managers felt that organizations that have goals and values consistent with the needs and interests of the minority volunteer can attract their interest.

An accurate picture of who volunteers includes people from all age groups, racial and ethnic groups, and socioeconomic classes. Recently schools and businesses have recognized the benefits of volunteering to the community and to the individual. Many high schools have incorporated a community service component into their required curriculum (Youniss & Yates, 1997). Businesses may encourage volunteerism by offering support to organizations in which their employees are volunteers, encouraging employee participation in a community service program (for example, Adopt-a-Highway) and/or by sponsoring community service programs of their own (Barnes, 1997; McCune, 1997).

In California the 1997 4-H enrollment report shows that the 4-H Youth Development volunteer force is only minimally representative of the state's rich diversity. Of the 19,169 adult volunteers 85% were white, 2% were black, 2% American Indian, 8% Hispanic, and 2% Asian (Annual 4-H Youth Development Enrollment Report, 1997).

### **Motives for Volunteering**

It is important to understand the motivations of a volunteer if an organization is to be effective in recruiting and retaining a strong volunteer staff (Gillespie & King, 1985; Stallings, 1996). Traditional theories of helping behavior suggest two types of prosocial behavior: a reciprocal exchange (extrinsic) where there is something given and something gained and a more unconditional (altruistic) helpfulness which may bring intrinsic satisfactions (Myers, 1990). Some theorists have argued that pure altruism is nonexistent and altruistic behavior should be evaluated relative to the self-benefiting motivations which inspired it, albeit these benefits are social/psychological in nature (Gidron, 1980; Rubin & Thorelli, 1984).

In the past, organizations may have operated under the assumption that the only reasons for volunteering were altruistic or intrinsic in nature, such as helping others, contributing to the community, enriching personal life, feeling needed and useful, or having available time. Although these reasons were still rated as most important by volunteers, extrinsic motives for volunteer work are being recognized. In a fairly recent study of reasons to volunteer "obtaining training and skills" was mentioned by 40% of the sample (Gillespie & King, 1985). For individuals in the beginning phases of an occupation, volunteering may be seen as the gateway to

the experience and contacts leading to new career opportunities. Other extrinsic reasons include furthering business goals by gaining recognition in the community, earning credit for school, working off court fines or fulfilling community service hours, receiving recognition, meeting new people, and career exploration (Stallings, 1996). Various situational and personal factors may influence whether an individual's reasons for volunteering are predominately intrinsic or extrinsic in nature. In their study of Red Cross volunteers, Gillespie and King found that older volunteers were more likely to give intrinsic reasons for their volunteer service than younger volunteers. A balance of intrinsic and extrinsic reasons for volunteering is considered healthy. The quality of service rendered is not necessarily diminished because the volunteer believes there will be a personal benefit from his/her efforts (Stallings, 1996).

Compensation theory has been the basis of several studies of volunteer motivation (Latting, 1990; Miller, 1985; Rubin and Thorelli, 1984). It is based on the concept that an individual may seek an alternate role and behaviors, such as volunteering, to fulfill social-psychological needs not fully met through the current social roles related to work, marriage and family (Rubin and Thorelli, 1984). How strongly they feel motivated to seek that alternate role depends on the strength of their expectancies that the role will prove a source of satisfaction. Miller (1985) found that volunteers whose paid employment was perceived as deficient in satisfying needs for growth and fulfillment through interesting, worthwhile or challenging activities will be involved and satisfied to the extent that they expect volunteering to satisfy those needs. Volunteers whose work was relatively satisfying were more likely to be involved if they perceived that the organization was supportive of volunteers or that the volunteer work was interesting and did not make excessive demands on their time. A few researchers have tried to apply compensation theory specifically to minority groups to explain their participation in volunteer activity but it has received little empirical support. (Latting, 1990).

The Ethnic Community Model is another theory that researchers have used in an effort to identify characteristics unique to volunteers from minority groups. It is based on the principle that people feel a stronger sense of responsibility toward their own ethnic community (Latting, 1990). This model may offer at least a partial explanation of why minority individuals may target organizations that serve their racial or ethnic group for their volunteer efforts. However, this should not be viewed as a practice exclusive to minority groups.

