

**RETHINKING CITIZENSHIP IN PUBLIC
ADMINISTRATION: ONE MORE LOOK
IN A SERIES**

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A recent book titled *Citizenship and Management in Public Administration* (Vigoda-Gadot & Cohen, 2004) focused on an interesting collection of studies and some new insights into the nexus between citizenship and management in the public sector. The book has highlighted several questions including (1) Why should we study the meaning and interrelations of citizenship in public organizations and in the bureaucratic landscape? (2) What layers of citizenship can be identified and how can they be related with modern workspaces? (3) What are the theoretical and conceptual foundations of the citizenship-management integration, and how useful is it for a better understanding of our modern administrative systems, governance, and life quality in democratic cultures? and (4) What, if at all, are the practical implications of these relationships at multiple levels—the individual, group, organizational, system, and even state levels?

Our earlier interest is hardly unique. Rather, indeed, the general topic has long been on the minds of many observers, in both public as well as business management. Although many contemporary writers imply a new discovery has dawned, organizational citizenship and democracy can be traced to seminal lines of work (e.g., Pateman, 1970, among others); and this core is connected to a long set of milestones marking other progress (e.g., Elden, 1977; Bernstein, 1980; Golembiewski, 1989, 1990). Recently, and advertised as a “special topics” (Harrison & Freeman, 2004), related themes have received fulsome space and been accorded a prominent sta-

tus. Thus, Harrison and Freeman (2004) summarize a series of reports in these strong terms:

although the economic arguments for organizational democracy may be mixed, increased stakeholder participation in value creation and organizational governance can benefit both society and corporations. Indeed the corporation itself may be envisioned as a system of self-governance and the voluntary cooperation of stake-holders. (p. 69)

Moreover, basic empirical research in the public sector has been reported recently. (e.g., Johnston-Conover, Searing, & Crewe, 2004)

The goal of this chapter is part of a continuing look at questions like those above, from various perspectives, as well as elaborating on future developments such as basic changes in bureaucracy, as well as in our understanding and use of the concept of citizenship. In our view, this implies complex changes for the roles of citizens in governmental activity, as well as for the roles of governments in the lives of citizens.

By way of introduction, attention first goes to highlighting the common roots related inquiry, as it were. Subsequently, the dimensionality of "citizenship behavior" gets attention, then, bureaucracy is drawn explicitly into the analysis; moreover, the group and communal levels of citizenship preoccupy the analysis; in addition, the third sector is highlighted; and a synthesis emphasizes collaboration.

The Heritage of Citizenship and Bureaucracy

Our general perspective is that citizenship and bureaucracy influence one another, a belief that contributes to both the theory as well as practice of business and public administration. Defining the meaning, the boundaries, and implications of the term "citizenship" is a complex task. Citizenship has multiple meanings in the judicial, statutory, national, psychological and social senses. It frequently denotes official status for individual in a national environment, where they also hold a variety of rights and duties, privileges and obligations, liberties and responsibilities.

Indeed, the roots of the term "citizenship" date back to antiquity and appear in various cultural contexts. Citizenship was probably first recognized by the ancient Greeks who also introduced the related concepts of "civic virtue," "good citizenship," and "civic duties." At the very least, major authorities see the matter in similar terms. For example, Aristotle argued that citizenship was born in Grecian city-states, small enough to give their members the chance to "know one another's character" (Aristotle,

1948, p. 1326b). He identified as citizens "all who share in the . . . life of ruling and being ruled in turn" (p. 1283b), but emphasized the importance of participation by which citizens could influence their leaders and the governance process, thereby affecting their environment as well as their day-to-day life. Centuries later, Machiavelli used the term "civic virtue" to describe the obligations a citizen has toward a state and community. These obligations should be acquired through education, religion, and a healthy fear of the consequences following the dereliction of civic duty (Oliver & Heater, 1994, p. 14). While Machiavelli pointed out the coercive role of the state in shaping citizens' obedience, he did not ignore altruistic and voluntary behavior adopted by citizens of their own free will and aimed at improving the welfare and prosperity of the state or community.