For example, 4-H volunteers are primarily the parents of the children enrolled in the program. The reasons for focusing one's volunteer efforts in a particular organization may be highly personal even when there may not be a racial or ethnic match. The clientele served or the social issue addressed by a program may appeal to people because of personal experiences. They may feel they have special insights that would make them particularly effective in relating to the people served or in carrying out the organization's agenda (Chambre, 1990). This could apply to a wide range of experiences, from former victims of abuse who volunteer in domestic violence programs to past 4-H members who wish to create the same kind of positive experiences for young people that they once enjoyed.

A theory of motivation developed by John Atkinson and David McClelland offers an interesting and worthwhile lens for viewing volunteering behavior (Atkinson & Birch, 1978). According to this theory, a person's behavior is determined by the strength of his or her motives, the expectancy of attaining the goal, and the perceived incentives. They further theorize that:

- There are three basic qualities of motivation influencing behavior: the need for achievement, the need for affiliation, and the need for power/influence. Certain characteristics are associated with each type of motive. These basic types of motivation will be discussed further in the section on retention.
- The expectancy of attaining a goal or the desired consequences rests largely on the cues the individual receives from his/her environment.
- Incentives which influence behavior are also broken down into three main

categories: (1) tangible rewards such as goods, services, money, or equivalents; (2) solidarity which encompasses interpersonal rewards derived from personal relationships such as those that develop between volunteers, staff and clients; and (3) purposiveness which refers to feeling valued and useful in achieving some purpose or goal.

In a test of the Atkinson and McClelland theory Henderson (1983) found that "the primary motivation of 4-H volunteers is toward affiliation." She also determined there were no substantial differences between the motivations of men and women, although women were somewhat more likely to report that the opportunity to be with their own children was an important aspect of volunteering. In Rohs's (1982) study of 4-H volunteers, he endeavored to identify important factors and their relationships in predicting organized voluntary activity. A number of significant positive correlations emerged from the data. For instance:

- Continued participation correlated highly with having a spouse who was also a leader and having children in the program.
- Length of service correlated with the length of residence in the area, the age of the leader and the number of children under the age of nine involved in the program. Length of service also correlated with the instrumental value of 4-H for the volunteer and the influence of neighbors.
- Being a homemaker was a factor in determining how many hours were spent on activities at the local level.
- Having older teens (ages 15-19) was a significant factor in the hours expended on the state level.

- The influence of 4-H agents and other parents were also significantly related to volunteer hours on the state level.

From this study Rohs developed a model of individual voluntary participation. He proposed that 4-H participation factors (e.g., length of service as a volunteer) depend on a combination of social background factors (e.g., age, years as a 4-H member, and having a child in 4-H), and attitudinal factors (e.g., perceived value of the program).

### **Recruitment Strategies**

Being aware of and understanding the reasons why people engage in volunteer activities is essential to approaching the task of *volunteer recruitment*. Appropriate recruitment strategies should market the organization's volunteer needs to the segment of people who can fill those needs while simultaneously filling their own needs. Recruitment may include formal processes such as advertising the organization and its needs through posters, newspaper articles and public service announcements as well as informal processes such as other volunteers and staff members making the organization's needs known to friends and neighbors. A Gallup Poll study on volunteering and giving found that people were four times more likely to volunteer if asked personally.

### **Things to consider in designing a recruitment strategy:**

Consider what the organization would be willing and able to do to overcome barriers to volunteer participation. Think of the organizational and personal barriers that may prevent people from volunteering in the organization and how the organization can respond to them. Such barriers might

consist of limited time, costs related to volunteering, distant location of organization, need for child care, regular commitment difficulty, the type of client the organization serves or not feeling valued or welcome. This issue is closely tied to developing jobs to meet the needs of today's volunteers, which is discussed in the section on retention.

Consider the needs of the volunteer as well as the needs of the organization; it is possible for these to be met simultaneously. The motives for volunteering are the key to assigning a volunteer duties and responsibilities that will be satisfying and rewarding--and lead to long term commitment. The needs of the organization are most likely to be met if that have been incorporated into clearly written job descriptions.