Like Locke and others, later variations also reflected this central core of ideas. In the seventeenth century, like Locke and others, Hobbes promoted the idea that people and governments should share a kind of mutual agreement, later known as a social contract. This contract requires the people's obedience and loyalty to the government in return for the government's commitment to provide the people with certain basic "natural" rights. It advocates bi-directional transactions of human resources, promoting the mutual interests of citizens, states and society. Similarly, Montesquien in *The Spirit of the Laws* argued that unlike other forms of government, a state based upon popular participation depends for its stability on the civic virtue of its good citizens. Rousseau emphasized the importance of citizens' freedom, political participation, and a "general will" which calls for an altruistic contribution to the governing and administrative process made solely with the thought of advancing the common interest. The liberal tradition of citizenship expanded with American independence as well as with the French revolution in the late eighteenth century. Subsequently, democratic values were embraced in many other European countries during the nineteenth century. They emphasized the contribution that the citizens' voluntary political action made to the creation of the common good and a prosperous society (e.g., Golombiewski, 1989, 1990).

In comparison to citizenship, bureaucracy represents what seems to be a wholly different set of values and principles. While citizenship is based mainly on a balanced view of the rights and duties of an individual, bureaucracy is basically uninterested in the individual as such and emphasizes the power of administrative institutions, which frequently have quite a negative valence. This negative image stands in sharp contrast to the favorable image of (good) citizenship behavior. As suggested by Goodsell (1983) in *The Case for Bureaucracy*, we all tend to hate bureaucrats and bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is attacked in the press, in popular magazines,

and in best-sellers. It is denounced by the political right as well as left. It is assaulted by molders of culture and professors of academia. It is castigated by most economists, sociologists, policy analysts, political scientists, organizational theorists and social psychologists. In addition, it is charged with a wide array of crimes, which we group under several heads—failure to perform; abuse of political power; and the repression of employees, citizens as clients, and other individuals. These failures bring in their wake cynical attitudes toward bureaucracy that are commonplace and widespread. The difficulties modern states have found in serving the public's needs have turned bureaucracies into a faulted icon of red-tape, ineffectiveness, ineptitude and heavy-handedness.

However, like citizenship, bureaucracy also reflects two main domains in our lives. It represents our social institutions and the formal mechanisms of the administrative state (Richardson, 1997). For most scholars in the political sciences and in public administration, for example, bureaucracy is the most essential instrument of nation building. It is the tool through which the state discharges its obligations to serve and govern its people. Bureaucracy means the power to govern by state officials, by public professionals, and by experts in policy implementation. Despite its popular, negative image, bureaucracy is necessary in our lives. It becomes even more essential as time goes on and citizens' needs and demands increase, as Wilson (1987) has perhaps argued most persuasively.

We argue that, for good or ill, there exists a clear theoretical linkage between citizenship and bureaucracy in modern democracies. Citizens are an essential part of the bureaucratic state and play an increasing role in modern democracies (Vigoda, 2002a). By applying various kinds of "citizenship behavior" in various areas and at various levels, one can influence the actions and decisions of bureaucrats and bureaucracy.

This chapter focuses on making bureaucracy a better servant of the people, as it were, and not simply on a whim. Rather, the world we live in has changed rapidly in the second half of the twentieth century and, bluntly, we need help in making our organizations better, and public-sector experience provides a useful model. In short, Western democracies have made remarkable progress in terms of managing the state. Perhaps the most impressive milestone is that people in democratic nations are encouraged to become more and more involved in community action through individual enterprises or via third-sector organizations, and the evidence suggests they and their institutions profit from such enrichments of citizenship in workaday organizations (e.g., Golembiewski, 1989, 1990). In recent decades the third sector has become a grass-roots platform of citizen action that is energized increasingly by the people and for the people, above and beyond the governmental umbrella. Some would even say that these enactments are a necessary tonic for the growing impotencies of bureaucracy.

Hence, much conventional wisdom implies that modern welfare states cannot and should not take responsibilities away from the people in order to make their lives better. Citizens themselves should bear some of the direct social burden. Consequently, citizenship behavior is recognized today as an essential tool for the effective functioning of every social institution. The "good soldier syndrome", as presented by Organ (1988) and which will be discussed more extensively later, reflects a powerful reflection of civic virtue that is and should be widely encouraged inside and outside all organizations. There seems little doubt that its actual and potential impact on public organizations is great, and only our wit and will inhibit that potential from becoming immense.

The Dimensionality of Citizenship Behavior

Let us become more specific about the substance of "citizenship." Previous research has pointed to three core elements of general citizenship behavior: obedience of the people to social rules, loyalty to social institutions, and participation in social life (Marshall, 1950). While obedience and loyalty naturally belong to a worldwide definition of citizenship, the essence of citizenship behavior is participation. Participation concerns active involvement of citizens in three main settings: governance (a national arena), local lives (a communal arena), and the workplace (an organizational arena). As the communal and national arenas are geographical in nature, we decided to refer to them as Type I, while Type II refers directly to the organizational level. See also Figure 1, below.

Citizenship Type I: The National and Communal Arenas

Montesquieu in *The Spirit of the Laws* argued that a state based on popular participation, as distinct from other forms of government—e.g., those based on coerced obedience or blind loyalty—depends for its stability on the civic virtue of its good citizens. The focus in developing this proportion will be directly specified as public management, and less so at Non-Government Organizations. But the analysis will apply without basic modification to business organizations as well.

To begin the illustrative catalog of support for the basic proposition above, Rousseau emphasized the importance of citizens' freedom, political participation, and the "general will", all of which call for contributory personal advantages beyond the common interest. Active citizens assist in safeguarding and supporting sound governance (e.g., by holding or electing others to executive positions) and in adjudicating violations (e.g., by serving on juries). They also participate directly or through rep-

representatives in changing laws in response to new needs, or in evolving an understanding of the common interest. Consequently, citizenship behavior includes devoting time and effort to the responsibilities of governance and administration, keeping well-informed, sharing information and ideas with others, engaging in discussions about controversial issues, voting in whatever manner is provided under the law, and encouraging others to do likewise (Graham, 1991, Putnam, 1993).

For most people, community involvement and participation in local administrative processes constitute the more powerful aspects of participatory citizenship. In an obvious sense, communal citizenship represents more informal participation than national activity (Sobel, 1993). That is, some people may lack appropriate skills or opportunities, or at least come to believe they have those shortfalls. Other people may decline to participate in citizenship behavior at the national level through disinclination or indifference. They may prefer a closer, perhaps more personal domain such as the community can offer.

What do we know about such basic choices, with reasonable certainty? While much research has sought to uncover the mechanisms of individual voluntary action at the national level (e.g., Almond & Verba, 1963; Milbrath, 1965; Verba & Nie, 1972), more recent studies have emphasized the importance of citizenship participation and voluntary action at the communal level (Barber, 1984; Etzioni, 1994, 1995; Hurd, 1989; King & Stivers, 1998; Putnam, 1993). For example, Barber (1984) argued that "political participation in common action is more easily achieved at the neighborhood level, where there are a variety of opportunities for engagement" (p. 303) and Hurd (1989) noted that "The need to foster responsible citizenship is obvious. Freedom can only flourish within a community where shared values, common loyalties, and mutual obligations provide a framework of order and self-discipline, otherwise, liberty can quickly degenerate into narrow self-interest and license" (p. 2). Further, King and Stivers (1998) suggested that "active citizenship is different from voting, paying taxes, or using government services. In active citizenship, citizens rule and are ruled in turn" (pp. 195-196). Putnam (1993) concluded that communities with higher levels of voluntarism and civic engagement become better places to live, characterized by more trust in government, better government performance, and positive relations between citizens and the state.

Citizenship Type II: The Organizational Arena

Beyond the national and communal spheres, active citizenship participation also has organizational aspects. Studies in organizational behavior

involvement, and opportunities to use an effective voice tend toward high job satisfaction, low turnover and absenteeism, and better performances (e.g., Keller, 1997; Lum et al., 1998). Other studies found that public organizations that promote values of employees' empowerment and participation in decision-making are more likely to enhance communication throughout units, increase commitment to stakeholders, and improve productivity as well as quality of services (e.g., Berman, 1995; Young, Worchel, & Woehr, 1998).

To bring such illustrations to a significant point, at the risk of being premature that can be discounted here by other related citations (e.g., Elden, 1977; and Golembiewski, 1989, 1990, 1995), an analysis of citizenship behavior in modern societies entails a broader conceptual discussion, applicable not only to nations, states, and communities but also to business and public organizations. In a rapidly changing environment, high productivity is associated with significant improvements in the quality of life. Citizens' demands and needs grow faster and reach farther than ever before. In addition, the expansion of welfare services provided by the state to its citizens, directly or by proxy, must cohere with such demands and satisfy more people more frequently, as well as more extensively. In practice, organizational change and development in these agencies only partly follow the rapid transformation of the environment, and development consequently needs better support of quasi-public and non-public organizations (the "third sector"). Therefore, the idea that self-derived citizenship activity should be featured in management and organizational sciences, as well as in operations, has attracted growing attention in recent decades (Katz & Kahn, 1966; Organ, 1988).