Consider the needs of the population you are serving and the characteristics of a volunteer that would meet those needs. The ideas that a person must be young, must have children to understand children, and be "naturally gifted" with relationship skills in order to work with young people are old stereotypes that have been proven false. In the arena of youth development individuals who have a positive attitude about young people and their future are most desirable. People who communicate a sense of respect and confidence in youth, who value young people for who they are now, and who have the capacity to appreciate the processes of growth and change and exploration that take place during these years are most attractive to young people. In his book, *All Kids are Our Kids*, Peter L. Benson, President of the Search Institute, points out that for adults to work effectively with young people they need to have a healthy asset base of their own, an adequate support network, their own sense of boundaries, good relational

skills and be trusting and trustworthy. Such characteristics and competencies can be found among all age groups, ethnic groups and interest groups.

#### Consider some basic elements in a recruitment message

1. State the need of the clients served by the organization (e.g., "Many children in your neighborhood spend many lonely, often idle hours after school waiting for a parent to return from work").
2. Emphasize how the volunteer can help (e.g., "You can help make educational and enriching activities available to these youth by volunteering one afternoon a week at the 4-H Afterschool Center").
3. List the benefits of the job (e.g., "You will receive gratification from knowing you are helping young people succeed and making your neighborhood a safer place").
4. If the organization is particularly interested in attracting minority volunteers then it should be stated. Don't just depend on pictures of minorities in promotional material to communicate that minority volunteers are welcome and needed (e.g., "We have a special need for Black and Hispanic volunteers").

Consider the characteristics of an effective volunteer recruiter. Generally the best recruiters are other volunteers who are: *Satisfied* with their volunteer work; *Enthusiastic*, not burned out and looking for a replacement; *Articulate*, that is, able to communicate their pleasure and satisfaction in a motivating way; and, *Connected* in some way to the person or group that is targeted for recruitment (Stallings, 1996).

Consider the initial contact in recruitment an invitation to consider volunteering. It should be followed up with an interview in a timely manner (Chambre, 1982). At that time the volunteer's needs and interests and

the tasks and responsibilities of the job are discussed in order to insure as much as possible a good fit between the volunteer and the job which the organization needs filled.

Consider the special needs of ethnic and racial minorities who may be a part of your target audience. This is especially important if the organization is staffed primarily by people from the majority population. In Chambre's (1982) study of recruiting minority volunteers, the point was made that, all features of an organization influence whether or not an individual will volunteer. Minority volunteers, as members of groups with traditionally low involvement outside their own communities, are particularly responsive to positive or negative cues. This sensitivity may be due to a tendency to feel less confident about their abilities to make a valuable contribution. Like all volunteers, members of a minority group need to feel welcome and valued. An organization also needs to emphasize the interests and goals they have in common with the minority community and how the volunteer's participation is helpful in achieving these common goals.

Consider the best method of communicating your recruitment needs. Watts and Edwards (1983) reported that low income groups are more likely to obtain information about volunteer opportunities from television or radio while middle income groups tend to learn more from organizational outlets such as schools, churches or community organizations.

*Mass media* such as newspapers, radio and television have the advantage of reaching large numbers of people with relatively little effort. However, appeals to such general audiences may have the drawback of creating the need to screen out a large

number of people, a task which must be done with care and sensitivity to maintain the organization's good reputation. If a foreign language is used within the recruitment message then it is important to specify that fluency in English is also needed if that is the case. Using newspapers and radio stations that target a particular audience may help narrow the possible respondents to those most likely to meet the needs of the organization.

*Community organization techniques* involve developing relationships with other organizations within the community. This enables an outside organization to expand its social network within the community with the endorsement of an already known organization. It is important that such a relationship is established with a group that is very reputable and that such a collaboration is of benefit to both parties. Such an alliance promotes awareness of the organization's purpose and need for volunteers. It acts as an endorsement of the organization and conveys that the two organizations have common interests and that potential volunteers would feel comfortable in the outside organization. Short and long-term problems can occur for the outside organization if they are not able to keep the commitments they may have made through such a collaboration. Feelings of ill-will and disappointment may block further efforts to establish their program in the future (Chambre, 1982).