As we have suggested in the past (Vigoda & Golembiewski, 2001), two basic patterns of relationships between citizenship behavior and the organizational arena require distinguishing. (1) Enhanced involvement of citizens in the administrative process as in becoming active members or supporters of public or third-sector agencies, generates several associated developments. These include commitment to a healthy public service, proper understanding of what is right and what is wrong in managing public organizations, and also guides education towards constructive participatory democracy. (2) Improved intra-organizational citizenship behavior by public employees improves performance by public and third-sector agencies. The advantages of self-inspired contributions of employees reach far beyond the merits of formal authority and bureaucratic mechanisms. Recently, for example, Rimmerman (1997, p. 19) suggested that increased citizens' participation in workplace decision-making increases

consistent with the earlier work of Pateman (1970), who argued that through participation in decision-making—at the state, community, and organization levels—the individual learns to be a public as well as a private citizen.

The practical implications seem clear enough. Consequently, for example, participation in multiple settings such as the national or communal arenas, as well as participation inside organizations, should be borne in mind when, for example, New Public Management strategies are developed. The involvement in and contribution of citizens to the state, community, workplace, and society in general are valuable. Citizens' involvement also has the advantage of being a lower-cost input in the administrative process. Participation also enhances individuals' commitment to their environment and heightens approval of public administration's legitimacy. Moreover, the increase in political participation carries with it implications of improvement of political stability and accountability of the public sector (King & Stivers, 1998). That is to say, stability and accountability create proper responsiveness and effectiveness of services to the people.

Levels of Analysis

Broadly, citizens' participation is manifested in two major ways: personal initiatives and organized action. McKeivitt (1998, p. 42) suggests that participation and active citizenship are frequently portrayed as an individual quality, but at the same time they have strong overtones of collective responsibility. Box (1998, pp. 71–74) also emphasizes the centrality and current trends in individualism and collectivism, especially in communities. Like McKeivitt, Box identifies a struggle for "a point of balance" in America between individualism and collectivism that largely influences the nature of citizenship. The tension between the individualistic and the collectivist ideas of citizenship is real, and disagreement exists over its boundaries. Following this, two levels of active citizenship behavior can be identified. They are both discussed in the psychological, sociological, managerial, and administrative literatures and can be expressed in two proportions: first, by individual: altruism and voluntarism of persons in the national, communal, and organizational settings; and second, in collectives a priority adheres to organized or semi-organized citizenship behavior as represented by interest groups, volunteers' associations, volunteers' programs, nonprofit organizations, and the "third sector."

Together, these levels comprise the citizenship behavior hierarchy of modern societies, and Vigoda and Golembiewski (2001) suggested that

Figure contains only a starter kit, as it were, but its real if limited usefulness will be apparent at several points below.

To flush-out the bare bones of Figure 1, let us look back in a summary way. A short review of the Vigoda and Golembiewski (2001) work, to begin, reveals that *Micro-Citizenship* (MC1) is the very basic image of citizenship' actions as taken by individuals in the limited sphere of the workplace. Employees may present high levels of participation in workplace activities and greater willingness to support others even when asked or ordered (Organ, 1988). This "good citizenship" behavior was named OCB (Organizational Citizenship Behavior) and has been shown to have a direct and significant impact on employees' performance (Cohen & Vigoda, 2000). *Mid-Citizenship* (MC2) also refers to actions taken inside organizations, but that arise from the collective voice of groups of individuals rather than from independent individual actions. Whereas micro-citizenship has the greatest effect on other individuals, whereas the mid-citizenship pattern is fashioned by groups for the sake of other groups or units, or for the sake of the organization as a whole. While risking reification, studies have demonstrated that more involvement of organized individuals in decision-making processes contributes to better operations in private as well as in public organizations (Erez, Earley, & Hulin, 1985). The literature virtually groans with exemplars. Methods such as quality circles, team-building strategies, and MBO (Management by Objectives) emphasize the general encouragement of work groups' becoming more active as well as entrepreneurial in the various stages of production (Drucker, 1966; Hirschman, 1970).

Macro-Citizenship (MC3) was defined as altruistic endeavors of individuals in national and communal settings, those affected by which ex-

Figure 1
A Schema of Citizenship Behavior and its Effect on Public Service Systems

Setting Level	Citizenship Type I: Communal & National	Citizenship Type II: Organizational
Individual	MC3 Macro-citizenship: Personal welfare	MC1 Micro-citizenship: Employees' performance
Collective	MC1 Meta-citizenship: Social welfare	MC2 Mid-citizenship: Organizational performance

press self-initiated contribution for the sake of others in the wider society. Moving beyond the narrow organizational arena, individuals show similar tendencies of altruism and willingness to help fellow citizens in the national and communal spheres. As elucidated earlier, active citizenship of individuals outside the workplace is characterized by independents focused on assisting others who may need help.

Finally, *Meta-Citizenship* (MC4) is the term we used for collective citizenry action in the wider society. With the exception of ideas like universal citizenship (Oliver & Heater, 1994), this perhaps expresses the highest level of participatory and constructive citizenship behavior we identify. Meta-citizenship is representative of collective actions at the communal and national levels that stem from deep altruistic dispositions, conscientiousness, and extensive acceptability of constructive citizenship duties and responsibilities. The 2005 inauguration parades, both sanctional and expressions of various publics, illustrate this segment of Figure 1.

Extending this Continuous Look at Individual Citizenship and Bureaucracy

What do we add to this view? To begin, individual citizenship behavior refers to the very basic construct of personal actions and reactions by individual citizens. These are spontaneous and usually altruistic deeds of "unorganized" persons aimed at enhancing the prosperity and development of their environment. Citizens may show compassion for other citizens, contribute time, money, and other resources to help the less capable, provide assistance for others whenever the situation requires and without seeking any personal advantage or compensation (e.g., Conover, Crewe, & Searing, 1993; Monroe, 1994; Piliavin & Chang, 1990). Moreover, inside public organizations, citizens-employees may exert additional efforts to help fellow employees in fulfilling their duties and in serving the public without explicitly seeking any personal rewards.

As we have mentioned earlier, the general management literature has defined these enterprises as OCB, or Organizational Citizenship Behavior, which reflects an informal contribution that participants can choose to withhold without regard to sanctions or formal incentives. As noted in many studies (e.g., Organ, 1988; Organ & Konovsky, 1989; Podsakof & MacKenzie, 1997), when these contributions are aggregated over time and persons, they considerably enhance organizational efficiency and effectiveness of operations. Further studies concluded that working under multiple pressures, public organizations is well-advised to better understand the relationship of citizenship behavior inside and outside the work-

Hence, we propose that encouragement of citizenship behavior in and around public agencies may contribute to organizational productivity, competence as well as success, and hence also to society in general.

Reassessing Group-Level and Communal-Level Citizenship and Bureaucracy

This analysis also extends earlier work by its elaborated insistence that group-level citizenship behavior comprises both semi-organized and fully-organized actions initiated by groups of individuals. Usually, citizenship behavior at this level emerges when a group shares mutual interests and all members are willing to become actively involved in collective voluntary endeavors. The group's cohesiveness is high and members recognize that as individuals, it will be almost impossible to achieve and secure most of the joint goals. Among these groups one finds neighborhood associations, ad hoc groups that seek limited ecological goals, volunteer programs inside organizations, and even altruistic support groups offering help to those in need of help from others who have experienced similar needs (e.g., quitting smoking, avoiding drugs or alcohol, supporting families in distress, etc.).

This summary is in part conjectural, but it also rests on research that demonstrates that the emergence, growth, and decline of voluntary groups can be explained by human capital variables, emergence of leadership, socioeconomic status, and competition with other groups (Tanoski & Wilson, 1995; McPherson & Rotolo, 1996). It was also found that membership in voluntary groups increased forms of political expression and participation (Elden, 1977; Michael, 1981), and that involvement in volunteer programs in the public sector generate economic benefits for public organizations as well as symbolic effects deriving from citizen participation (Brudney, 1990; Brudney & Duncombe, 1992).

Consequently, recent years have emphasized the great potential of group-level and communal-level citizenship, especially in America. Following the events of September 11, 2001, a column was published in the website of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) by Bob and Janet Denhardt of the School of Public Affairs at Arizona State University. Their "Citizens and Public Service" argued that the spirit of public service extends beyond those formally working for government, those we think of narrowly as public servants. Ordinary citizens also have wished to contribute since the tragic events of 9/11. For example, in addition to contrasting "customers" with "citizens," the Denhardts called on governments to encourage and support efforts to extend a sense of community in neighborhoods, into workplaces, as well as throughout society. According to this view, the terrorist events of 9/11 have...

represented at its best by the work of law enforcement personnel, public health officials, postal workers, and members of the armed forces. The public sector again found itself doing what it was trained to do—among their objective, they helped people in trouble, made the world safer and cleaner, helped children learn and even prosper under stress, and literally went where others cannot or would not go.

As the Denharts put it, the spirit of public service extends beyond those formally working for government—that is, those we think of as public servants. Ordinary citizens, as individuals but more so in the form of organized groups and communities, also wish to contribute and can do so with benefits all-around.