*Personal contacts and trigger events* are considered essential to successfully reaching the potential volunteers that best meet the needs of the organization. Volunteering is a two-step process involving a) awareness of the opportunity and b) making an actual commitment. A trigger event is the bridge from awareness to commitment and action. Several studies indicate that the trigger event

most often involves a person whom the potential volunteer knows. Knowing a person already affiliated with an organization “provides assurance that the potential volunteer is qualified, that the role to be performed is an appropriate one and that the organization will be receptive” (Chambre, 1982). Most often such contact takes place informally, through a personal invitation from a staff member or volunteer to a friend, neighbor or co-worker. It can also be more formalized as when a community leader may nominate an individual to serve as a volunteer (Stallings, 1996) or when the organization holds a gathering where current and potential volunteers can interact and information about the organization can be shared. Personal contact is especially important to potential minority volunteers (Chambre, 1982).

Understanding the possible motives that can influence an individual to volunteer and using recruitment strategies that attract potential volunteers that meet the needs of the organization are key issues in retaining an effective volunteer force.

### ***Retention of Volunteers***

Retaining volunteers is crucial in allowing an organization to devote its energies and resources to serving its clientele effectively. Being able to simultaneously fulfill the needs of the organization for competent volunteer help in a variety of roles and responsibilities, as well as the intrinsic and extrinsic needs of the volunteer is critical to volunteer retention (Stallings, 1996; Rubin and Thorelli, 1984; Miller, 1985; Watts and Edwards, 1983). Retention is dependent on several factors.

### **Matching the volunteer with the appropriate tasks and responsibilities**

When volunteers are given work to do which they find satisfying and rewarding the likelihood of long-term commitment is greatly increased (Rubin and Thorelli, 1984). An organization needs to be creative, innovative and flexible in developing volunteer jobs which meet the needs of the organization and are attractive to today’s volunteer. The process of matching the individual volunteer to a compatible job is greatly enhanced by two organizational factors: well designed jobs with written descriptions and well designed and conducted interviews.

*Well designed jobs with clear, concisely written descriptions* are essential to effective utilization of volunteers. In order to design jobs that will be attractive to today's volunteer force an organization needs to be sensitive to the social and economic changes affecting them. Some of these changes are:

- Most volunteers are employed and need more flexibility in hours
- Volunteers are looking for shorter-term assignments due to increased demands on their time
- Volunteers prefer to join smaller, locally controlled organizations where they have the freedom to act more quickly and feel they are really making a difference now
- Volunteers expect challenging and interesting assignments
- Volunteers come from a broader cross-section of our society
- Today's volunteers expect to be treated professionally by organization staff members
- Family and group volunteering is a growing trend
- People are more interested in working for causes than for organizations
- Many look to volunteering as a means of gaining new skills and experiences relevant to entering the workforce
- Many people with professional skills are available for volunteer work

These factors may mean an organization's volunteer jobs need to be evaluated and redesigned to meet the demands of a changing volunteer force (Stallings, 1996). An organization that depends heavily on volunteers cannot respond to the needs of a dynamic and changing population if the volunteer program remains static. The volunteer program must be designed and managed to incorporate change and reflect the changing goals and needs of the organization. The second point to be emphasized in relation to job development is

the value of a written job description. A written description is the easiest way to communicate clearly to a person what is expected of him or her. The written qualifications and experience needed, which is a part of the job description, serve as a guide for screening volunteers. It also serves as a marketing tool for recruitment. It gives prospective volunteers a clear idea of what they are saying yes to and can serve as the basis for supervision and evaluation. Finally, it provides the information to staff and co-volunteers that allows clarity of roles and responsibilities within the organization. Without a written job description, a volunteer is free to develop their own job description which may not fit within the parameters of the organization's needs and expectations (Stallings, 1996).

### **Interviewing**

With a clearly written job description in hand, the process of screening, interviewing, and assigning prospective volunteers to appropriate jobs is greatly facilitated. Potentially, the interview experience has several important outcomes. First, it allows the volunteer applicant and the prospective volunteer supervisor to become acquainted. Second, it gives the supervisor an opportunity to explain the requirements and duties of the job(s) available as well as to learn about the qualifications and experiences of the applicant. Third, it allows the prospective volunteer to become more familiar with the organization and the position(s) in question. The interview should be a process of mutual screening so that the applicant can evaluate whether this volunteer opportunity really meets their desires and needs and the supervisor can evaluate the suitability of the applicant. Since there is no such thing as a

perfect fit, the interview process is one of negotiation so that both parties are satisfied. Fourth, the interview is an opportunity for the volunteer supervisor to determine the type of training and support the volunteer needs to be effective and have a sense of satisfaction from their experience.