Despite their welcome motivation, the avenues through which the new recruits might bring their many talents to bear are limited in scope. The main reason is that over the past several decades we have severely constrained citizenship roles, preferring to think of people as producers or consumers, but not often as both. Certainly, this tendency has been seen in the way we talk about, and interact with, those people served by public agencies. Denhardt and Denhardt suggest that following the admonition that “government should be run like a business”, we have come to characterize our clients as “customers” rather than “citizens”. But that idea does not fully ring true with respect to the public service. Should government first or exclusively respond to the selfish, short-term interests of “customers”? The basic idea just does not wash, at least easily.

The logic and rationality suggested in this inspiring column by the Denharts was further supported in other works (e.g., Vigoda, 2002a). Their argument is strong that “customers” of government are much harder to define than the customers of the local hamburger stand. As they mention, it is often when the interests of various “customers” are in opposition to one another that government is called upon to act in the first place. And of course, there are some instances in which “customers” of government simply do not want the service government provides—like traffic citations. Most important, in the private sector, those customers with the most money and most influence usually are accorded special treatment by the market, and that would be ludicrous as overall public policy. As citizens we expect government to act in a way that not only promotes services but also acts on a set of principles and ideals that are inherent in the representative public sphere. Our view: citizens cannot be reduced to customers without grave consequences for the full sense of democratic citizenship.

Rationale for Third-Sector Citizenship and Bureaucracy

(Vigoda-Gadot, 2003). In a recent special issue of the *International Journal of Public Administration* it was argued that “government collaboration with third-sector organizations offers opportunities for solving problems of critical concern in contemporary governance” (Schwartz, 2001, p. 1127). Some of these opportunities include: (1) decreasing the size of government, (2) financing part of the costs of public service delivery through charitable donations, (3) infusing a greater orientation of service to citizens, and (4) increasing the efficiency, effectiveness, and thus also the performance of government. Overall, in general, the greater involvement of citizens as individuals or by proxy of third-sector or NGO agencies attracts voluntary activity and allows flexibility in dealing with the growing needs of citizens, and of those who are under-privileged in particular.

However, beyond the obvious advantages of collaboration one must also distinguish some potential disadvantages. As with collaboration between private and public sector organizations, that is to say, the integration of citizens and third-sector parties in governmental activity is not without difficulties. Several reports emphasize that such collaboration may entail significant problems for local, state, and federal government agencies. To illustrate, third-sector organizations are not necessarily more effective or flexible in all contexts, if only because rigid control mechanism, and faulty coordination among units can substantially limit their efficiency and performance. Moreover, in recent years many collaborative ventures between public administration bodies and citizens or voluntary organizations have been used illegitimately as “convenient avenues for channeling funds and favor to political allies, family members and friends” (Schwartz, 2001, p. 1128).

Such awkward cases notwithstanding, we simply cannot finesse the comely integration. If nothing else, according to Grubbs (2000), relationships between diverse groups certainly are not new phenomena. Moreover, in recent years we have come to recognize that a public agency's capacity to achieve better performance and desired public outcomes depends in many ways on its ability to establish meaningful, effective relationships with other institutions. This can obviously be done at the public-private interface. However, no one should neglect the public-voluntary interface. Practical experiences, however, make it clear that although collaboration within and among organizations never should be viewed as a small step (e.g., Chisholm, 1998). In the words of one observer: “Agencies involved in, or searching for, partnerships in the governmental and non-governmental sectors face a myriad of challenges along their respective paths to collaboration” (Grubbs, 2000, p. 275).

tivities. The very basic natures of both democracy and bureaucracy include, at least to a substantial degree, the idea of citizens' self-government. Modern nations encourage citizens to participate in new forms of governance, put in effort and knowledge, raise a profile of issues and interests that can change the course of public affairs, and become engaged in public activity personally—through interest groups, or by other organizational forms that are mostly volunteer-oriented. According to Schwartz (2001, p. 1127), these nonprofit bodies, which are also called third-sector organizations, may be considered a “vehicle for active citizen participation” which is so vital for a healthy and prosperous democratic culture.

The paragraph deliberately blurs a useful distinction. To better understand the interactions among nonprofit/third-sector organizations and nonprofit/public sector agencies, one should clearly define each, demarcate the borders between them, and to determine who are the citizens that are requested to join leaderships in taking progressive initiatives for the public good. Here we can provide only a little useful guidance. For example, Box (1998, pp. 73–74) identified three types of citizens classified along a continuum—in effect, from “a lot” to “a little”—that reflects their wish to affect rulers’ actions and public policy processes. These types compose a trinity: (1) “free riders” are considered consumers of public services who receive public goods *gratis* and let others do the work of citizenship; (2) “activists,” by contrast, are deeply involved in public life and in citizenship actions for the community; and (3) “watchdogs,” in the middle of the continuum, are involved only in key issues of relevance to themselves personally.

In line with this classification, Box (1998) further suggests that public administration of our time denotes partnership with citizens. Practically and theoretically governments and public administration can encourage the “free riders” and perhaps some of the “watchdogs.” Box does not, however, elaborate on the significance of “activists,” who are the most natural partners in launching high-quality administrative endeavors.

Box notwithstanding, activists are few in modern societies. Even the most optimistic estimates by scholars in the field of participatory democracy place their proportion at less than 10 percent of the population (Almond & Verba 1963; Verba, Scholzman, & Brady, 1995). Still, the political and social influence of this relatively small group can be immense and must not be underestimated. This vanguard, practically and ideologically, paves the way toward potential social changes, whatever these may be. Collaboration of governments and public administration with these people, as individuals or as groups, may also lead others to join. The growing activity of the third sector is perhaps only one positive signal of this trend. According to O’Connell (1989), voluntary organizations and the

governmental activities in the US, and these numbers are in continuous growth, and also serve as a surrogate for voluntarism.

In this light, several questions should be asked about the potential interrelationships between citizens, citizenship behavior, and the nature of modern public administration: What is so important about the relationship between multi-dimensional citizenship and new public managerialism? What are the variants of citizenship behavior that can be used to enhance public management goals? And most importantly, is it realistic to see citizenship behavior by the people as a reliable construct of collaboration with the public sector, both inside and external to public agencies? If so on the last question, who should be involved in fostering citizens’ involvement and participation that may promote what we define as “a spirit of collaboration,” and what duties and responsibilities should each participant carry?

We do not believe it is possible to overemphasize such questions and their working answers. To illustrate, answers to these questions may contribute to the development of higher levels of collaboration between citizens and the administrative state. Working answers also will enhance responsiveness in public administration and contribute to the creation of healthier democratic societies.

Discussion

Better incorporation of the idea of citizenship into new managerial thinking is essential, then. So far, we have demonstrated that citizenship behavior has many faces. However, it has only one source, namely the people and their willingness to engage in the citizenry’s constructive action. Building a spirit of new managerialism means bringing the citizens closer to their ideal role as more active participants in the administrative process, as we see it. An added value is necessary for turning simple bureaucracies and stagnated public services into more flexible, responsive, and vital entities with, as it were, with the broad shoulders on which modern societies can safely rest.

Conveniently, two foci get brief attention here. Basically, we do not dare being too expansive here, so limited is the body of relevant research. At the same time, we cringe at being too timed about the significances sketched above.

Implications

A Major Implication for Theory. A promising theoretical vehicle on this road to the fruitful future involves the idea of “collaboration” between

concept of collaboration is not new but, as demonstrated by Vigoda-Gadot (2003), it has lately become more relevant for public, private, and third sector organizations. Today, collaboration is perceived by managers of all sectors as a promising way to meet growing demands in our modern societies. Civic society is now almost unthinkable in largely rational-economic patterns. Thus, following the dimensions of new governance as suggested by John, Kette, Dyer, and Lovan (1994), future discussion of the citizenship/ bureaucracy linkage should seek answers to several questions: (1) *What* is the working meaning of collaboration for governments, public administration agencies, businesses, and citizens? (2) *Where* on the continuum of developing public administration do we stand today and where we are heading in the coming years? (3) *Whose* responsibility is it to make the collaboration and partnership ventures possible, and with what tools? Consequently and most importantly, a final question should be considered, (4) *How* can we practically apply our strategic managerial wisdom and science to the greater need for collaboration in order to help modern society fulfill productive promises with its citizens?

Figure 2 provides a graphic view of the present emphasis, but only as it provides a linkage between Figure 1 and Table 1. The former provides a simple footing for this analysis of collaboration, and Table 1 provides more detail.

Limited Implication for Research. If suggestive only, Table 1 moves toward a comprehensive view of the current and future development of research on the concept of citizenship as a theoretical and analytical research arena. As we see matters, the two types in Table 1 suggest promising aspects of citizenship. Four such prospects are: characteristics; probable antecedents; probable outcomes; and mutual relationships, elaborated by "loops" or "feedbacks" among the types of citizenship.