At this point it might be worthwhile to revisit the motivation theory of Atkinson and McClelland. According to this theory the dominant motivational force (affiliation, achievement or power) stimulating volunteer behavior, the expectancies, and the meaningful incentives to the individual (whether purposive, tangible or solidarity oriented) will have a strong impact on the type of volunteer position that would be most appropriate. If these factors are taken into account in assigning volunteer positions both the organization and the volunteer will benefit. Individuals primarily motivated by achievement have a desire for excellence and take pride in their accomplishments. They like having goals to strive for and are good at tackling problems. An affiliation motive influences a person to be most concerned about his or her relationships with others, other people's feelings and how they can be of help. A person for whom the power motive is dominant is characterized by needs for prestige and status and positions of influence. A brief questionnaire has been developed to identify an individual's hierarchy of motives which could be used in the application process. (Atkinson and Birch, 1978; Rouse and Clawson, 1992; Stallings, 1996).

### **Incentives and Support**

People have certain expectancies that they will benefit in some way from expending their time and energies as a volunteer, whether it be intrinsic or extrinsic satisfactions or both (Atkinson and Birch, 1978; Miller, 1985). Training, flexible scheduling and increasing responsibility are the more traditional and most frequently used incentives to encourage volunteer longevity. It should be noted that educational agencies were the least likely to use these methods and youth-serving

agencies were most likely to use these strategies according to Watts and Edwards (1983). They suggest that schools may feel that improving the education of one's children is incentive enough for most parents who are traditionally their target volunteer audience. Training is most often mentioned by volunteers as a desirable characteristic of a volunteer program. Because training allows a volunteer to be more effective in fulfilling their responsibilities it can enhance the sense of achievement and the level of intrinsic satisfactions derived from a volunteer position. In many human services agencies, the Girl Scouts being an example, certain training is required before the volunteer can assume the volunteer position. Formal training requirements let the volunteer know that this is an important and responsible job. Such a program also helps identify those people who are truly committed to the organization and the clientele it serves. Being a willing and available parent does not necessarily mean an individual has the qualities or skills necessary to work effectively with groups of children and youth or the expertise to provide a worthwhile learning experience in a particular area. However, through appropriate training and support, new volunteers can acquire the necessary knowledge and skills to work successfully with youth. Everyone benefits when appropriate training is a requisite to a volunteer position. Certification or college course credit could be linked to volunteer

training and service. More experienced volunteers who are in a position of authority or supervision should see their role as one of a coach and a mentor, preparing people to take on new roles and responsibilities as they grow in experience. Rohs (1982) suggests that one reason 4-H volunteers may quit is due to limited opportunity to try new roles and accept increased or different responsibilities.

“Recognition is an ongoing integral part of the management process....(it) is a philosophy and an attitude that needs to permeate an entire organization” (Stallings, 1996). Often recognition is thought of in terms of an annual banquet or certificate. Such events have their place within the recognition process and fulfill certain volunteer needs. However, from our review of volunteer motivation and our discussion of expectancies and incentives we can see that recognition must first and foremost be meaningful to the person receiving it. An organization where those supervising volunteers, whether they be paid staff or other volunteers, continually seek to notice and express appreciation for individual contributions in an informal, personal way and in a timely manner is most effective in this area of volunteer management. Perhaps the greatest recognition of the unique talents and contribution an individual can make to an organization is giving him/her responsibilities that speak to his/her unique combination of motives and needs (Stallings, 1996).

### ***Conclusion***

Understanding people’s motivations for volunteering and principles of recruitment and retention of volunteers has facilitated the potential for developing successful, effective volunteer programs. Volunteer recruitment, retention, training and management are inter dependent facets of a volunteer program, each requiring a certain set of knowledge, principles, and expertise to be carried out successfully. Successful recruitment is ultimately dependent on satisfied and happy volunteers (retention), which is based on the incentives and support that have been initiated through appropriate training and management practices.

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