Figure 2
Collaboration and Citizenship in Modern Bureaucracies

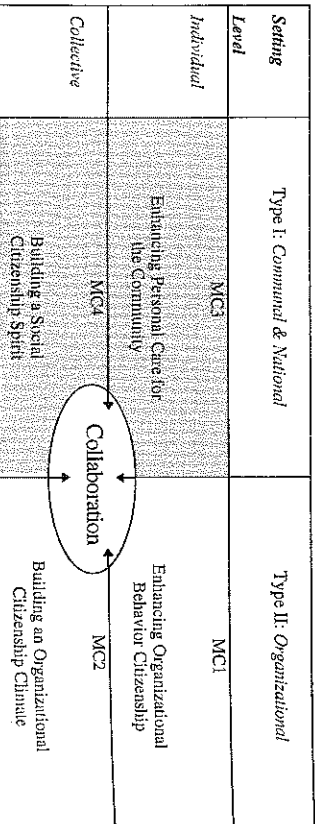


Table 1
Two Types of Citizenship and Possible Interrelationships

Citizenship type	Characteristics (A)	Probable antecedents (B)	Probable Outcomes (C)	Empirical Examination of Loops (examples)
type I ational and communal izenship (individual & Collective)	A1. Obedience A2. Loyalty A3. Participation	B1. Socialization B2. Educational B3. Personal & personality	C1. Democratic values C2. Political stability C3. Social health & welfare C4. Economic efficiency C5. Life satisfaction C6. Ethical government	<u>Horizontal Loop:</u> ▪ Type I: Almond & Verba (1963); Verba et al. (1995) ▪ Type 2: Organ (1988), Organ & Ryan (1995) Direction of emphasis: ↔
rganizational Citizenship (individual & Collective)	A4. Intra-role behavior A5. Commitment A6. Extra-role behavior A7. Voice activities & Job involvement	B4. Exchange B5. OD B6. Fairness B7. Personal & Personality	C7. Productivity & performance C8. Intentions to leave C9. Job satisfaction C10. Stress & strain C11. Burnout C12. Ethical employees & management	(1998; 2000), Graham (1991); Peterson (1990) ▪ C5 vs. C9: Near, Rice & Hunt (1987) ▪ C1 vs. C7: Vigoda (2002) ▪ A3 vs. A7: Sobel (1993) Direction of emphasis: ↑↓
				<u>Diagonal Loop:</u> ▪ A1-A3 vs. C7,C9: Cohen & Vigoda (2000), Vigoda (2002) ▪ B3 vs. A4-A6: Organ (1994) ▪ C10-C11 vs. B1-B3: Golembiewski et al. (1996) Direction of emphasis: ↗↘

As shown in Table 1, some empirical works has demonstrated the usefulness of the collaborative analytical approach for bringing together various ideas about the nature and meaning of citizenship. For example, the horizontal loop in Table 1 can be illustrated in two ways. The seminal works of Almond and Verba (1963) and others that followed, like Verba et al. (1995), have dealt with Type 1 citizenship—that is, political participation and involvement in the national and communal levels. In addition, Organ (1988) and Oran and Ryan (1995) have focused on Type 2 citizenship when they developed the idea of Organizational Citizenship Behavior (OCB).

A vertical loop in Table 1, in contrast, tries to relate Type I citizenship with Type II citizenship. It was suggested by Cohen and Vigoda (1998, 2000), as well as by Graham (1991) and Peterson (1990) who focused on the relationship between good citizenship at the national/communal level and organizational citizenship behavior such as OCB. Relatedly, Near, Rice and Hunt (1987) examined life satisfaction and job satisfaction as probable outcomes of good citizenship. Vigoda (2002) related democratic values and productivity in organizations. Finally, if only for present illustrative purposes, Sobel (1993) examined the relationship between political participation at the national level with job involvement and voice activities at the organizational level.

The significant relationships that were reported in most of these studies support our expectations: that much more work is needed to uncover the vertical loops between Type I and Type II citizenship.

Finally, few works have also tested diagonal loops where, for example, obedience and participation at the national/communal levels may relate to organizational performance and to job satisfaction (Cohen & Vigoda, 2000; Vigoda, 2002). In addition, Organ (1994) related personal and personality factors with organizational commitment and extra-role behaviors that are typical of good organizational citizens. To a similar end, Golembiewski et al. (1996) discuss burnout as reflecting a global pandemic that seems related with citizens and citizenship worldwide.

This review of research could be extended, but the basic conclusion is not obscure. All these works and evidences point in one direction which is the need to continuously study citizenship as a complex variable that has many facets, which eventually will be shown to be mutually related.

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